THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE BENGALI LANGUAGE

BY SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

M.A. (Calcutta), D.Lit. (London)
Khaira Professor of Indian Linguistics and Phonetics and Lecturer in English and Comparative Philology in the University of Calcutta

PART II

(1958)

OXFORD & IBH PUBLISHING CO.
New Delhi Bombay Calcutta

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF
THE BENGALI LANGUAGE

Published by Mohan Primlani, Oxford and IBH Publishing Co., 66 Janpath, New Delhi-1, and Printed at Everest Press, 4 Chamelian Road, Delhi-6.

MORPHOLOGY

MORPHOLOGY

CHAPTER I: FORMATIVE AFFIXES

394. Hoernle's discussion of the NIA. suffixes in his 'Gaudian Grammar' remains the most thorough study of the scope and origin of these, although some of his derivations are more or less speculative. The Bengali formative affixes have been discussed in some detail by Rai Bahadur Yōgesh Chandra Vidyānidhi in his Bengali grammar (published by the VSPd., pp. 147-191), but the arrangement is capable of improvement, and some of the etymologies can be questioned. There is no doubt as to the source of most NIA. affixes, but there are a few which have not been satisfactorily explained.

The OIA. affixes, primary or secondary, became disguised, or simply dropped off in NIA., through either assimilation or phonetic decay. But a number of OIA. affixes have been preserved, and occur in NIA. as living forms, although in their present shape they are widely removed from their OIA. originals (*e.g.*, « -pan » < « -tvana- »; « -ab, -ib, -iv » < « -tavya- »; « -ī » < « -ika, -ikā »; etc.). The NIA. speeches preserve only the relics of some OIA. affixes, which as a result of phonetic decay now form integral and indivisible parts of the words, and have, so far as the speech-feeling of the NIA. speaker is concerned, no separate existence, and are not recognisable or analysable any more as an affix. Thus, for example, the OIA. primary affixes « -ă, -ā, -as », in noun and adjective formations, are no longer living ones in Bengali, as they are lost in all inherited words; but the affix « -ana », to form verbal nouns, continues to be in full force as অন, ওন « -ăna̸, -ōna̸ »; and in words like চাম, কাম « cāma̸, kāma̸ », the -ম « -ma̸ » is only partially representative of the original OIA. affix « -man »; but it is no longer possible to analyse the Bengali words as being made up of a root *plus* an affix, and neither can -ম

« -mǝ̸ » be distinguished from the -ম « mǝ̸ » in words like জাম « jāmǝ̸ » (jambu) and আম « āmǝ̸ » (āmra). The words in Bengali have become to all intents and purposes root-words, or primitive words, the sense of their being composed forms being long lost, from the beginning of MIA. So in words like রাতি « rāti » (rātri), পাঁতি « pā̃ti » (paŋkti), সোঁতা « sō̃tā » (MIA. sŏnta-, OIA. srōtas), কাজ « kājǝ̸ » (kārya), the OIA. affixes « -tri, -ti, -tas, -ya » are present, but they are no longer alive. These relics or fragments of dead forms are not necessary to consider, unless the subject of study were the history of the OIA. suffixes down to NIA. through MIA.

Below are given in a rough alphabetical order all the living affixes, primary as well as secondary, which are found in Bengali, Old, Middle and New, with indications of their origin.

[A] Suffixes

[I] Tadbhava Suffixes

(1) অ « -ǎ, ǝ̸ » : masculine, feminine and neuter noun affix.

395. Representing the primary affixes of OIA., masculine « -ǎḥ », feminine « -ā », neuter « -am », also « -as », with or without « guṇa » of the root-vowel, this affix may be said to have existed in Old Bengali and Early Middle Bengali, but was lost from Late Middle Bengali times with the loss or assimilation of the final vowel: *e.g.*, চার « cāra » (cāra), সান « sāna » (saṁjñā), মণ « maṇa » (manas), সাঙ্কম « sāŋkama » (saŋkrama) *bridge*; but cf. Late MB. দে « dē » (dēha), মন « mǎnǝ̸ » (manas), বাত « bātǝ̸ » (vārtā), বোল « bōlǝ̸ » *speech* (MIA. *bŏlla), চাল « cālǝ̸ » *way, style* (cāla), etc.

(2) অ « -å », also written ও « -ō ».

396. This is the pleonastic suffix, found in a number of nouns and adjectives—*e.g.*, ভাল, ভালো « bhālå, bhālō » *good*; কাল, কালো « kālå, kālō » *black*; ধল « dhålå » *white*; etc. It comes from the pleonastic or pejorative « -kǎ » of OIA., added to nouns in « -ǎ » = « -ǎ-kǎ » > MIA. « -ǎǎ- » > « ǎwǎ » : see *ante*, pp. 302, 346, 347, 348. The affix is thus of secondary origin. The employment of the pleonastic « -ka », giving, with the

preceding « -a » of the word, the MIA. forms « -aga, *-aga, -aẘ/ẏa », is quite a note-worthy thing from the Second MIA. stage; and in Skt. as written in that period, as well as in later times, this vernacular habit is fully reflected: in the Skt. of inscriptions, this is very much in evidence. (Cf. Damodarpur Copper Plates of the Gupta Period, Ep. Ind., XV, pp. 130, 138.) The combination of « -ăă » > « ăẘă » seems to have begun to be altered to an « å » (long [ɔ:]) sound in the OB. period; and it was accomplished by the 14th century. (See pp. 260, 302, 346.) In MB., it is frequently found in personal names, where it is commonly written as ও « -ō »: *e.g.*, শিবো « Śibō » (OB. * Śibaẘa = *ts.* Śiva + ka), রুদো « Rudō » (*Rūdaẘa < Rudra + ka), বিভো « Bibhō » (*Bibhaẘa < *Vibha = Vibhu + ka), সিধো « Sidhō » (*Sīdhaẘa < Siddha [= Siddhêśvara] + ka), etc. These common contractions of personal names in MB. are thus on the basis of a form in « ă- », shortened from the full names (*e.g.*, জনো « Jånō » < « Janārdana », পিথো « Pithō » < « Pṛthvīdhara », etc.), with the pleonastic « -kă » added. Forms like the above are very common in MB. genealogical works (kula-grantha, kulajī = kulåpañjikā): which shows that they were much in use.

There is another affix, also (occasionally) written -অ « -å », indicating the sense of *about to do something*: *e.g.*, কাঁদ-কাঁদ « kådå-kådå », beside কাঁদো-কাঁদো « kådō-kådō » *ready to burst into tears.* This is a primary affix forming verbal adjectives and is derived from ও « -ō » < উ « -u », which see, *infra.*

(3) Affixes derived from the OIA. Active Present Participle « -ănt- »: অন্ত « -åntå »; অৎ > অতা, অতী (অতি) « -åtå > -åtā, -åtī (-åti) », অত « -åtå ». (Cf. also আইত, ইত « -āit, -it- », and আন্ত « -āntå ».)

397. অন্ত « -åntå »: this is a stereotyped form, which occurs only in a few adjectives used attributively: *e.g.*, জীয়ন্ত « jīåntå » > জ্যান্ত « jyāntå » [ʤæntɔ] *living* (jīvant-); চলন্ত « cåläntå » *moving* (calant-); বাড়ন্ত « bāṛåntå » *prospering* < বাঢ়ন্ত « bāṛhåntå » (√vṛdh > *vardhant-); ঘুমন্ত « ghumåntå » *sleeping* (ঘুম √ghum); ভাসন্ত *floating* (ভাস √bhās *float*); etc. It occurs in a feminine form অন্তী « -åntī » = « -ant- + -ikā » used with sentient feminine nouns: নাচুন্তী < নাচন্তী « nācuntī < nācåntī » (nṛtyant- + -ikā); দেখুন্তি < দেখন্তি « dēkhunti < dēkhåntī » *seeing, seer* (MIA. dĕkkhanti), etc. অন্ত « -åntå »

is not the regular development in Bengali of the OIA. affix « -ant- », but it became established in some forms, which were set apart in MB., because of their adjectival force, from the regular MB. and NB. change which made ইত « -it » out of MIA. « -anta, -enta » < OIA. « -ant- » (see p. 335).

অৎ « -åtⱥ », found commonly in its extended form অতা « -åt-ā », feminine অতী, অতি « -åt-ī, -åt-i ». This affix seems to be borrowed from the Bihārī dialects, and Hindōstānī : « -anta > -at ». The feminine force is lost to Bengali. Examples : ফেরত ডাক « phēråtⱥ ḍākⱥ » *return post*, also ফিরতী ডাক « phirⱥtī ḍākⱥ » (ফির √phir) ; চলতী ভাষা « cålⱥtī bhāṣā » *current speech, colloquial* (√cal), cf. Hindī « caltī cakkī » *the moving wheel* (*quern-stone = the world*) ; বহতা জল « båhⱥtā jålⱥ » *running water* (বহ √båh < √vah *flow*) ; উঠতি বয়স « uṭhⱥti båyåsⱥ » *growing age, youth* (উঠ √uṭh < ut+sthā) ; সব-জান্তা « såbⱥ-jāntā » *all-knowing* ; বিলাত-ফেরত, or ফেরতা « bilātⱥ-phēråtⱥ, -phērⱥtā » *returned from Europe* ; দেখতা « dēkhⱥtā » *seeing*, as in the idiom আমার দেখতা « āmārⱥ dēkhⱥtā » (for আমি দেখতা « āmi dēkhⱥtā » ?) *with me looking on* ; ঝড়তি পড়তি « jhåṛⱥti påṛⱥti » *things that are scattered and fallen, remainder* ; etc.

Another form of this affix is অত « -åtå », which seems to be a blend of অৎ « -åt » + অন্ত « -åntå » : *e.g.*, জানত « jānåtå », পারত « pāråtå », করত « kåråtå », etc. Forms with this affix, however, are rather rare, and they have a special employ. জানত « jānåtå » is used as an absolutive with the subject in the genitive, *e.g.*, আমার জানত « āmārⱥ jānåtā » *me knowing, with my knowledge* (cf. আমার দেখতা « āmārⱥ dēkhⱥtā » above) ; and it is frequently confused with the *ts.* passive part. adjective in ত « -tå », and used as an adjective : *e.g.*, আমার জানত লোক « āmārⱥ jānåtå lōkⱥ » *a man known to me* beside আমার জানিত লোক « āmārⱥ jānitå lōkⱥ » (where « jānitå » = জান « √jān » + *ts.* affix « -ita »). পারত « pāråtå », also « pāråtⱥ » is commonly used in the phrase পারত-পক্ষে « pāråt(å)-påkṣē » *on condition of being able*, which is frequently altered to a Skt. পারগ-পক্ষে « pārågⱥ-påkṣē ». করত « kåråtå » *doing*, is used as a conjunctive participle = *having done*, and sometimes a Sanskrit colour is given to this form by adding a « visarga », which helps to preserve the final « -å » in the word : করতঃ [kɔrɔtɔ] *having done, after doing*.

In onomatopoetic formations in আৎ « -āt » like পটাৎ « påṭāt » *with a cracking noise,* ঝপাৎ « jhåpāt » *with a dashing or splashing sound,* কপাৎ, গপাৎ « kåpāt, gåpāt » *with a gulp,* ছলাৎ « chålāt » *with a splash,* which are used with the conjunctive করিয়া, ক'রে « kåriyā, kōrē », we have also possibly this « -anta » affix of MIA. and OIA.

(4) অতী, তী (অতি, তি) « -åtī, -ⱥtī (-åti, -ⱥti) ».

398. This forms abstract nouns of action or manner: *e.g.*, পড়তি « påṛⱥti » *fall;* উঠতি « uṭhⱥti » *rise;* চুকতি « cukⱥti » *settlement, fixing up;* বাড়তি « bāṛⱥti < bāṛhåtī » *rise, increase;* ঘাটতি « ghāṭⱥti » *decrease;* by analogy, the hybrid কমতি « kåm-ti » *decrease,* from Persian, « kam »; খাঁকতি « khā̃kⱥti » *greed* (cf. onomatopoetic খাঁখাঁ « khā̃khā̃ » *the sense of emptiness and hunger*); গুনতি « gunⱥti » *counting;* ভরতি « bhårⱥti » *filling-up,* etc.

Hoernle explains this affix ('Gaudian Grammar,' § 325) as being a Sanskrit (or OIA.) « *-āptikā », from the causative affix « -āp- » + « -ti » + pleonastic « -kā »: *e.g.*, বিনতি « binåti » (vijñāptikā = vijñåptikā > viṇṇattia), বাড়তি « bāṛⱥti » (*vardhāptikā > *vaḍḍhattia); etc. But this derivation is rather problematical. Cases like ডাকাইত « ḍākā(i)tⱥ » *robber* (ডাক « √ḍāk » *shout*: cf. under আইত « -āit » below), ডাকা(ই)তী « ḍākā(i)tī » *robbery,* ঢাঙ্গা(ই)ত > ঢাঙ্গা(ই)তী « ḍhāŋ(g)ā(i)tⱥ > ḍhāŋgā(i)tī » *rowdy > rowdiness* (ḍhaŋga), etc., with the ঈ (ই) « -ī (-i) » affix of abstraction (for which see *infra*), show that in examples like উঠতি « uṭhⱥti », ভরতি « bhårⱥti » etc. above, we have an extension of the অৎ « -åt » affix (< present participle « -anta ») by addition of the abstract ঈ, ই « -ī, -i »: উঠতি « uṭhⱥtī » = « uṭhå(n)t(å) + -ī » *the state of rising = a rise.*

The change of « -anta » to « -åt- », and not to « -it- », would show that this affix is not native to Bengali, but borrowed, with cognate loan-words, from its western neighbours.

It seems also that in the formation of this affix, there was the influence of the Skt. nominal affix « -ti » as well, through the presence of a large number *ts.* as well as *sts.* forms in « -ti », like « yukti (jugati), bhakti (bhakati), mati, gati, praṇati » etc. In post MB. times,

the Perso-Arabic loan-words in « -at », with the Indian or Persian « -ī » added, re-inforced this affix: *e.g.*, « wakālat » > ওকালতী « ōkālåt-ī » *a pleader's profession*; and by analogy, it was extended to other foreign words, *e.g.*, জজ « jåj » = English *judge* > জজিয়ৎ, জজিয়তী « jåjiyåt, jåjiyåt-ī » *the work of a judge.*

(5) অন (ওন, এন) « -åna̸ (-ōna̸, -ēna̸).

399. This is a living suffix in Bengali, forming abstract verbal nouns, some of which have acquired a concrete sense. It is the OIA. « -ana ». Examples: কাঁদন « kā̃dåna̸ » (krandana); কুঁদন « kū̃dåna̸ » (kūrdana); খাঅন, খাওন « khāåna̸, khāōna̸ » (khādana); গায়ন, গায়েন « gāyåna̸, -yēna̸ » *singer* (gāyana: *gāthayana? cf. Khaskurā « gāhinē » *singer* < « gāhiniyā »); ঘুরন « ghuråna̸ » *turning round and round* (ঘুর √ghur < ghūrn-); চাহন, চাওন « cāhåna̸, cāōna̸ » *gaze, look* (চাহ √cāh); ছাড়ন « chāṛåna̸ » *leaving* (ছাড় √chāṛ); ছাঁদন « chā̃dåna̸ » *binding* (chandana); জ্বলন « jwålåna̸ » [ʒɔlon] (jvalana); ঝাড়ন « jhāṛåna̸ » *dusting, a duster*, ঝোঁটন « jhō̃ṭåna̸ » *crest, top-knot* (see p. 479); ঝুলন « jhulåna̸ » *swing* (see p. 479); ঢাকন « ḍhākåna̸ » *covering* > *a cover* (ঢাক √ḍhāk); থাকন « thākåna̸ » *staying* (থাক √thāk); দেখন « dēkhåna̸ » *sight*; ধরণ « dhåråṇa̸ » *manner* (« ṇ » through Skt. influence) (dharaṇa); নাচন « nācåna̸ » *dance* (নাচ √nāc); পড়ন « påṛåna̸ » *fall* (paḍana < *paṭana < patana); পাঅন, পাওন « pāåna̸, pāōna̸ » (prāpaṇa); পাড়ন « pāṛåna̸ » (pātana); পোড়ন « pōṛåna̸ » *burning* (পুড় √puṛ < √puṭ); ফোড়ন « phōṛåna̸ » *spices, chatter* (√sphuṭ); বাঁধন « bā̃dhåna̸ » (bandhana); বাজন « bājåna̸ » *music* (বাজ √bāj < vādya); বাড়ন « bāṛåna̸ » *broom* (vardhana); বেঁধন, বিঁধন « bē̃dhåna̸, bī̃dhåna̸ » *piercing* (viddha < √vyadh); মরণ « måråṇa̸ » (maraṇa); শুনন « śunåna̸ » *hearing* (শুন √śun < śṛ-ṇō-ti); হঅন, হওন « hå(w̐)åna̸, håōna̸ » *being* (*ahana = as-ana + bhav-ana); etc., etc.

This affix is now becoming a little archaic in the Standard Colloquial, which prefers the other verbal noun in আ « -ā »: but it is a very living form in the East Bengali dialects.

The affix « -åna̸ » has two extensions:

(5a) অনা > -না « -ånā > -å̸nā »: this is simply অন « -ånå̸ » extended with the আ « -ā » affix. The « -å- » in this affix drops when inter-consonantal; when after a vowel, it becomes « e » or « o » and forms a diphthong. The original force of this « -ā » was to denote simply a coarser or biggish aspect of the action, or to indicate a connected object, but this has been to a considerable amount modified, so that অনা, না « -ånā, -å̸nā » in many cases is not different from অন « ånå̸ ». Examples: কান্না < কাঁদনা, কান্দনা « kānnā < kā̊då̸nā, kāndånā » (see p. 360), beside কাঁদন « kā̊dånå̸ » (krandana-); কুটনা « kuṭå̸nā » *slicing* > *sliced vegetables* (কুট √kuṭ); কাটনা « kāṭå̸nā » *spindle* (কাট√kāṭ *spin*); খেলনা « khēlå̸nā » *playing*>*toy* beside খেলন « khēlånå̸ » *playing* (খেল√khēl); গহনা, গয়না « gåhånā, gåynā » *jewels* (grahaṇa-); গাহনা > গাওনা « *gåhånā > gāonā » *singing* (গাহ √gāh < √gāthaya-); ছাঁকনা « chā̊kå̸nā » *strainer* (ছাঁক √chā̊k); ঝরনা « jhårå̸nā » *water-fall* (ঝর √jhår: see p. 478); ঢাকনা « ḍhākå̸nā » *largish lid* (ঢাক √ḍhāk); দোলনা « dōlå̸nā » *swing* (দুল √dul); দেনা « dēnā » *giving* > *debt*, beside দেন « dēnå̸ » *giving* (দে√dē *give*=√dā); so লেনা « lēnā » beside লেন « lēnå̸ » *taking* (লে√lē *take*<√lah=labh+√nī); পাওনা « pāonā » *receiving, dues* (prāpaṇa-); পিটনা « piṭå̸nā » *mallet to beat with* (পিট √piṭ); বাজনা « bājå̸nā » *musical instrument*, see বাজন « bājånå̸ » above; বাটনা « bāṭå̸nā » *paste of pounded spices* (বাট √bāṭ *pound, mash*); মাগনা, মাঙনা « māgå̸nā, māŋ(g)å̸nā » *asking*> *gratis* (mārgaṇa-); রান্না < রাঁধনা « rānnā< rā̊dhånā » *cooking* (randhana-); শুখনা « śukhå̸nā » *dry, dry-land* (শুখ√sukh < śuṣka); etc. There are some formations from nouns as well: ছানা « chānā » *youngling* (*of animals*) (beside ছা « chā », =« śāba- »); পাখনা « pākhå̸nā » *wings* (beside পাখ pākhå̸ < pakṣa).

(5b) অনী>নী, উনী (নি, উনি) « -ånī>-å̸nī, -unī (-å̸ni, -uni) ». Originally feminine in form (-ånå+ī), indicating a dimunitive or petty aspect of the action or object. All grammatical connexion with the feminine form is now lost, except where the word indicates a woman. The change to « -uni » is by Vowel Harmony (see p. 398). কাঁদুনি < কাঁদনী « kā̊duni < kā̊dånī » *weeping, petty fit of weeping, supplication*; ŚKK. নাচুনী < নাচনী « nācunī < nācånī » *danseuse*; ছেনী « chēnī »<« *chēanī » *a cutting instrument* (chēdana, chēdanikā); ছাউনী < ছাঅনী « chāunī < chāånī » *awning, camp* (chādanikā);

ছাঁকনী « chãkønī » *small strainer* (ছাঁক √chãk) ; MB. পোড়নী « pōṛånī » *burning* (পুড় √puṛ) ; কুরনী > কুরুনী « kurånī > kurunī » *scraper* (কুর √kur *scrape*) ; মউনী « måunī » < « *må(h)ånī » *churning stick* (*mathanikā) ; etc., etc. The word রাঁধুনী < রাঁধনী « rãdhunī < rãdhånī » *cook* is now both masculine and feminine, but originally it seems to have been only feminine (« randhanikā » : or a masc. = « *randhanikă » ?) ; when it means a kind of flavouring spice, it is the feminine form undoubtedly. So MB. বেচনী « bēcånī » *a seller* (বেচ √bēc).

Causative forms of this affix, in আন্ « -ānø », আন, আনা « ānå, -ānā » আনী, উনী « -ānī, -unī » also occur : see *infra*.

In the word দাঁতন « dãtånø » *twig used as tooth-brush* we do not have the « -ånø » affix (unlike in formations from nouns like পাখনা « pākhønā », বাজনা « bājønā », etc.) : the Maithilī « datamani », Bhōjpuriyā « datuan », and Hindōstānī « datwan, dataun, datūn » show that the word is a compound of « danta » + « vana » (?).

(6) আ « -ā » (i) : Definitive, Pejorative, Connective, Agentive, Pleonastic.

400. This affix is a very characteristic one of Bengali. It indicates definiteness (this definitive force is now considerably weakened) ; it implies coarseness or biggishness in the object ; it means reference or connection ; it forms agentive adjectives ; and frequently it is also pleonastic. In all its various forces, the « -ā » affix of Bengali can be compared with the pleonastic affixes giving rise to the strong, long and redundant forms of the Bihārī dialects (see p. 96). The source of Bengali « -ā », as an OIA. « *-āka », has been indicated at pp. 302, 348-349. Cf. Sanskritised forms like « Nāgāka, Dhamāka, Visiāka, Bhaluāka, Pappāka (beside Pappā), Rudāka, Chitarāka », all representing vernacular names in « -ā », in the Siyadoni Inscription (10th century : Lalitpur District, U.P. ; Kielhorn, Ep. Ind., I, pp. 162 ff.) Where no special force of the « -ā » is present, as in a noun like ঘোড়া « ghōṛā » (beside ঘোড়- « ghōṛø » in compounds), that is, where it is merely a pleonastic extension, it is not unlikely that the « -ā » represents only the termination of an oblique case (see p. 349). Examples : OB. (Caryā 41) হথা (hasta-) ; (Caryā 49)

পঁউআ « pãüā = pawuā » (*paduma-, padma-); (Caryā 8) মাগা « māgā » (mārga-); (Carya 2) পিটা « piṭā » *pail*; (Caryā 3, 20) পসারা « pasārā », নিসারা « nisārā » (prasāra-, niḥsāra-); (Caryā 4) বীরা « bīrā » (vīra-); (Caryā 6) হরিণা « hariṇā » (hariṇa-); MB. নেহা « nēhā » (snēha-): MB., NB. নেতা « nētā » *rag* (nētra>nēt*ŏ*=*fine stuff*); কাঁসা « kãsā » (kāṅsya-); ŚKK. কনয়া « kånåyā » (kanaka-); পাতা « pātā » (patra-); কূয়া, কূআ « kūā » (kūpa-); গোরা « gōrā » (gāura-); উঁচা « ũcā » (ucca-); চোরা « cōrā » (cāura-); বাঘা « bāghā » (vyāghrā) *big tiger>tiger-like, ferocious, strong* (*e.g.*, বাঘা *a common name for a dog*, বাঘা তেঁতুল « bāghā tẽtul*ŏ* » *kind of tamarind with strong acid taste*); খাঁড়া « khãṛā » *sacrificial sword* (khaṇḍa-); বকরা « båk*ŏ*rā » *goat* (barkara-); কুঁকুড়া > কুঁকড়া, কুঁকড়ো « kũkuṛā>kũk*ŏ*ṛā, kũk*ŏ*ṛō » (kukkuṭa-); রামা « Rāmā » contemptuous for « Rām*ŏ* »; চাঁদা « cãdā » *big round moon*, beside চাঁদ « cãd*ŏ* » *moon* (candra-): cf. চাঁদা মাছ « cãd-ā māch*ŏ* » *a kind of roundish fish, pomfret*; থালা « thālā » *plate* beside থাল « thāl*ŏ* » (sthāla); ধূঁআ, ধুয়াঁ « dhũā » (dhūma-); রাঙ্গা, রাঙা « rāṅ(g)-ā » *red in colour* (raṅga-); তেলা « tēl-ā » *oily* (tāila-); লোনা « lōnā » *salty* (lavaṇa-); হাতা « hātā » *handle* (hasta-); তাওয়া « tāwā » *pot for heating or dry cooking* (tāpa-); বামনা « bām*ŏ*nā » *a low Brāhman* (brāhmaṇa-); *sts.* পশ্চিমা « paścimā » *western* (paścima-); দক্ষিণা, by Vowel Harmony দ'খনে (see pp. 400-401) « dåkkhiṇā » > [dokhne] *southern* (dakṣiṇa- > dåkkhiṇ*ŏ*-); একা « ēkā » [æka], একলা « ēk*ŏ*lā » *alone* (ēka-, *ēkāka; ēka-la-); মুহা « muh-ā » *with a face* (mukha-); ভয়ষা « bhåysā » *belonging to a buffalo* (bhaīs*ŏ*< mahiṣa + -ā); খেয়া « khēyā » *ferry* (kṣēpa-); etc.

In compounds with active meaning: ছেলে-ধরা « chēlē-dhår-ā » *child-stealing = kidnapper*; চা'ল-ধোয়া « cāl*ŏ*-dhōā » *rice-washing*; কাপড়-কাচা « kāpåṛ*ŏ*-kāc-ā » *cloth-washing*; কলম-কাটা ছুরী « kålåm*ŏ*-kāṭ-ā churī » *pen-(cutting)-knife*; ভাত-রাঁধা হাঁড়ী « bhāt*ŏ*-rãdh-ā hãṛī » *pot that boils rice*, etc.

This affix is added to both *tatsama* and foreign words: রোগা « rōg-ā » *sick, sickly, lean and thin* (rōga-); সফেদা « såphēd-ā » *rice-powder* (Pers. safēd *white*);

Other affixes of Bengali, like « -āṭa, -uṭa, -ī(-i) -ū(-u), -āla, -āra » etc., are extended by addition of this « -ā »: for which see below.

(7) আ « -ā » (ii) : Passive Participle and Verbal Noun Affix.

401. This suffix is derived from the OIA. affix « -ta, -ita » > MIA. « -a, -ia » *plus* the preceding pleonastic affix আ « ā ». The following examples illustrate the line of development : « yāta > jāa + -ā > OB. *jāā, NB. যাওয়া *jāŵā » *gone* > *a going* ; « kṛta > *karita (a non-Māgadhī formation : cf. p. 375) > karia + ā > OB. kariā > করা kårā » *done* > *doing*, as in New Bengali. So রাখা « rākhā » *kept* > *keeping* (rakṣita + ā) ; খাআ, খাওয়া « khāŵā » (khādita + ā), etc. We have the loss of the « -i- » already in OB. : *e.g.*, Caryā 20 « saŋghārā » *struck* ; but it is the « -i- » forms, with or without the pleonastic « -ā », that are common in the Caryās (when without « -ā », the final « -a » is found to have assimilated with the preceding « i », as follows : « -ita > -ia > -ī, -i ») : *e.g.*, in Caryā 19 « uchaliā » (ucchalita + ā), « caliā » (calita + ā) ; Caryā 13 « muniā » (= jñāta-) ; Caryā 17 « suṇiā » (= śruta-), « miliā » (milita + ā), guniā (= gaṇita + ā) ; beside « pahāri » (prahārita), « ahāri » (āhārita-), etc. ; and cases are found with the Western Apabhraṅśa modification of the « -itaḥ » to « -iu » (« -itaḥ > -idō > -iō > -iu » : cf. p. 115 *supra*). The affix seems to have come into prominence only after the Early MB. period : in the ŚKK. it is non-existent. The « -i- » as in « -iā » of OB. probably first became « -ĕ- » and then was dropped, following the forms in simple « -ā » like « yāta + -ā > যাওয়া jāŵā », « *dita + ā > দেওয়া dēŵā » etc. ; and possibly also through an attempt to distinguish this passive participle affix from the conjunctive participle in « -ī(-ĭ), -iā » (*e.g.* রাখী, রাখি, রাখিআ « rākhī, rākhi, rākhiā » *having kept*, with or without « -ā » < MIA. « rakkhia » < OIA. « -rakṣ-ya »). The OB. forms of the passive participle in « -iā » show that « -ita + -ā » is the source of this passive participle affix of MB. and NB. In Panjābī, in the Old Western Hindī dialects and in Modern Hindōstānī we find a parallel development with loss of « -i- » : *e.g.*, « calita-, calitaka » > MIA. (Śaurasenī) « cali(d)a-, cali(d)aa- », nominative « cali(d)ō, cali(d)aō » > Śaur. Apabhraṅśa « caliu, caliaü », whence Brajbhākhā « calyu, calyaŭ », Early Hindī or Hindōstānī « calyā » (beside Panjābī « caliā, calēā »), but Modern Hindōstānī « calā », Bundēlī and Kanaujī « calō ». Ōṛiyā has this affix also : *e.g.*, « jåṇ-ā » *known*, « kår-ā » *done*, « dēkh-ā » *seen*, etc.

It has been attempted to connect this « -ā » affix in its nominal employ with the verbal noun affix ইব, ইবা « -ibȧ, -ibā » < « itavya + ā »; but that is hardly tenable.

In OB. and MB., there was a feminine form of this affix, with the ঈ « -ī » (< -ikā); *e.g.*, ŚKK. (p. 381) জড়ী « jȧṛī » *jewelled* qualifying চুড়ী « cuṛī » *bracelet* (jaḍita + -ikā).

(8) আই « -āi » (i): Verbal and Abstract Nouns.

402. This is a Late MIA. formation, being a feminine verbal noun from the causative stem of the root: an OIA. « -āp-ikā » (as in Skt. « jñ-āp-ikā » *information,* which would be the basis of a possible NIA. « *jănāī ») would give « -āviā, āviă, -āw̃ī, āī > আই ai ». The causative in « -āpa > -āva » became established in MIA., and on the model of the nouns in « -āpana- > -āvaṇa- » (see *infra,* § xxx, under আন « -ānȧ »), formation of abstract and verbal nouns in « -ikā » from the « -āpa- > -āva- » base would be a matter of course. Examples: যাচাই « jācāi » *enquiry* (যাচ √yāc: OIA. *yācāpikā); বাছাই « bāchāi » *selection* (বাছ √bāch); লড়াই « lȧṛāi » *fight* (লড় √lȧṛ); খোদাই « khōdāi », also খোঁদাই « khõdāi » *engraving* (খোদ, খোঁদ √khōd, khõd); দোলাই « dōlāi » *a hood or shawl fastened round the neck and covering the ears and head, and hanging on the back* (দুল, দোল « √dul, dōl »: possibly influenced by « dukūlikā » > দুলী « dūlī » [see p. 352], also meaning the same thing); ঝালাই « jhālāi » *soldering* (ঝাল √jhāl); বাঁধাই « bā̃dhāi » *binding (of a book)* (বাঁধ √bā̃dh); ঢালাই « ḍhālāi » *founding (in metal)* (ঢাল √dhāl *pour*); etc.

This affix is not found with all roots, and is but restricted in use. Abstract nouns from noun and adjective bases are also formed, the nouns and adjectives being treated like denominative verbs: *e.g.*, চোরাই « cōrāi » *theft > stolen property* (<cōra); বামনাই « bāmȧnāi » *the way of a Brāhman, the pride of a Brāhman* (<bāmȧnȧ < brāhmaṇa); MB. রাজাই « rājāi » *kingship, reign* (rājā); মিঠাই « miṭhāi » *sweetness > sweetmeat* (< mithā < miṣṭa-); পালটাই « pālȧṭāi » *exchange, returning* (pālȧṭȧ = paryasta); ভালাই « bhālāi » *well-being* (< bhālȧ = bhadra-); সাঁচাই « sā̃cāi » *honesty* (sā̃cā = satya-); বড়াই « bȧṛāi » *pride, boasting* (বড় bȧṛȧ *great*);

খোলতাই « khōlåtāi » *dazzle, beauty* (< khōlā *open, clear,* *khōlåt- *opening*); পোষ্টাই « pōṣṭāi » *nourishing* (*sts.* < puṣṭi); and even with foreign words, *e.g.*, সাফাই « sāphāi » *clear* (Pers. « sāf » *pure*), MB. সাজাই « sājāi » *punishment* (Pers. sazā).

There are a few borrowings from Hindōstānī also, showing this affix: *e.g.*, চড়াই « cåṛāi » *ascent*; উতরাই « utrāi » *descent*; সেলাই « sēlāi » *sewing*; ধোলাই « dhōlāi » *washing, washing charges*; and চোলাই « cōlāi » *distilling, preparing liquor* (<« √cū » = « cyav »: may be native Bengali).

In one or two words, through dialectal influence (see *supra*, p. 407), « -āi » occurs as ই « -i » in the Standard Colloquial: *e.g.*, বানী « bānī » for বানাই « bānāi » *making, charges for making jewellery* (probably from Hindōstānī « banāī »). It would be seen that there is semantic alteration in this affix, making its force that of *cost or wages* for the *work* indicated by it.

Hoernle's derivation of this suffix from the OIA. affix « -tā » *plus* pleonastic « -ka » (« -tikā » in the feminine) is not convincing (see 'Gaudian Grammar,' § 223).

(9) আই « -āi » (ii): Diminutive.

403. Affectionate diminutives like কানাই « Kānāi » (< Kāna, Kaṇha, Kṛṣṇa), বলাই « Bålāi » (< Bala-rāma), সোমাই « Sōmāi » (Sōma-), দনাই « Dånāi » (Janārdana; Danuja- ?), রামাই « Rāmāi » (Rāma), জগাই « Jågāi » (Jagat-), মাধাই « Mādhāi » (Mādhava), ছিরাই « Chirāi » (Śrīpati), etc., which are very common in MB. and fairly frequent in NB., are formed with this affix. It is of pleonastic origin, coming from an OB. « -*āī » from Late MIA. « -āia, -ăiă » = OIK. « -ākika, -akika (i.e. -āka, -ăka + -ika) »: « Kānāi < *Kān(h)āī < *Kanhāia, *Kanhăia < *Kṛṣṇākika, *Kṛṣṇăkika ». This affix is found in various forms in Hindōstānī and in Eastern Hindī and Bihārī. (Cf. Hoernle, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-101.) The suffixes ইয়া « -iā », উয়া « -uā » (as well as ঈ, ই « -ī, -i » and ঊ, উ « -ū, -u ») are connected: see *infra*.

It is likely that in Bengali the আই « -āi » affix as an affectionate diminutive was influenced by the MB. word আই « āi » *long life* < « āyuṣ ».

(10) আইত, আত « -āitŧ, -ātŧ », with extensions.

404. Causative and denominative present participle base: OIA. « -āp-ant-, -āy-ant »>MIA. « -āvant-, -āant- » > OB. « -āẏ/ẇanta »>MB. আইত « -āïtā »: ডাকাইত, ডাকাত « ḍākāitŧ, ḍākātŧ » *robber* < *shouter* (ডাক √ḍāk *yell*); MB. বাইতি « bāiti » *player on a musical instrument* (vādayant- + -ika). This is a rare affix in Bengali. There are a few instances of this affix with nouns: সাঙ্গাৎ, সাঙাৎ « sāŋ(g)ātŧ » ([ʃaŋat, ʃæŋat]; for [æ], see p. 322) *companion, bosom friend* (saŋga); সেবাইত « sēbāitŧ » *temple-priest* (sēvā); পোআতী, পোয়াতী, পোহাতী « pō(h)ātī » *pregnant woman, a recent mother* (« pōta »: for intrusive « h », see p. 341: this form has the feminine affix ঈ « -ī » < -ikā). Cf. Oriyā খণ্ডাইত « khāṇḍāitā » *a military caste* (*in Orissa and S. W. Bengal*) (khaṇḍa *sword*); Hindōstānī « ḍhalait » *shield-bearer* (ḍhāl), etc.

Abstract nouns are formed from this affix by adding ঈ, ই « -ī, -i » (see p. 655, *supra*): ডাকা(ই)তী « ḍākā(i)tī » *robbery*; MB. ঢাঙ্গাতী « ḍhāŋ-(g)ātī » *rowdiness* (ḍhaŋga).

(11) *আউ>আও « *-āu>āo »: Verbal Noun Affix.

405. This affix is now confined to a limited number of words; and in those cases where it is found, it seems there is reinforcement from similar Hindōstānī forms. It is connected with আই « -āi » (i) above. The source is apparently a verbal noun from the causative base: « -āpa », with an extension « *-āp-uk-ā (-āpa + -u-ka + -ā) », corresponding to « *-āpikā » the source of আই « -āi ». The affix, as « -āw, -āō, -āū » is a common one in Hindōstānī. Hoernle traces it (*op. cit.*, §227) to OIA. « -tva »: « -tva > -tta > -a », a derivation which is inadmissible. Examples: চড়াও « caṛāo » *aggression, attacking* (চড় « √caṛ »: also used as an adjective, through influence of a form like উধাও « udhāo » *running out of one's sight* = « uddhāvuka »: cf. also ওয়া « -ōā » in next paragraph); ঢালাও « ḍhālāo » *abundance, 'galore'* (ঢাল √ḍhāl *pour*); পাকড়াও « pākŧṛāo » *arrest, seizure* (পাকড়া « √pākŧṛā » *to seize*); ঘাবড়াও « ghābŧṛāo » *fright* (ঘাবড়া « √ghābŧṛā » *to be checked, to fear*); ছাড়াও « chāṛāo » *separation, release*;

ফালাও « phãlão » *spreading, abundance,* from Hind. « phailāw »; বনাও in বনি-বনাও, beside বনি-বনা « bȧni-bȧnão, -bȧnā » *amity, harmony,* cf. Hind. « banāw » *preparation, concord.*

(11a) আউআ, (আওআ)>ওআ « -āuā>-ōā »: Adjectival as well as Abstract.

406. This affix is an extension of the preceding one with the adjectival or pleonastic আ « -ā » (see *ante,* § 400) = *e.g.,* ঘরোআ « ghȧrōā » *homely, domestic* [ɡɦɔroɑ] = « ghȧrão, *ghȧrāū + -ā » (this word shows extension of the affix to a noun); জড়োআ « jȧṛōā » *jewelled, adorned with precious stones* = « jȧṛāo, *jȧṛāū + -ā »; বাঁচোআ « bȁcōā » *safety, safe state* = « bȁcão, *bȁcāū + -ā »; চড়োআ « cȧṛōā » *aggressive* = « cȧṛão, *cȧṛāū + -ā ».

(12) আট, আটী (আটি), « -āṭȧ, -āṭī, (-aṭi »).

407. This is not so much an affix as an independent word, phonetically decayed, and forming part of a disguised compound. It is from কাঠ, কাঠি « kāṭhȧ, kāṭhi » = « kāṣṭha, *kāṣṭhikā », *wood, beam, stick.* গাবরাট « gābȧrāṭ » *lintel* (garbhâgārakāṣṭha); পাঁকাটী « pȁkāṭī », see p. 492; MB. ধরাট « dhȧrāṭȧ » *a nautical term = special deck in a boat;* OB. চামাঠি « cāmāṭhi » *whip* as in Sarvânanda, is explained by that scholar as meaning « carma-yaṣṭi », but it may be equally from « carma + kāṣṭhikā », which is also found in Sanskrit.

(13) আন্, আন (আনো) « -ānȧ, -ānȧ (-ānō) » (i).

408. The affix, forming verbal nouns from causative and denominative bases, is from OB. « -āṇa, -āṇawa, -āwaṇa, āwaṇawa » (OIA. « -āp-ana, -āp-ana-ka »). The forms without the final « -a » in New Bengali have in most cases obtained a concrete or definite sense. Examples: আঁচান « ȁcānȧ » *washing mouth after meals* (*ācamāpana = ācamana); জানান্, জানান « jānānȧ, jānānȧ » *making to know, information, intimation* (*jāṇāpana- = jñāpana-); চালান « cālānȧ » *invoice, send-up,* চালান « cālānȧ » *sending forward* (*calāpana- = cālana); মানান « mānānȧ » *harmony, agreement, beauty* (*mānāpana < mānaya-); উজান « ujānȧ » *flow-tide, up-stream* (*udyāpana-); উড়্(t)ন্ « uṛānȧ, uṛȧnȧ » উড়ান, উড়ন « uṛānȧ, uṛȧnȧ » *causing to fly away, extravagance,*

wasteful expenditure (*uḍḍāpana-); ‡ ছোড়ান্ « chōṛānạ̊ » *separating, freeing, disclosing* > *a key* (ছোড় √chōṛ = ছাড় √chāṛ); শোনান « śōnānå » *causing to hear* (MIA. *suṇāvaṇa = śrāvaṇa); গড়ান্ « gåṛānạ̊ » *slope*, গড়ান « gåṛānå » *a rolling, to roll* (MIA. *gaḍḍ); etc. There are old and recent formations from nouns also: জুতান, জুতানো « jutānå, jutānō », also in Calcutta জুতোনো, জুতুনো « jutōnō, jutunō » *shoe-beating* (জুতা « jutā » *shoe*); *sts.* যোগান্ « jōgānạ̊ » *aiding with materials*, যোগান « jōgānå » *act of supplying* (yōga); লাথানো « lāthānō » *kicking* (<লাথ lāthạ̊, লাথি lāthi *kick*); হাতানো « hātānō » *obtaining, filching* (হাত « hātạ̊ » *hand*); পেঁচানো « pē̃cānō » *twisting, moving to and fro* (পেঁচ « pē̃c » *twist* from the Persian); কমান « kåmānå » *lessening* (Pers. « kam » *less*); জমান « jåmānå » *gathering* (Pers. jamᵉ); etc.

The affix has a feminine form, from OIA. « -āpana + -ikā » = OB., eMB. « -āwaṇī, -āni », which gives in NB.

(13*a*) আনী (আনি) « -ānī (-āni) », উনী (উনি) « -unī (uni) ».

This affix possesses only a vague diminutive force. OB. « *-āwaṇī » would normally be contracted to MB. and NB. « -āni » (see p. 349), and this « -āni » by Vowel Harmony becomes « -åni » and « -uni » (p. 398). But in the transformation of the affix from « *-āwani » to « -åni, -uni », it seems that there was some influence of the glide « -w- » in bringing about the « -å-, -u- »; dialectally at least, the « w » was pronounced in MB.: the word ভয়াউনী « bhåyāunī » *frightful* (*bhayāwania = *bhayāpanikā), beside the other regular forms in « -āni », would indicate that. Examples: শুনানী « śunānī » *hearing* (*of a case*); পারানী « pārānī » *ferrying* > *fare paid in crossing* (*pārāpanikā); ঝাঁকানী « jhā̃kānī », beside ঝাঁকনী, ঝাঁকুনি « jhā̃kånī, jhā̃kuni » *a shaking*; দেখানি « dēkhāni » *sight* > *money paid for a sight* (= darśanī); তোলানি as in শেজ-তোলানি « śējạ̊-tōlāni » *money paid for making or clearing the bed* (তুল √tul *raise*); নিকানি « nikāni » beside নিকুনি « nikuni » *wiping, mopping the floor* (নিক √nik < √nij, nikta); নিড়ানী « niṛāni » *hoeing* (*in agriculture*) (? ni + dru, drāv); উড়ানী, উড়্নী « uṛānī, uṛuni » *sheet, light shawl* may be a blend of « *uḍḍāpanikā » *that which flies or flaps* + ওঢ়নী « ōṛhånī » = « ava-vēṣṭanikā » (see p. 398); জলুনি < জলনি « j(w)åluni, j(w)ålåni » from *জলানি « *j(w)ålāni » *burning*, beside জ্বালানি « j(w)ālāni »

causing a burning = *firewood* (see p. 408); ŚKK. মাথানী « māthānī » *churn-stick* (*manthāpanikā); etc., etc.

(14) আন (আনো) « -ānȧ (-ānō) » (ii).

409. The passive participle affix for causative and denominative roots = OIA. « -māna-ka, -y-āna-ka ». (See *infra*, under Verb: 'Causatives.') Examples: করানি « kȧrānȧ » *done, caused to be done* (« *kărāŵăṇăă » for « *kārāpana-ka, *kāra-yāna-ka »); দেখান « dēkhānȧ » *shown*; ঠেঙ্গান « ṭhēŋ-gānȧ » (*caused to be*) *beaten with a stick* (ঠেঙ্গা ṭheŋgā); etc., etc. It is sometimes difficult to determine whether the form with « -ānȧ » is the verbal noun (p. 664), or the passive participle: *e.g.*, শোনান হইয়াছে « śōnānȧ hȧïyāchē » *it has been reported*, which may be either (a) *a-causing-to-be-heard has-taken-place*, or (b) *caused-to-be-heard it-has-been*.

(15) আনী (আনি) « -ānī (-āni) ».

410. This is a Bengali formation, from an earlier পাণী « pāṇī » *water* (=pānīya) in compounds: « -pāṇī » becomes « -ŵānī » and then there is dropping of « ŵ ». Examples: এঁষানি (see p. 349); চোঁআনি « cõāni » *water that leaks out* (চোঁ, চো √cõ, cō = cyav); চোবানি « cōbāni » *sousing water, a sousing* (চোব √cōb *to cause to dash into water, to plunge, duck into water*); চোখানি « cōkhāni » *water from the eye, tear* (চোখ cōkh < চউখ cȧukhȧ < cakṣuḥ); ধোয়ানি « dhōāni » *washings* (ধো √dhō = dhāv); নোকানি < নখানি « nōkāni < nȧkhāni » *water stirred by the finger-nails* (*and so not fit for drinking*) (nakha + pānīya-); নাকানি « nākāni » *rheum or water from the nose, water reaching to the nose* (নাক « nākȧ » *nose*); ছিটকানি « chiṭȧkāni » *water scattered about* (ছিটকা « chiṭȧkā » *scatter*; there is another ছিটকানি meaning *bolt to a door*, which shows the « -āni » affix under [13a] *supra*).

(16) আম্, আম, ম্, ম, আমী (আমি), অমি, ওমি, উমি, মি « -āmȧ, -āmȧ, -mȧ, -mȧ, -āmī (-āmi), -ȧmi, -ōmi, -umi -mi ».

411. A common affix to form abstract nouns, or nouns indicative of a characteristic or profession. It has been confused or connected wrongly

with the *ts.* affix « -iman » > ইম, ইমা « -imȧ, -imā », which is found in Bengali, as in other NIA. The source of this affix is an OB. কাম « kāma- » *work* (karma), with extensions: « karma>-kamma > -kāmă > -āmȧ >আম āmȧ; karma-ka>-kamma-a > *-kāmawa > -āmȧ > আম -āmȧ; karmika, karmikā > -kammia > *-kāmī > -āmī > আমি -āmi ». The strong initial stress, as well as MB. mutation, has brought about the loss of the « -ā- » in lMB. and NB., and reduced the form to ম্, ম, মি « -mȧ, -mȧ, -mi » etc. In MB., the word কামিনা, কামিন্যা=কামিনিয়া « kāminā, -inyā<-iniyā » occurs, meaning *a labourer*, and a form আমিনী, আমিনি « āminī, āmini » also is found (as in the 'Śūnya-Purāṇa'): the latter word, explained as meaning a *female devotee of Dharma*, may be connected with কাম « kāmȧ » *work, service*. Examples: ঠকাম « ṭhȧkāmȧ » *cheating, roguery* (ঠক « ṭhȧkȧ » *cheat, 'thug'*); পাকাম, পাকামি « pākāmȧ, -mi » *behaving like a ripe* (*i.e. aged*) *person, precocity* (পাকা « pākā » *ripe*); so জেঠাম « jēṭhāmȧ » *behaving like a respected elder uncle = impertinence on the part of a boy or youth* (জেঠা « jēṭhā » *father's elder brother*); নেকাম, -মি « nēkāmȧ, -mi » *playing a fool* (নেকা « nēkā » *idiot, fool*); ছেলেম, -মি « chēlēmȧ, -mi » *childishness* (ছেলে=ছালিয়া « chēlē, chāliā » *child*); বড়াং < বড়াম্ « bȧṛāŋ < bȧrāmȧ » *playing a big man, boasting* (বড় « bȧṛȧ » *big*); বুড়াম, বুড়ম, বুড়ামি « buṛāmȧ, buṛȧmȧ, buṛāmi » *behaving like an old man*; গিন্নাম, গিন্নম « ginnāmȧ, ginnȧmȧ » *matronly talk and ways* (গিন্নি « ginni » = গৃহিণী « gṛhiṇī » *mistress of the house*); ঢেঁটাম, -মি « dhẽṭāmȧ, -mi » *perversity* (ঢেঁটা « dhẽṭā »<« dhṛṣṭa- »); বাঁদরাম, -মি « bā̃dȧrāmȧ, -mi » *trickishness* (*used of children*) (বাঁদর = বানর « bā̃dȧrȧ = bānȧrȧ » = « vānara »); ফচকেমি, ফচ্কাম « phȧcȧkēmi, phȧcȧkāmȧ » (ফচ্কিয়া « phȧcȧkiyā » *chatterbox, over-smart fellow*); ফিচ্লাম ফিচ্লম, ফিচ্লামি, ফিচ্লিমি « phicȧlāmȧ, -lȧmȧ, -lāmi, -limi » *acuteness, trickery* (ফিচাল « phicālȧ » *an acute one*); পেজোম, পেজোমি « pējōmȧ, pējōmi » *viciousness* (পাজী « pājī » *mischievous character* > পাজুয়া+আমি « pājuā + -āmi »); গোঁয়ারতামি, -তমি « gõārtāmi, -tȧmi » *churlishness, rashness, brusqueness* (*গোঁয়ারত « gõārȧtȧ » *one behaving like a churl* [see p. 668], with « -ātȧ » affix, see §397, + « -āmi »); ছোটলোক্মি « chōṭȧ-lōkȧ-mi » *meanness*; etc., etc.

The word ঘরামী « ghȧrāmī » *house-builder, maker of a hut* (=ঘর+কাম > আম+ঈ « ghȧrȧ + (k)āmȧ + ī ») comes under this.

(17) আর, আরী (আরি) « -ārẚ, -ārī (-āri) », অরি, ইরি, উরি « -åri, -iri, -uri », রা « -rā » (i).

412. From « -kāra, -kārin (-kārika) », forming agent nouns : দোহার, দোয়ার « dō(h)ārẚ » < « *dhuāra » *member of a chorus* (dhruva-kāra) ; পূজারী « pūjārī » *worshipper* (pūjā-kāri-) ; কাঁসারী « kā̃sārī » *brass or bell-metal worker* (kānsya-kārika) ; কুমার « kumārẚ » *potter*, by Vowel Harmony কুমোর « kumōrẚ » (kumbha-kāra) ; চামার « cāmārẚ » (carma-kāra) ; শাঁখারী « śā̃khārī » (saṇkha-kāri-) ; ভিখারী, ভিখিরি « bhikhārī > bhik(h)iri » *beggar* (bhikṣā-kāri-) ; জুয়ারী « juārī » (dyūta-kāri-), beside জুয়াড়ী « jūāṛī » (dyūta- + √vṛt) ; MB. বাণিজার « bāṇijārå » (vāṇijya-kāra) ; কুশারী « kuśārī » *a class of Brāhmaṇs* (kuśa-kāri-) ; MB. চুণারী « cūṇārī » *lime-worker* (cūrṇa-kāri-) ; MB. খেয়ারী « khēyārī » *ferryman* (kṣēpa-kāri-) : ডুবারী « ḍubāri », by Vowel Harmony ডুবুরী « ḍuburi » *diver* (ডুব √ḍub = MIA. buḍḍa) ; ধুনারী « dhunārī », beside ধুনুরি « dhunuri » *cotton-carder* (ধুন √dhun *shake*) ; পিয়ার « piyārẚ », fem. পিয়ারী « piyārī » *beloved* (priya-kāra, -kārikā) ; ছুতার « chutārẚ » *carpenter* seems to be a blend of « sūtra-dhāra » and « *sūtra-kāra » ; সেকরা « sēkẚrā » *goldsmith*, see pp. 194-195 ; উআরী « uārī », বার-উয়ারী « bār-uārī », see p. 325 ; গোঁয়ার < *গাঁওআর « gõārẚ < gā̃wāra » *boor* (grāma + kāra) ; etc.

The word কামার « kāmārẚ » *black-smith*, in Pali « kammāra », represents the Vedic « karmāra » (which is probably connected with the Dravidian [Tamil] « karumā » *smith, smelter* : cf. P. T. Srinivas Iyengar, 'Life in Ancient India, etc.' Madras, 1912, p. 15) ; and the Skt. কর্ম্মকার « karma-kāra » is an artificial formation, which is now used by members of the black-smith caste as a surname.

(18) আর, আরী (আরি) « -ārẚ, -ārī (-āri) » (ii).

413. From « -ākāra- », slightly modifying or altering the sense of the word. It occurs only in a very few words. পয়ার « påyārẚ » *a metre* (« padâkāra », see pp. 285, 288) ; ঝিয়ারী « jhiyārī » *daughter* (ঝী « jhī » < « dhītā, duhitā » : the affix has only a pleonastic force here : probably through analogy of বহুয়ারী båhuārī » = বৌহারী « bauhārī » [for which see p. 345], which is wrongly connected with বহু « båhu » = « vadhū », after the

metathesis of the « h » took place); মাঝার « mājhārǝ » *middle*, মাঝারী « mājhārī » *middling-sized* (« madhyâkāra », pleonastic; « *madhyâkārika »).

(19) আর, আরী (আরি) « -ārǝ, -ārī (-āri) » (iii).

414. From « -āgāra, -āgārin (-āgārika, -ikā) »: ভাঁড়ার « bhā̃ṛārǝ » *store* (bhāṇḍâgāra); MB. কাঁড়ার, beside কাণ্ডার « kā̃ṛārǝ, kāṇḍārǝ » *keel of boat* (kāṇḍâgāra); সাভার « sābhārǝ » *place-name* (? sabhâgāra); মেহার « mēhārǝ » *place-name* (? mahâgāra); ভাঁড়ারী « bhā̃ṛārī » *store-keeper* (bhāṇḍâgārika); কাণ্ডারী « kāṇḍārī » *helmsman* (kāṇḍâgārika); মেহারী « mēhārī » *palace* (? mahâgārikā); etc.

(20) আরু « -āru ».

415. Found in a few MB. words, seems to be from « -āra » (i), with addition of « -u » (i.e. « -ū < -uka »): দিশারু « diśāru » *pilot* beside দিশারী « diśārī » (diśa = dik- + kāra-); ডুবারু « ḍubāru » *diver* beside ডুবারী « ḍubārī »; *sts.* বন্দারু « bândāru » *bard, panegyrist* (<√vand); *sts.* বাগারু « bāgāru » *talkative person* (vāg = vāc).

(21) আল্, আল « -ālǝ, -ālâ » (i), modified to অল, ওল « -âlâ, -ōlâ ».

416. The OIA. source of this is « -ā-l-a », also probably « -ā-l-u », both of which are found in Sanskrit, the sense being 'possessing,' 'pertaining to.' It has the « -l-a » affix (for which see *infra*) as its base. Examples: বাঙ্গাল, বাঙাল « bāŋ(g)ālǝ » *man of East Bengal* (vaŋga + -ālǝ); পাঁকাল « pā̃kālǝ » *belonging to mud* > *a fish* (paŋkāla); ধারাল « dhārāl(â) » *sharp-edged* (dhāra *edge*); দুধাল « dudhāl(â) » *yielding milk* (dugdha + -āla); মাথাল « māthālǝ » *with a head, prominent, chief* (mastaka + -āla); আড়াল « āṛālǝ » *obstruction* (আড় « āṛǝ » *slanting*); তেজাল « tējālǝ » *spirited* (tējas): পেঁচাল « pē̃cālǝ » *with twists* (পেঁচ « pē̃cǝ » < Pers. « pēc »); ভাটিয়াল « bhāṭīyālǝ » *belonging to the down-country* > *a folk-melody* (< ভাটী « bhāṭī » *flow of water = South Bengal*); বাচাল « bācālǝ » (vācāla); দাঁতাল « dā̃tāl(â) » *with (big) teeth* (danta + -āla-); ছিনাল « chinālǝ » *characterless woman* (MIA. chinnāla-); MB. পাইকাল « pāïkālâ » *heroism* (« pāïkǝ » *soldier*, see p. 383).

This affix has the usual extensions: আলা > লা « -āl-ā > -lā »: *e.g.*, বাঙ্গালা, বাঙলা, বাংলা « bāŋ(gā)lā » *Bengali* (*speech, land*) (vaŋgāla + -ā); আলী

« -āl-ī », feminine and masculine (-ī < -ikā, -ikă), as well as abstract: *e.g.*, বাঙ্গালী, বাঙালী « bāŋ(g)ālī » (Old Bengali = feminine = *a woman of East Bengal*; NB. = masculine = *a man of Bengal, belonging to Bengal*); নগরালী « nȧgȧr-āl-ī » *city manners*; নাগরালী « nāgȧr-āl-ī » *gallantry, refined ways* (nāgara *gallant*); ঠাকুরালী « ṭhākurālī » *ways of a god, divinity*; চতুরালী « cȧturālī » *smartness*; মেয়েলী « mēyēlī < *māïālī » *belonging to women*; ছিনালী « chinālī » *coquetry*; রূপালী, রূপোলী, রূপুলি « rupālī > rūpōlī > rupuli » *silvery*; সোনালী « sōnālī » *golden*; নিদালী, নিন্দালী « ni(n)dālī » *sleepiness*; সুতালী « sutālī » *thin as a thread*; etc.

(22) আল « āl*ȧ* » (ii).

417. This affix, like the preceding one, denotes connexion. It is also used to form words indicative of trade or profession. It comes from OIA. « pāla » *keeper, guardian* by the dropping of « -p- > -ẇ- »: « -pāla > -ẇāla > -āl*ȧ* ». Examples: রাখাল « rākhāl*ȧ* », MB. রাখোআল « rākhōāl*ȧ* » *herdsman*, (rakṣā-pāla); কেশেল < কাশীয়াল « Kēsēl*ȧ* < Kāsīyāl*ȧ* » *low class Brāhmaṇ from Benares* (Kāsī-pāla); কোটাল « kōṭāl*ȧ* », Hind « kōṭwāl » *head of the police, holder of a fort* (koṭṭa-pāla); ঘাটীয়াল « ghāṭīyāl*ȧ* » *holder of a pass or passage* (< ghāṭī); ‡ঘাটাল, ঘাটোআল « ghāṭāl*ȧ*, ghāṭōāl*ȧ* » *man in charge of a 'ghāṭ'* (ghaṭṭa-pāla); কুঠিয়াল « kuṭhīyāl*ȧ* » *belonging to an office > a clerk* (kuṭhi kōṭhī < kōṣṭhikā); ঘড়ীয়াল « ghȧṛiyāl*ȧ* » *man in charge of a clock* > ঘ'ড়েল « ghōṛēl*ȧ* » *acute one* (ghaṭikā); etc.

There is an extension to আলা « -āl-ā »: গোয়ালা, ‡গয়লা « gōālā > gȧylā » (gōpāla-); বাড়ীআলা « bāṛīālā » *landlord, owner of a house*; কাপড়আলা « kāpȧṛ-āl-ā » *cloth seller*; চুড়ীআলা « cuṛīālā » *bangle seller*; পাহারালা « pāhȧr-ālā » *watchman* (prahara). Also to আলী « -āl-ī », masculine and feminine (= -ikă, -ikā): গয়ালী « gȧyālī » *Brāhmaṇ from Gayā* ((Gayā-pālikă); পেটেলী « pēṭēlī » < পাটিয়ালী « pāṭiyālī » *maid-servant* (pāṭa, pāṭī *order, arrangement, domestic work*); বাড়ীআলী « bāṛīālī » *land-lady*; etc. Abstracts are formed from « -āl*ȧ* » by adding the « -ī » of abstraction, *e.g.*, রাখালী « rākhālī » *the work of a herdsman*; কেঁড়েলী « kẽṛēlī » *impertinence, roughness* < *কাঁড়িয়াল « kā̃ṛiyāl*ȧ* » *rough < soldier, archer* (? **kāṇḍa** *arrow*); etc.

The « -āl‌ǝ, -āl-ā » of Bengali has within recent times been influenced by the cognate form in Hindōstānī, which is « -wālā »: the latter is substituted in many Bengali words in « -ālā », and ordinarily « -wālā » is reduced to ওলা « -ōlā »: *e.g.*, কাপড়ওয়ালা, কাপড়ওলা « kāpåṛ-ōālā (-wālā), -ōlā »; so গাড়ীওলা « gāṛī-ōlā » *cabby*, পাহারওলা « pāhār-ōlā » *constable*, etc. The feminine of « -wālā » is « -wālī », which, by Vowel Harmony, is reduced to উলী « -ulī » in Bengali: *e.g.*, বাড়ীউলী « bāṛī-ulī » = native Bengali বাড়ীআলী « bāṛī-ālī ».

Through Bihārī or Hindī influence, we have also ওয়ারা « -ōārā = -wālā » in মাতোয়ারা « mātōārā (mātwārā) » *wild, mad, elated, pleased* (*e.g., with perfume*) = « mătwārā »: the Bengali froms are মাতাল, মাতল, মাতলা « mātālǝ, mātålǝ, mātǝlā » *drunk* = Hind. « mătwāl ». The name বনওয়ারী « bånwārī » (see p. 521), from the Hindōstānī, can be equally from « vana-mālī » *garlanded with wild flowers* or « *vana-pālika » *dweller in woods*.

(23) ই < ঈ « -i < -ī » (I).

418. A secondary affix, forming nouns and adjectives. Three separate affixes of OIA. seem to converge into this single NIA. form: (i) « -ī < -in »: « mālin > NIA. mālī » *gardener*: but the force of the nominative form seems to have been only of secondary importance in the evolution of the NIA. affix; (ii) « -īya »: « dēśīya > NIA. dēśī » *native*; and (iii) « -ika »: « grāmika » > গাঁই gāi » *village name, clan name*: the feminine form of this « -ikā » is also ঈ, ই « -ī, -i », which is the most popular feminine affix of NIA., for which see below. Later in NIA. this affix was strengthened by the « -ī » of Persian.

Examples: « -ī > -i » with the sense of 'possessing, having': ভারী « bhār-ī » *heavy*; *sts.* রাগী « rāg-ī » *full of passion* > *choleric*; দামী « dām-ī » *costly* (dramma < Gk. drakhmē); দাগী « dāg-ī » *stained* (Pers. dāg); গুণী « guṇ-ī » *man of parts, artist* (cf. Skt. guṇin); ঢাকী « ḍhāk-ī » *drummer* (ḍhakkā); বেগুনি « bĕgun-i » *purple* (= bāïgåṇ-ī < vātiṇgaṇa-); OB. নৌবাহী « nau-bāh-ī » *boat-man*; গাঁঠী জাল « gāṭh-ī jālǝ » *net with knots* (granthi-); গোলাপী « gōlāp-ī » *rose-coloured* (Pers. gul-āb = gul); হিসাবী « hisāb-ī » *careful, attentive to details* (Perso-Arabic « ḥisāb »); *sts.* মরমী « mårǝm-ī »

with a heart (*sts.* måråmą <marman) ; *ts.* আলাপী « ālāp-ī » *courteous talker, acquaintance* (cf. Skt. ālāpin); দরদী « dårąd-ī » *sympathetic* (Pers. dard) ;

With the sense of 'pertaining to, coming from': দেশী > দিশি « dēśī > diśi » *belonging to the country, country-born or made, native* (cf. Skt. dēśīya) ; রাঢ়ী « Rāṛhī » *belonging to Rāḍha* ; MB. কানড়ী, কানাড়ী « kānåṛī, -nāṛī » (Karṇāṭīya) ; মারহাট্টী « Mārąhāṭṭī », মারাঠী, -ঠী « Mārāṭ(h)ī » (Mahārāṣṭrīya) ; গুজরাটী « Gująrāṭī » as if from « *Gūrja-rāṣṭrīya » (গুজরাট « Gująrāṭą », for গুজরাত « Gująrātą » < « Gūrjara-trā », through influence of « rāṣṭra ») ; কটকী « Kåṭąkī » *of Cuttack* (Kaṭakīya) ; বনারসী, বেনারসী « Bånārąsī, Bēnārąsī » (Vārāṇasīya) ; বৃন্দাবনী « Bṛndābånī » *of Brindāban* ; ঢাকাই « Ḍhākāi » *of Dacca* ; ক'লকাতাই « Kåląkātāi » *of Calcutta* ; etc. ;

With the sense of 'connected with,' generally forming names of professions : হাড়ী « hāṛī » *a low caste* (haḍḍika) ; কেরানী < *করাণী « kērānī < *kårāṇī » *clerk* (karaṇika + kīraka) ; MB. গাড়ুরী « gāṛurī » *snake-charmer* (gāruḍika) ; বেহাই « bēhāi » *son's or daughter's father-in-law* (vāivāhika), an inherited word, affix and all ; শুঁড়ী « śũṛī » *wine-dealer* (śuṇḍika, śāuṇḍika) ; রাঁধুনি, রাঁধুনি « rãdhånī, -dhuni » *cook* (see *ante*, p. 658) ; *sts.* নখকুণি « nåkhą-kuṇi » *cut or sore in the nails* (nakha-kōṇa + ī) ; etc.

It occurs also as অই « -åi » > উই « -ui » : বাড়ই, বাড়ুই « bāṛåi > bāṛui » *carpenter* (cf. Skt. vardhakin) ; বারই > বারুই « bāråi > bārui », OB. বারয়ী « bārayī », (see p. 188) *grower of the betel vine* (cf. Skt. « vāru-jivin » : *বার « bārå- », *বারু « bāru » *betel*, an Austric word : cf. J. Przyluski in the BSLP., XXIV, p. 257). It is pleonastic in ভারুই « bhārui < *bhāråī » *a bird* (bharata : *bhāratika) ; চড়ুই « cåṛui < cåråī » *sparrow* (caṭaka, *caṭakika), beside চড়া, চড়াই « cårā, cåṛāi » (*caṭāka, *caṭākika) ; etc.

(24) ই < ঈ « -i- < -ī- » (ii) : Feminine, Diminutive, Abstract.

419. Presents an « -ikā » of OIA., and is the most common feminine affix of NIA. Examples. রাই « Rāi », MB. রাহী « Rāhī » *a name* (Rādhikā) ; ঘুড়ি <*ঘোড়ী « ghuṛi < *ghōṛī » *mare* (*ghōṭikā) ; মামী « māmī » *maternal uncle's wife* (māmā + -ī) ; কাকী « kākī » *father's younger brother's wife* (kākā + -ī) ; খুদী « khudī » *a tiny girl > name for girls* (kṣudrikā) ; বুড়ী « buṛī » *old woman* (*vṛddhikā = vṛddhā) ; পাগলী « pāgąlī »

mad woman (pāgålⱥ + -ī); বামনী « bāmⱥnī » (*brāhmaṇikā = brāhmaṇī); *sts.* বষ্টমী, বষ্টুমী « båṣṭåmī, -umī » (*vāiṣṇavikā = vāiṣṇavī).

A number of *sts.* forms show this « -ī » of Bengali, *e.g.*, সুবচনী « subåcånī » *a form of Durgā*; অপ্সরী « åpsårī » (apsaras); দিগম্বরী « digåmbårī » *a name of Kālī*; সুনয়নী « sunåyånī » *with beautiful eyes*, etc., with are solecisms from point of view of Skt.

The Skt. feminine affixes « -inī, -ānī » had an influence in restricting the Bengali ঈ, ই « -ī, -ĭ » < « -ikā »: see *infra*, under « -nī ».

With names of inanimate objects, the original feminine force is lost in Bengali. In Western Hindī, Panjābī, Rājasthānī etc., the grammatical gender, however, is preserved in the « -ī < -ikā » forms. The feminine « -ikā » also expressed a diminutive or petty aspect of an action or an object. The diminutive has become obscure in many words in Bengali, so that « -ī < -ikā » has been reduced to a mere pleonastic affix. Examples: বুলী « bulī » *talk* (bōlla + -ī); রুটী « ruṭī » *bread* (cf. rōṭikā); চুষী « cuṣī » *baby-soother* (cuṣa + -ī); মাটী « māṭī » (mṛttikā); গলুই < *গলহী « gålui < *gålåhi » *prow of a boat* (gala-vahikā); ছুরী, ছুরি « churī, -ri » *knife*, beside ছোরা « chōrā » *dagger* (churikā); রাই « rāi » *mustard* (rājikā); পাই « pāi » *a fourth, pice* (pādikā); পুথী « puthī », পুঁথি « pũthi » *Indian MS., book* (pustikā), beside MB. পোথা « pōthā » (pustaka-); বাতী « bātī » *candle, light* (vartikā); লাঠি « lāṭhi » (*yaṣṭikā = yaṣṭi); কাঠী « kāṭhī » *a thin stick* (kāṣṭhikā); ছাতী « chātī » *umbrella* (*chattrikā), beside ছাত « chātⱥ » *roof*, ছাতা « chātā » *umbrella* (chattra-); ধুতী « dhutī » '*dhoti*' (*dhōtrikā = dhōtra); যাঁতী « jãtī » *small double knife to cut betel-nuts* (yantrikā), beside যাঁতা « jãtā » *mill, quern* (yantra-); বড়মানুষী, বড়মানষী « bårå-mān(u)ṣ-ī » *living like a rich man, high style* (-mānuṣa + -ī); রাখালী « rākhāl-ī » *work of a herdsman* (rakṣāpāla + -ikā); ডাকা(ই)তী « ḍākā(i)t-ī » *robbery* (see *supra*, p. 655); কেঁড়েলী < কাঁড়িয়ালী « kẽṛēlī < kā̃ṛiyālī » *impertinancy, rowdiness* (« kā̃ṛīyālⱥ » *archer* ? [< kāṇḍa-] > *soldier, rough* + -ī); পণ্ডিতী « påṇḍit-ī » *belonging to a Pundit* > *a Pundit's character or ways, scholasticism*; etc. Cf. Hindī « lāl-ī » *redness*, « hariyāl-ī » *green colour, greenness*, « rakhwāl-ī » *work of a herdsman*, etc. In Late NIA., the Persian « -ī » affix of abstraction or connexion greatly reinforced this suffix.

In some stereotyped words, « -ī » represents the OIA. « -ī » : *e.g.*, রানী, রাণী « rānī » (« rājñī » : or < « ranṇia < *rājñikā » ?).

(25) ই « -i » : Verbal Noun.

420. This affix, occurring in OIA., is practically lost to NB. It is found only in some epenthetic forms in dialectal Bengali, and it has practically become a dead suffix; only some Skt. words in « -i » help to perpetuate it. Examples : গাঁট, গাঁইট « gā̃(i)ṭ » (granthi) ; মার, মাইর « mā(i)r » *a beating* < মারি « māri » (*mār-i) ; সারি > সা(ই)র « sāri > sā(i)r » *row* (sār-i) ; MB. হাস « hāså » (« hās-i », which occurs as a *ts.* in NB.) ; গাল, গাইল « gā(i)l » *abuse* (*garh-i ? cf. Skt. garh-ā) ; শা(ই)ল « śā(i)l » *a kind of paddy* (śāli), also occurs in the *ts.* form in « -i » ; etc. Cf. also the OIA. suffix « -ti » in ষা(ই)ট « ṣā(i)ṭ », MB. ষাঠি « ṣāṭhi » (ṣaṣ-ṭi), সত্তর « såttår » (sapta-ti), পাঁত, পাঁইত beside the full form পাঁতি « pā̃(i)t, pā̃ti » *row* (paŋk-ti), etc.

(26) ইআ, ইয়া, এ « -iā (-iyā) > -ē ».

421. This is a compound affix, being from the OIA. « -ikă » > MIA. « -ia » + the affix « -ā », as in § 400. It is used in forming adjectives with the sense of 'pertaining to' or 'possessing'; and frequently it is used with a slightly disparaging sense ; as well as pleonastically. In NB., it is contracted to এ « -ē », with accompanying modification through the « -i », of connected vowels. Examples : কালিয়া, কেলে « kāliā > kēlē » *the black one* (*contemptuous*) (kāla *black*) ; হলদিয়া, হলুদিয়া > হ'লুদে হ'লদে « hålådiā, håludiā > hōlude, hōldē » *yellow* (হলুদ « håludå » *turmeric*) ; বাইগণিয়া > বেগুনে « bāigåṇiyā > bēgunē » *purple, of egg-fruit* (vātiŋgana) *colour* ; জালিয়া > জেলে « jāliā > jēlē » *fisherman* (jāla *net*) ; হালিয়া, হেলে « hāliyā > hēlē » *farmer* (hāla = hala *plough*) ; নগরিয়া > নগুরে « någåriyā > någurē » *man of the city* ; বানিয়া > বেনে « bāṇiā > bēnē » *merchant* (*vāṇika- = vaṇik) ; মাটিয়া > মেটে « māṭiā > mēṭē » *earthen* (māṭī < mṛttikā + -ika + -āka) ; (in the word মেটে as in মেটে ফিরিঙ্গী « mēṭē phiriŋgī » *a Eurasian, a half-caste,* we have, however, the French word « métis », approximated to the Bengali word by folk-etymology) ; উত্তরিয়া > উত্তুরে

« uttåriyā >utturē » *northern*; দখিনিয়া>দখিনে, দ'খ্‌নে « dåkhiniyā>dōkhinē, dōkhnē » *southern*; পূবিয়া<পূবে « pūbiyā > pūbē » *eastern*; পশ্চিমিয়া > পশ্চিমে « påścimiyā>pōścimē » *western*; MB. আভাগিয়া « ābhāgiyā » > NB. আবাগে « ābāgē » *luckless*; পাড়াগাঁইয়া > পাড়াগেঁয়ে « pāṛāgā̃iyā < -gẽyē » *rural* (pāṭaka+grāma+-ika+-āka); কাঁদনিয়া> কাঁদুনে « kā̃dåniyā>kā̃dunē » *ready to weep*; MB. *নেয়ায়-আঁকড়িয়া « *nēāyå-ā̃kåṛiyā » > NB. নেই-আঁকুড়ে « nēi-ā̃kuṛē » *one who clings to argument* (nyāya) > *obstinate*; নাগপুরিয়া > নাগপুরে « Nāgåpuriyā > Nāgåpurē » *of Nāgpur*; ওড়িয়া > উড়িয়া, উড়ে « Ōṛiyā > Uṛiyā > Uṛē » *Oṛiyā, of the Odra country*; MB. (ŚKK.) নাতিয়া « nātiyā » = নাতী « nātī » *grandson* (naptṛ-); কহনিয়া > কহুনে, কউনে « kåhåniyā > kō(h)unē » *talker*; জাগানিয়া>জাগানে « jāgāniyā > jāgānē » *one who wakens*; দেঅনিয়া, দিয়নিয়া > দিউনে « dēåniyā, diyåniyā > diunē » *a giver*; etc.

Although one of the most common affixes in Bengali, it is frequently disguised in the Standard Colloquial by contraction and by mutation of vowels.

(27) ইএ, ইয়ে « -ie, -iyē ».

422. This NB. affix denotes 'one who is accustomed to do a thing, a *habitué*.' Typical words are খাইয়ে « khāiē » *a (good) eater*, গাইয়ে « gāiē » *a good singer, a professional singer*, বাজিয়ে « bājiē » *a clever musician*, নাচিয়ে « nāciē » *a good dancer*, খেলিয়ে « khēliē » *a clever player*, করিয়ে « kåriē » *an adept*, বলিয়ে « båliē » *a conversationalist*, কহিয়ে > কইয়ে « kå(h)iē » *a good talker*. Forms like the above are used as adjectives or predicatives, and in some cases they have become nouns. They recall Western Hindī forms like « khawaiyā, gawaiyā, kahaiyā » etc. Earlier Bengali forms, not attested, would be « *khāåïyā, *gā(h)åïyā, *bājåïyā, *nācåïyā, *khēlåïyā, *kåråïyā, *bōlåïyā, *kåhåïyā » etc. The Hindī affix « -aiyā, -awaiyā », and the source of the NB. « -iē » are apparently identical; and it is not unlikely that the affix in NB., which is found mainly in the colloquial, is a recent borrowing from Hindī, with the usual West Bengali contraction. There is no corresponding affix in Oṛiyā and in Assamese. Maithilī has the pleonastic « -aiyā », which, however, is different in meaning.

Hoernle takes this suffix to be « -awaiyā » and thinks that « -aiyā » is a contracted form of it; and « -awaiyā » he derives from an « -āw » from MIA. « -avva » (< OIA. « -tavya ») + a pleonastic « -aiyā » (< -aka + -ika + -ka) (Gaudian Grammar, § 314). But it would be more reasonable to regard the suffix to be « -aiyā », and the « -w- » only as a euphonic insertion (cf. J. T. Platts, 'Grammar of the Hindūstānī or Urdū Language,' London, 1873, p. 208). The OIA. basis of it apparently is an agentive in « -aka » (khādaka > khāaa, khāwaa, gāyaka > gāaa, gāwaa [*gāthayaka > *gāhaaa, *gāheaa], *vādya-ka [= vādaka] > *vajjaa > *bājaa, etc.), to which the « -ika > -ia » and then the « -āka > -āa, -ā » affixes were added, pleonastically, in the Early NIA. stage: « *kathaka + -ika + -āka » > « *kahaïāa » > « *kåhåïyā » (Hindōstānī « kahaiyā ») > কহিয়ে « kåhiē » > কইয়ে « kåïyē » [koie].

(28) ইত « -it- ».

423. The affix ইত « -it- » is derived from the OIA. present participle base « -ant- » (see *supra*, pp. 653-4). In Bengali, it forms the present participle in an adverbial or conditional sense, with the locative affix « -ē »: *e.g.*, মেঘ চাইতে জল « mēghå caïtē (< *cāhantahi) jålå » (*on one*) *asking for the cloud*, (*there is*) *rain*; or করিতে করিতে « kåritē kåritē » (< *karantahi) *while doing*; and it gives the base for the past habitual or past conditional (and in some East Bengal dialects, for the future) tense.

See also *supra* p. 663, under আইত, আত « -āitå, -ātå ».

(29) ইব « -ibå ».

424. Base for the future, and for a verbal noun, with an extended form ইবা « -ib-ā ». From OIA. « -itavya- » > MIA. « -iabba- » > « *-ĕbba, -ibba ». See *infra*, under 'Verb.'

(30) ইল « -ilå » (i).

425. In MIA. « -illa », from OIA. pleonastic and adjectival affix « -i-la » (cf. Pāṇini, V, iii, 79), forming nouns and adjectives in Bengali, from nouns. It is not a living affix in NB., but is fairly common in MB. Cf. Hindī « chail » *handsome, accomplished* (chaïlla, chavila).

Examples: পাতিল « pātilá » *an earthen-pot for cooking* (patta, pātra); কুঁচিল « kūcilá » *crooked* (কুঁচ √kūc< √kuñc); *sts.* ‡আণ্ডিল « āṇḍilá » *strong one, chief* (aṇḍa + -illa); MB. *sts.* আরতিল « ārati-lá » *filled with a great desire* (ārati + -ila); পাকিল « pākilá » *ripe* (pakva + -ila); etc. Cf. *ts.* কুটিল « kuṭilá » *crooked*. The *ts.* word « śarīra » is vulgarly pronounced as শরীল, শরিল [ʃoril], as if it had the « -ilá » affix.

(31) ইল « -ilá » (ii).

426. Past base, also (specially in OB. and MB.) passive participle adjective. From OIA. « -(i)ta » + pleonastic affix « -i-la- » whence Late MIA. « *-iailla- >*-illa- », in Eastern Magadhan. (OIA. « -(i)ta + -alla » probably gave « *-alla- > -alá », in Central and Western Magadhan). See below, under 'Verb.' This « -ilá » occurs also in a few nouns and adjectives in Bengali, although the adjectival and nominal use of « -ilá » forms from verb roots is almost obsolete in the language. Examples: MB. ভুখিল « bhukhilá » *hungry* (bubhukṣita + -ila); সুতিল « sutilá » *sleeping* (supta + -ila); ভাঙ্গিল « bhāŋgilá » *broken* (*bhaŋgita + -ila); OB. (Caryā 33) দুহিল দুধু « duhila dudhu » *milk that has been milked off* (*duhita + ila); NB. গেল « gēlá » *last < gone* (gata + ila); etc.

The affix ইলে « -il-ē » forming the conjunctive, is the old locative form of it: চলিলে « cálilē » *on having walked* (*calillahi).

(32) উ < উ « -u < -ū » (i).

427. From an OIA. « -u » (adjectival and nominal) + « -ka ». It implies a pettiness and lovableness of the object indicated, and is found in familiar and affectionate forms, specially of names: *e.g.*, *sts.* দুষ্টু « duṣṭu » *the little naughty one* (duṣṭa-); *sts.* ধুত্তু « dhuttu » *the little sly one* (dhūrta); বলু « Bálu » affectionate for « Balarāma »; খুকু « khuku » *tiny little baby, darling of a child* (< খোকা « khōkā » *baby*); পাঁচু « Pāçu » (Pañcânana *a name*); so নরু « Náru » (Narèndra), হরু « Háru » (Harêndra, Hara-nātha, etc.), রাধু « Rādhu » (Rādhā-kānta, etc.), কানু « Kānu » (Kṛṣṇa-); বড়ু « Báṛu » *title for a Brāhmaṇ* (vaṭuka = ?vṛta + -u + -ka); etc., etc. It occurs also (peonastically in some cases) in the formation of nouns

and adjectives, like গাড়ু « gāṛu » *water-jar with spout* (*gaḍḍuka); লাড়ু, নাড়ু « lāṛu, nāṛu » *sweetmeat* (laḍḍuka); নীচু « nīcu » *down, in a low position* (nīca); উঁচু « ũcu » *high* (ucca-), etc. The « -u » affix of Śaurasēnī Apabhraṅśa, from OIA. « -aḥ », seems to have influenced this affix in the formative period of Bengali (see *supra*, p. 311).

(33) *ঊ, উ > ও > অ « *-ū > -u > -ō > -ȧ » (ii).

428. This is a primary affix, and the forms with it are generally repeated in NB. the meaning is 'about to do someting,' 'on the point of doing.' *E.g.*, ডুবু-ডুবু « ḍubu-ḍubu » *about to sink*; উড়ু-উড়ু « uṛu-uṛu » *about to fly away, filled with a longing*; নিবু-নিবু > নিবো-নিবো « nibu-nibu > nibō-nibō » *on the point being extinguished* (also নিভ-নিভ « nibhȧ-nibhȧ »); কাঁদো-কাঁদো, কাঁদ-কাঁদ « kā̃dō-kā̃dō, kā̃dȧ-kā̃dȧ » *about to burst into tears*; পাকো-পাকো « pākō-pākō » *nearly ripe*; দাউ-দাউ ক'রে জ্বলা « dāu-dāu kōrē jwȧlā » *to burn fiercely*, etc. The form হবু « hȧbu » [ɦobu] *about-to-be, future* (*e.g.*, হবু-জামাই « hȧbu jāmāi » *the son-in-law to be*, হবু-রাজা « hȧbu-rājā » *the future king*) seems to be for *হো-উ « *hō-u », with euphonic insertion of « b »: similarly খাউ-খাউ> খাবো-খাবো করা « khāu-khāu> khābō-khābō kȧrā » *to be eager to eat*, etc. (Cf. আদোবে « ādōbē », p. 511).

In Hindōstānī, there is an affix « -ū » which appears to be the same as the Bengali one: « bēc-ū » *seller*, « kīn-ū » *buyer*, « ḍāk-ū » *robber*, « jāg-ū » *watcher*, « uṛā-ū » *causer to fly* > *spendthrift*, « bigāṛ-ū » *spoiler*, « jhagȧṛ-ū » *quarrelsome person*, etc. Hoernle connects it with the Skt. « -tṛ » + pleonastic « -ka » (*op. cit.*, § 333). But a likelier derivation would be from an OIA. « -u-ka » (cf. J. T. Platts, Hindustani Grammar, p. 209). This affix is found in Skt., in words like « ghāt-uka, kām-uka, bhāv-uka » etc., 'having the meaning and construction of a present participle' (see Whitney, Skt. Grammar, § 1180). There was also an « -ūka » rather rare, in OIA.: cf. Skt. « jāgar-ūka ».

Oṛiyā has the present participle affix « -u » (« kȧr-u, khā-u, jā-u » etc.), which seems to be the same affix as the Bengali and Hindōstānī ones (Hoernle derives the Oṛiya « -u », however, from the present participle « -anta », *op. cit.*, §301 : this is precluded phonologically).

(34) উআ > উও, ও « -uā > -uō, -ō ».

429. This is an extension of the preceding with the « -ā », used, like « -iyā » (p. 674), to indicate relation or connexion. It is also added to proper names, to indicate contempt. When affixed to an ordinary noun, it turns the latter to an adjective. There is the usual mutation of the vowels, and this fact often disguises this affix in the NB. Standard Colloquial. Examples: জলুয়া > জ'লো « jål-uā > jōlō » *watery*; ঘরুয়া > ঘোরো « ghår-uā > ghōrō » *domestic*; হাটুয়া > হেটো « hāṭ-uā > hēṭō » *of the market*; জ্বরুয়া > জ্ব'রো « j(w)år-uā > jōrō » *suffering from fever*; MB. শরুয়া « śår-uā » *like a reed > slender* (NB. সরু, শরু « såru, śåru » *lean and thin* < « śårå + -ū »); ধানুয়া > ধেনো « dhān-uā > dhēnō » (i) (*land*) *growing rice*, (ii) *rice-beer*; কাঠুয়া > কেঠো « kāṭh-uā > kēṭhō » *made of wood*; দানুয়া > দেনো « dān-uā > dēnō » *given as a gift*; *দীঅরাখুআ > দেরখো « *dīå-rākh-uā > dērkhō » *a wooden or earthen lamp-stand*; *কাঠকুআ > কেটকো « *kāṭhåk-uā > kēṭkō » *a wooden vessel*; টাকুয়া > টেকো « ṭāk-uā > ṭēkō » *bald-pate*; so মেছো « mēchō » *fishmonger*; বাটুয়া > বেটো « bāṭ-uā > bēṭō » *belonging to the road* (bāṭa < vartman) > *a lock*; পানুয়া > পেনো « Pānuā > Pēnō » *contemptuous or familiar form of a name* (= Prāṇa-nātha, Pānnā-lālå, etc.), কালুয়া > কেলো « Kāluā > Kēlō » (Kāla-), রেমো, শেমো « Rēmō, Śēmō » (Rāma, Śyāma); যদুয়া > য'দো « Jåduā > Jōdō » (Yadu), etc., etc.; *মাউসুয়া > মেসো « *māus-uā > mēsō » *mother's sister's husband* (« māusī = mātṛsvasṛ- »: cf. *পিউসিয়া > পিসে « *piusiā > pisē » *father's sister's husband*); etc., etc.

(35) ক, অক « -kå (-kå), -åkå », ইক « -ikå », উক « -ukå » (i).

430. This affix is quite a common one in Bengali, and is employed primarily to form nouns (abstract, concrete, or onomatopoetic), generally from verb roots. *e.g.*, মোড়ক « mōṛ-åkå » *packet* (মুড়্ √muṛ *fold*); টনক « ṭån-åkå » *jerk, blow, striking > remembrance* (টন ṭanå *sense of tightness*, টান √ṭān *pull*); চড়ক « cåṛ-åkå » *a raising aloft > swinging by hooks from a high post, the hook-swinging festival* (চড় √cåṛ *ride*); ছলক « chål-åkå » *splash, spill of water* (ছল chål *onomatopoetic for splashing of water*); so চলক « cål-åkå » *spilling of water*; মড়ক « måṛ-åkå » *pestilence* (< maḍa = mṛta); সড়ক « såṛ-åkå » *road, highway* (*saḍa = sṛta); ফ(া)টক « phāṭ-åkå, phăṭ-åkå »

gate (cf. ফাট √phāṭ *split*); আটক « āṭ-åkå » *confinement* (cf. আড় āṛå *obstruction*); ঝলক « jhål-åkå *flame* (ঝল √jhål, p. 479); চটক « cåṭ-åkå » *brilliance*; জমক « jåm-åkå » *pomp*; বৈঠক « båiṭh-åkå » *a stand* (baïṭṭha < upavi-ṭa); ফুক, ফুঁক « phukå, phũkå » *puffing, blowing* (cf. phutkāra); ঝিলিক « jhil-ikå » *sparkle*; ছিলিক « chil-ikå » *spilling or scattering of water*; চুক « cukå » *mistake*; সুড়ুক « suṛ-ukå » *sound of quick motion*; etc.

The MIA. forms of the affix would be « -akka » : « *mōḍakka, *ṭaṇakka, *maḍakka, *jhalakka, *uvaïṭṭhakka », etc. In Śaurasēnī Apabhraṅśa, as a matter of fact, we find such forms as « sāsāṇala-jhal-akkiaü » (= śvāsanala-jhalat-kṛta), « khuḍukkaï » (= śalyāyatē), « ghu-ḍukkaï » (=garjati), « cavēḍa-caḍakka » (=capēṭa-caṭat-kṛta »), « phukkij-janta » (=phut-kriyamāṇa) (in the Apabhraṅśa verses in Hēma-candra : cf. Pischel, 'Materialen zur Kenntnis des Apabhraṁśa,' Berlin, 1902). Following the indication of the Prakrit grammarians, the NIA. « -akå » and the MIA. « -akka » can be well affiliated to an OIA. compounding of a root or its participle base in « -a(n)t- » with « kṛta, √kṛ » : চমক « cåmåkå » (also চৌঁক « cåũkå », চওঁক « cåw̃åkå » in MB., the proper *tbh.* forms) < MIA. « camakka, *camakkaa, camakkia » < OIA. « camat-kṛta »; so চুক « cukå » (cyut-kṛta); থক, থাক « thåkå, thākå » *remain, be arrested* (stabh-kṛta), beside থমক « thåmåkå » *sudden stop* (« *thambhakk[i]a < stambha + kṛta » : here apparently we have a generalised « -akka » added to a noun form in MIA.). A connexion with OIA. « -a-ka », apparently introduced as a *ts.* in Second and Late MIA. (the phonetics of which changed it to « -akka ») can also well be inferred : *e.g.*, MIA. (Māgadhī) « haḍakka = *hṛd-a-ka; haggē = *ahakkē = ahakaṁ < aham; lēḍ(h)ukka = lēṣṭuka; ṇāakka = nāyaka », etc. (See « -ka » [ii] below. Cf. Pischel, § 194; Hoernle, Gaudian Grammar, § 338; JASB., 1880, I, p. 37, 'Hindī Roots'; also cf. Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' § 94). It has also been suggested, by Bloch, that the affix in part goes back to the OIA. adjectival and pleonastic « -kya », as in « pārakya < para » (cf. also « māṇikya < maṇi »). Further, Bloch draws our attention to the « -kk- » (also « -k-, -g- ») affix which is such a common one in the Dravidian languages, in which, apart from other functions, it is used in forming verbal nouns from

roots: *e.g.*, « √naḍ » *to walk* > « naḍ-akk-ai̯, naḍ-akk-al, naḍ-akk-udal » *walking*; « √iru » *to be* > « iru-kk-ai̯ » *being*; « √śĕy » *to do* > « śĕy-gai̯ » *doing*, etc., as in Tamil, and « √uṇṇu » *to eat* > « uṇṇike » *eating*, as in Kannada (Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' p. 105; Caldwell, 'Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages³,' 1916, pp. 542-543).

In its origin, it would thus seem that this affix is derived from « kṛta » and other forms of « √kṛ ». There seems also to have been present the influence of the Skt. affix « -a-ka », which was Prakritised into « -akka ». And it is not improbable that in MIA. times a « -kk-, -g-, -k- » affix existed in North Indian Dravidian dialects (now superseded by IA.), and this affix of Dravidian was not without its influence in the establishment of « -akka » in MIA. of the Second and Third stages.

The ইক, উক « -ikɒ̸, -ukɒ̸ » forms seem to be due to Vowel Harmony, the « -ă- » changing to « -i-, -u- » when the root or base form had these vowels, by attraction.

Extensions of ক, অক « -kɒ̸, -åkɒ̸ » in Bengali:

(অ)কা « -ɒ̸kā », i.e. « -åkɒ̸ + -ā »: adjectival and pleonastic, with an implication of biggishness or coarseness: পটকা « påṭɒ̸kā » *cracker, squib*, beside পটক « påṭåkɒ̸ » *a throwing down with cracking noise*; চল্কা « cålɒ̸kā » *a dash and a fall of liquid through overflowing*; ফটকা « phåṭɒ̸kā » *dry, making a crackling noise when broken*; হোঁৎকা « hõtɒ̸kā » *grunting, ugly, rude person*; হুড়কা « huṛɒ̸kā » *a bar, a bolt*; etc.

অকী, (অ)কি « -åkī, -ɒ̸ki »: with adjectival « -ī »: বৈঠকী « båiṭhåkī » *polite, of good society* < *belonging to the drawing room*.

(অ কী, (অ)কি « -ɒ̸kī, -ki < -åkī »: feminine > diminutive > pleonastic in NB., generally names of concrete objects: সড়কী « såṛɒ̸kī » *javelin* (*that which moves quickly and strikes*: < sṛta < √sṛ); হেঁচকি « hẽcɒ̸kī » *jerk > yawn, hiccup* (cf. হেঁচড়ান « hẽc-ɒ̸-ṛā-nå » *pull*); কুঁচকি « kũcɒ̸kī » *groin* (cf. কুঁচকান « kũcɒ̸kānå » *to be curled up*); ছিটকি « chiṭɒ̸ki », beside ছিটকিনী « chiṭɒ̸kinī » *bolt, latch*; etc.

The affix আক্ « -ā-kɒ̸ », in forms like তড়াক « tåṛākɒ̸ » *with a sudden bound* (< tṛta), পড়াক « påṛākɒ̸ » *with a crack*, সড়াক « såṛākɒ̸ » *with a quick glide*, কড়াক « kåṛākɒ̸ » *with a crackling sound*, etc., which are mostly

used with the indeclinable conjunctive করিয়া, ক'রে « kåriyā, kōrē » *having done* (see *supra*, p. 655, for a similar formation in আৎ « -āta̸ »), to indicate quick and abrupt movement or sound, is undoubtedly connected with the « -åka̸ » affix, the base apparently being a strong form in « -ā ».

Bases in « -åka̸, -a̸kā » (the latter preferably in NB.) are used for the denominative in Bengali : *e.g.*, MB. চমকে, চঙকে « cåmåkē, cåw̃åkē », NB. চমকায় « cåma̸kāy » *is startled* ; ছিটকায় « chiṭa̸kāy » *sprinkles* ; etc.

(36) ক « -a̸ka̸ » (ii) > কা « -a̸kā », কী « -a̸kī », কিয়া « -kiyā », কুয়া « -kuā ».

431. This is an adjectival affix, also used pleonastically : it is also found in the strong form in কা « -kā », with its feminine কী, কি « -kī, -ki », and also in its extensions formed by superposing other affixes, ইয়া « -iyā », উয়া « uā » etc. Examples : ধনুক « dhånuka̸ » *bow* (dhaṇukka, dhanuṣka) ; ঢোলক « ḍhōlåka̸ » (*small*) *drum* (MIA. dholla-) ; শামুক « śāmuka̸ » (*sambukka = śambu-ka) ; দোফরকা « dō-phåra̸-kā » *with two blades* (phala-) ; dialectal Bengali আমকা, তোমকা « åma̸kā, tōma̸kā » *of us, of you = our, your* ; গদকা « gåda̸kā » *Indian club, cudgel* (< *Is*. gadā) ; দমকা « dåma̸kā » *a rush of wind, a strong puff of wind*, beside দমক « dåmåka̸ » *puff, jerk* (Pers. « dam » *breath*) ; বড়কী « båṛa̸kī » *eldest daughter-in-law* (=*wife of the eldest one*) ; so মেজকী « mējа̸kī » < « mājhuā + kī », ছোটকী « chōṭa̸kī », etc. ; কেটকো < *কাঠকুয়া « kēṭa̸kō < *kāṭh-åk-uā » *a wooden vessel* ; পুঁটকে « pũṭa̸kē < *pũṭ-åk-iyā » *a tiny one* (cf. পুঁটি « pũṭī » *a tiny girl, a small fish*) ; মুনকে « muna̸kē » < মণকিয়া « måṇ-åk-iyā » *a maund in weight, one who can eat food-stuffs weighing a maund* ; so সেরকে « sēra̸kē < *sēr-åk-iyā » *weighing a seer* ; শটকে « śåṭa̸kē » < *সটকিয়া « śåṭåk-iyā » *plain numeration table upto 100* (from *সটক, সড়ক « *såṭåka̸, såḍåka̸ » *plain movement* ? seems wrongly to be connected with শত « śåtå » *hundred*, and turned into শতকিয়া « śåtå-k-iyā » as a « sādhu-bhāsā » equivalent) ; কড়াকিয়া « kåṛā-k-iyā » *numeration table by fours and quarters* (কড়া kåṛā) *upto 100* ; গণ্ডাকিয়া « gåṇḍā-k-iyā » *numeration table by fours* (গণ্ডা gåṇḍā) *and eighties, upto 400* ; so বুড়কে < বুড়িকিয়া « buṛkē < buṛi-k-iyā » *numeration table by twenties* (buṛi বুড়ি) *upto 2000* ; পণকে < পণকিয়া « påṇa̸kē < påṇå-k-iyā » *numeration table by eighties* (পণ påṇa̸) *upto 8,000* ; etc.

This affix would seem to be the Skt. pleonastic and adjectival « -ka » (see Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, § 1222), introduced into Second and Late MIA. as a *ts.* form, and normally becoming « -kka ». In Magadhan, it seems to have been used for the genitive, as, *e.g.*, in Maithilī « ghōrā-k » *horse's*, in Oṛiyā « puruṣȧŋ-kȧ » *men's*, and in early and dialectal Bengali as well. In the other NIA. languages, like Western Hindī, however, the genitive affix « -kā, kaŭ » etc. seems to have come from « kaa < kṛta »; but it is not unlikely that there was some influence of this very common and resusciated OIA. affix. An adjective-genitive use of « -kka » is found also in Śaurasēnī Apabhraṅśa as in Hēma-candra: *e.g.*, « bappi-kī bhūmbaḍī » (= pāitṛkī bhūmiḥ). In the Avahaṭṭha of the 'Prākṛta-Paiŋgala,' the « -kă » for the adjective genitive figures largely.

There is a pleonastic use of this « -kǝ̣ », mainly after verbs, in Bengali and in other Magadhan languages (see *infra*, Verb: 'Pleonastic Affixes'): *e.g.*, হইবেক « hȧibē-kǝ̣ » *it will be*; করুক « kȧr-u-kǝ̣ » *let him do*; ‡খালেক « khālē-kǝ̣ » *he ate*; নাহিক « nāhi-kǝ̣ », MB. নাহিকয় « nāhi-k-ȧy » *is not*, beside Early Assamese নাহিকন্ত « nāhi-k-ȧntȧ » *they are not*; and Magahī « √hī-k », Maithili « chi-k » *to be*. These last instances would show that « -kǝ̣ », like the « -ṛ- » affix (iii) below, was added to the root: probably here was some confusion with « -kǝ̣ » (i) (<√kṛ), as in ‡থা « thā » (<√sthā) beside থক, থাক « √thȧk, thāk », Maithil « √thik » (< √stabh + √kṛ). But « -ka » was used after other words also: *e.g.*, ‡কিন্তুক « kintu-kǝ̣ » *but* (kintu); etc.

See *infra*, under 'Tatsama Suffixes: « -ka »'.

(37) কর « -kȧrǝ̣ ».

432. Found in দোকর, তেকর « dō-kȧrǝ̣, tē-kȧrǝ̣ » *two-fold, three-fold*, is the Skt. noun « kara », which is also partly the source of the genitive, and of one of the dative affixes of Bengali, as well as of the common plural affix « -rā ».

(38) গোছ, গোচ « -gōc(h)ǝ̣ » < গোছের « gōch-ērǝ̣ ».

433. This is compounded with adjectives and nouns, and is used, like the English *-ish*, to mean 'like, resembling, of the group of.' The

word is the Skt. « guccha » *bundle*; and গোছ(া) « gōchặ (gōchā) » occurs as a numerative in Bengali. The use of the genitive form is apparently the older one: লম্বাগোছের মানুষ « lằmbā-gōchērặ mānuṣặ » lit. *a man of the 'tall-group'=a tallish man*, which was shortened to লম্বাগোছ মানুষ « lằmbā-gōchặ mānuṣặ »; so মাঝারী-গোছের > -গোছ « mājhārī-gōchērặ, -gōchặ » *about middling-sized*; ছোঁড়া-গোছের > -গোছ « chõṛā-gōchērặ > -gōchặ » *rather like a lad, youngish.*

(39) চ, আচ « -cặ, -ācặ ».

434. In a few words like কানাচ « kānācặ » *belonging to the edge, edge*, কোণাচ « kōṇācặ » *belonging to a corner, aslant*, ঘামাচী « ghāmācī » *prickly heat*,—the « -c- », or « -āc- » affix seems to be from the OIA. « -tya » forming adjectives (=karṇa-, kōṇa-, gharma- + -tya).

(40) জা « -jā ».

435. From « jāta », found in some familiar forms of surnames: = 'son of.' *E.g.*, ঘোষজা « Ghōṣặ-jā » *of the Ghosh family*; বোসজা < *বসুজাত « Bōsặ-jā < Bằsu-jāta » *of the Bose or Basu (Vasu) family*; মিত্তিরজা « Mittirặ-jā » *of the Mitter (Mitra) family.*

(41) ট « -(ằ)ṭặ- » (i), and its extensions.

436. This affix, found in other NIA. speeches, forms quite an important group with its extensions, and indicates either some resemblance, connexion or modification in a general way, or trade or habit. In some cases it has become merely pleonastic, like the « -ḍ- > -ṛ- » suffixes (see below, §§449, 450), which seem to have influenced it in its pleonastic use. It represents a MIA. « *vaṭṭ- », from the OIA. formations « varta, vartika, vartikā; vṛtta, vṛttika, vṛttikā » from « √vṛt ». This affix occurs in Hindōstānī as « -āwaṭ, -āhaṭ », and in other forms of NIA. also.

ট « -ặṭặ » < « vartta »: abstract or concrete nouns: দাপট « dāpằṭặ » *power, puissance, rule, high-handedness* (darpa-varta); সাপট « sāpằṭặ » *being in a fury, indulging in heroic gestures, seizing boldly* (sarpa-varta); ঝাপট, জাপট « j(h)āpằṭặ » *gripping, splashing, struggling, dashing as with wings*

(*jhampa-varta); আঙট, আঙট « āŋ(g)åṭå » *entire, not torn (as of a plantain leaf)* (« aŋga-varta » : আঙটা « aŋ(g)åṭā » *ring of a vessel*, আঙটী « āŋṭī » *finger ring* represent « aŋguṣṭha »); মাথট « māthåṭå » *capital levy* (*masta[ka]-varta), etc.; and other words like উচট, হোঁচট « ucåṭå, hõcåṭå » *stumble* (? ava-tya + varta) also seem to have this affix. Cf. কেওট, ক্যাওট « kēōṭå » [kæoṭ] (kēvaṭṭa < kāivarta).

ট « -åṭå » from « vṛtta », forming adjectives and nouns: ধোঁয়াট « dhõāṭå » *smoky, mass of smoke* (dhūma- > dhũā, dhõā + åṭå < vṛtta); ঘোলাট « gholāṭå » *muddy, muddiness* (« gholā » *muddy, turbid* < ghūrṇa + vṛtta); ভরাট « bhårāṭå » *filled-up, well-filled, a filling-up* (bhara- + vṛtta); জমাট « jåmāṭå » *congealed, frozen, compact* (« jåmā » < Perso-Arab. « jamʿ » + « vṛtta »); etc.

টা « -ṭā » (= « -åṭå » above + « ā »): forms adjectives and nouns, and denominative bases from forms with < « -ṭ- »: চেপটা <*চিপটা « cēpåṭā <*cipåṭā » *flat* (« √cip » *press, flatten* + « vṛtta »: cf. MIA. « cividaa », Skt. « cipiṭaka » = চিড়া, চিঁড়া « ciṛā, cĩṛā » *flattened rice*, with the affix « -ḍ- > -ṛ- », see p. 689); ঝাপটা « jhāpåṭā » *spray of water, an ornament for the head with tassel of pearls* (cf. « jhāpåṭå » above); নেওটা by Vowel Harmony নেওটো « nēōṭā » > [næoṭo] *affectionate, attached* (*nēhåṭ-ā < ṇēha-vaṭṭa-, snēha-vṛtta-); ঘষটা « ghåṣåṭā » *getting rubbed, or rubbing continuously*, as opposed to ঘষ « √ghåṣ » *to rub* (gharṣa-varta-); শুঁটকা < *শুখটা « sũṭåkā < *sūkhåṭā » *lean and thin, dried up, shrivelled* (śuṣka + vṛtta); উকটা « ukåṭā » *rummage, eagerly search* (*utka-varta-); কসটা, কচটা « kåśåṭā, kåcåṭā » *rinse* (karṣa-varta-); খেমটা « khēmåṭā » *a kind of style in dancing and singing* (? + varta); নেঙটা « nēŋṭā », ‡নেংটো [næŋṭo], লেঙটা « lēŋgåṭā » *naked* (*naŋgawaṭṭa-, naggavaṭṭa-, nagna-vṛtta-); পাঁশুটা « pãśuṭā » *ashen or grey in colour* (pāṅśu-vṛtta-); চিমটা « cimåṭā » *tongs, pincers* (MIA. ? *cimma + vṛtta); etc.

টী, টি « -ṭī, -ṭi », generally = the feminine form of the « -ṭ- » affix (< -vaṭṭia = vartikā, vṛttikā). In MB. and NB., the feminine force is absent, and « -ṭī, -ṭi » has become either merely pleonastic, or vaguely diminutive: *e.g.*, ঘাপটী, ঘুপটি « ghāpåṭī, ghupåṭi » *lying in wait to waylay* (? MIA. *ghappa, *ghuppa = ghŏppa- + vṛttikā; cf. dialectal Bengali

‡ঘোপ(¹) « ghōp(ā) » *corner, nook*) ; চিম্‌টী « cima̸ṭī » (MIA. *cimma + vṛttikā); গুমটী « guma̸ṭī » *bastion, sentry-box, tower* (gulma + vartikā); *শুখটী > শুঁটকী « *śūkhȧṭī > śūṭa̸kī » *dried fish* (? śuṣka-vṛttikā) ; ছিপটী « chipa̸ṭī » *whip* (kṣipra-) ; similarly we have this affix in words like খুনসুটী « khuna̸-suṭī » *bickering, picking up a quarrel* ; etc.

টা « -ṭā » and টী, টি « -ṭī, -ṭi » have given the so-called post-fixed 'Definite Articles,' or 'Enclitic Definitives' of Bengali,—« -ṭā », the original strong masculine base, implying biggishness or crudeness of the object, and « -ṭī, -ṭi », originally feminine, implying smallness or daintiness. Thus, we have একটা « ēka̸ṭā » *one piece, a big or ungainly article*, একটী « ēka̸ṭī » *one piece, a small and nice one* (= *ĕkka-vaṭṭa-, *ĕkka-vaṭṭia < ēka-vṛtta, -vṛttikā) : so দু(ই)টা > দুটো, দু(ই)টী > « du(i)-ṭā > duṭō, -ṭī » ; তিনটা > তিন্‌টে, তিনটী « tinṭā > tinṭē, -ṭī », etc. The affix has gradually become a distinct definitive in Bengali, being added to names of persons and things and to adjectives : *e.g.*, গাছটা « gācha̸ṭā » *that tree, that big tree*, but গাছটী « gācha̸ṭī » *that tree, that nice little tree* ; রামটা « Rāma̸ṭā » *that ungainly, awkward, or bad fellow of a Rāma*, but রামটী « Rāma̸ṭī » *our good fellow Rāma* ; so ভালটা, ভালটী « bhālȧ-ṭā, bhālȧ-ṭī » ; etc. টা, টী also occur dialectally as ডা, ডী « -ḍā, -ḍī ». The source of this টা, টী « -ṭā, -ṭī » has been suggested as being গোটা, গুটী « gōṭā, guṭī » *piece* : but the latter is a different word. See *infra* : under 'Numeratives or Enclitic Definitives.'

টিয়া > টে « -ṭiyā > -ṭē » (-ṭ- + -i- + -ā < -vṛtta + -ika- + -āka), indicating 'habit' or 'nature,' or 'resemblance' : *e.g.*, আঁষটে < আঁইষটিয়া « ā̃ṣa̸ṭē < *ā̃(w̃)iśȧṭiyā » *smelling of rank fish and flesh* (āmiṣa-vṛttika + āka) ; ঘোলাটে « ghōlāṭē » *muddy-like* (see ঘোলাট « ghōlāṭa̸ », p. 685) ; ভাড়াটে < ভাড়াটিয়া « bhāṛāṭē < bhāṛāṭiyā » *tenant, (cab) plying for hire* (bhāṭaka-vṛtta + -ika + -āka) ; ধোঁয়াটে « dhõāṭē » *smoking-like* (see ধোঁয়াট « dhõāṭa̸ », p. 685) ; তামাটে « tāmāṭē » *copper-red in colour* (tāmā < tāmra-) ; রাঙ্গাটে « rāṅ(g)āṭē » *reddish* (রাঙ্গা rāṅgā *red*) ; পাঁশুটে « pā̃śuṭē » *greyish* (see পাঁশুটা « pā̃śuṭā », p. 685) ; রোগাটে « rōgāṭē » *sickly, lean and thin like* (< রোগা « rōg-ā » *sick*, see p. 659) ; ঝগড়াটে « jhȧga̸ṛāṭē » *quarrelsome* (< jhȧga̸ṛā) ; হিঁসকুটে < *হিংসুকটিয়া « hĩsa̸kuṭē < *ts.* * hiṅsuka + -ṭiyā », beside হিংসুটে « hiṅsuṭē » *envious and spiteful* ; etc., etc.

Connected with this « -ṭ- » affix is ড় « -ḍ- > -ṛ- » (i) below.

(42) ট « -ṭ- » (ii).

437. In a few words, which may be called disguised compounds: from Skt. or OIA. « paṭṭa ». Examples: লেঙ্গট, ল্যাঙ্গট « lēŋgåṭạ, lāŋgåṭạ » (*laŋga-paṭṭa, liŋga-paṭṭa), see p. 347; মলাট « målāṭạ » *cover of a book*, literally *dust-board* (মলা « målā » + পাট « pāṭå » < « paṭṭa »); a feminine > diminutive-pleonastic extension as in কষটী « kåṣạṭī, kåṣåṭī < kåṣåṭī » *assaying stone* (karṣa-paṭṭikā, Hind. kasauṭī); etc.

(43) ট « -ṭ- » (iii) > আট « -āṭạ », also আটি « -āṭi », উটি « -uṭi », ইটি « -iṭi », টি « -ṭi ».

438. Like some of the other suffixes noted above, this is really a decayed word figuring in a number of disguised compounds. The source of it is « *mṛtta, mṛttikā » *earth*, Beng. মাট, মাটী « māṭạ, māṭī ». Examples: ধোলাট « dhōlāṭạ » *soil washed down by rains*; ধরাটী « dhårāṭī » *earth heaped up for an embankment* (dhårā + māṭī < mṛttikā); ‡পেটোটি, পেটুটি « pēṭōṭi, pēṭuṭi » *earth and bits of jute mixed, for plastering mud huts* (pāṭạ + māṭī > *pāṭåwāṭī, *pāṭuāṭī); তুষাটি, তুষুটি « tuṣāṭī, tuṣuṭi » *chaff and earth mixed* (tuṣa- + mṛttikā); খড়িটি « khåṛiṭi » *chalk and earth* (khaṭikā *chalk*).

(44) ড় « -ṛ- » (i) > -ড়া « -ṛā », ড়ী « -ṛī », ড়িয়া > ড়ে « -ṛiyā > -ṛē ».

439. The « -ṛ- » affix in a number of words indicates habit or profession, or some sort of connexion: *e.g.*, বাসাড়ে < বাসাড়িয়া « bāsāṛē > bāsāṛiyā » *dweller in a lodging house or hired apartments* (< bāsā *lodging house*, < vāsa-); যোগাড় « jōgāṛạ » *arrangement, supply* (< *ts.* yōga); যোগাড়ে < যোগাড়িয়া « jōgāṛē < -ṛiyā » *an organiser, a man clever at arranging things*; তুখড় < *তিখড় « tukhåṛạ < * tikhåṛå » *sharp one, clever one* (< tikkha = tīkṣṇa); বাঁকুড়া Bãkuṛā » *name of a person* in MB. « bāŋka, vaŋka, vakra »: when the place name, = *Bankurah*, the affix would seem to be of different origin: see under « -ṛ- » [ii] below; আগড় « āgåṛạ » *basket-work door of hut* (agra-); *ফাঁসড়িয়া > ফাঁসুড়ে « *phãsåṛiyā > phãsuṛē » *one who strangles and robs*

travellers (phā̃s *halter-rope with loop*); ঘাসিয়াড়া > ঘেসেড়া « ghāsiāṛā > ghēsēṛā » *grass-cutter* (ghās, *ghāsī *grass*); ‡নাউড়ে « nāuṛē < *nāwāṛiā » *a boat-man*; MB. ধাউড়, ধাউড়িয়া « dhāuṛ, dhāuṛiyā » *a runner*; খেলোয়াড় « khēlōāṛ » *a player, an expert* > *a smart and sharp person* (slang); জুয়াড়ী « juāṛī » *gamester*, see p. 668; *সাপড়িয়া < সাপুড়ে « *sāpāriyā > sāpuṛē » *snake-charmer*; লুঠেরা < *লুঠিয়াড়া « luṭhērā<*luṭhiāṛā » <«√luṭh » *plunder*, cf. Hindi « luṭērā » *robber*; ভাঙড় « bhāŋ(g)āṛ » *one who indulges in 'bhāng'*; কেওড়া « kēōṛā » *a low caste* (*kēvaṭa-), beside কেওট « kēoṭ » (< kēvaṭṭa, kāivarta); etc.

The source of this « -ṛ- » would seem to be the OIA. « √vṛt », in a form like « vṛtā » = *work, labour, movement*, found in the Rig-Vēda, which would give a MIA. « *vaṭā> *vaḍā> *vaḍă » By extension with « -ā, -iyā, -ī < -ika » etc., we get the ড়া, ড়িয়া, ড়ী etc.

(45) ড় « -ṛ- », ড়া « -ṛā », ড়ী « -ṛī » (ii).

440. This occurs in some place-names, and it comes from a Late OIA. and Early MIA. « vāṭa » *enclosure* which is found in Sanskrit as a « guṇa » formation from « vaṭa < vṛ-ta », < « √vṛ » *to cover, to enclose.* ড়ী, ড়ি « -ṛī, -ṛi » as an affix in Bengali would therefore represent « vāṭikā » compounded with words. Examples: আখড়া « ākhṛā », Hind. « akhāṛā » *enclosed ground for physical exercise, club* (akṣa-vāṭa-); ভাগাড় « bhāgāṛ » *place outside village where dead cattle are cast away* (? « bhagna + vāṭa »: connexion with হাড় « hāṛ » *bones* is popularly suggested); গোয়াড়ী « gōāṛī » *place-name = Gowari near Krishnagar in Nadiya* (gōpa-vāṭikā); খোঁয়াড় « khõāṛ » *pig-sty* (? Persian « xug » *swine*> Bengali « *khōgā, *khō, khõ » + « vāṭa »). The Sanskritised « nāu-vāṭa » *a fleet of boats or ships, a dock*, met with in old Bengal inscriptions, represents an Old Bengali « *nāwa-wāḍa », which was Persianised into « nawwārah » by the Mohammedans: « *nāwa-wāḍa » may be connected with the dialectal word নাউড়ে above (§449).

The word « vāṭa » may equally be the source of ড়া « -ṛā » in place names, although a non-Aryan origin, Kōl or Dravidian, for that affix is not unlikely (see *supra*, p. 66).

The word বাটোয়াড় « bāṭōāṛā » *high-way robber* (bāṭa < vartman) has nothing to do with « ṛ », (i) or (ii), although « -ṛ- » (i) might have been confused with it: it comes from MB. বাটপাড় « bāṭā-pāṛā », in which form it still occurs in NB. (< causative root « pāṭaya- »).

(46) ড় « -ṛ- », ড়া « -ṛā », ড়ী « -ṛī » (iii).

441. Pleonastic affix, derived from « -ḍa- », which was widely used in Late MIA. : *e.g.*, « vaccha-ḍa (vatsa), diaha-ḍa (divasa), gōra-ḍ-ī (găurī), nēha-ḍ-ā (snēha), hiya-ḍ-ā (hṛdaya), dōsa-ḍ-ā (dōṣa), pārakka-ḍ-ā (parakīyā), bhumha-ḍ-ī (bhūmi), tēva-ḍ-u (tadvat), bh(r)anta-ḍ-ī (bhrānti), nidda-ḍ-ī (nidrā), dēsa-ḍa (dēśa), sandēsa-ḍā (sandēśa) », as in the Apabhraṁśa fragments in Hēma-candra; « dukkha-ḍ-ā (duḥkha) », as in the 'Saṁjama-mañjarī'; etc. The « -ḍa- » affix seems to have come into special prominence in the *spoken dialects* of Northern India in the closing centuries of the 1st millennium A. C. It is also very likely that it was largely used in the spoken language in the earlier stages of MIA., but the remains of First, Transitional and Second MIA. do not use it lavishly; and in Third MIA. literary remains, where the style is exclusively artificial and is modelled on the Prakrit *kāvyas* (as in the Jaina works like the 'Bhavisatta-Kaha'), it is not so common either. The Ap. verses in Hēma-candra's grammar form specimens of genuine popular poetry, and hence the « -ḍ- » words are so much in evidence there. All NIA. speeches show numerous forms with « -ḍa- > -ṛ- »; and some kinds of NIA., *e.g.*, the Rājasthānī dialects, employ it more lavishly than the rest, affixing it to passive participles quite freely.

The Second and Third MIA. « -ḍa » rests on a First MIA. « -ṭa- », which would normally represent an OIA. « -ṭa- » (or a dental « -ta- », with or without a « r » or « ṛ » to cerebralise it). (Cf. Pischel, §599.) In Skt., we have a number of words with a « -ṭa » affix, words which are mostly late, but a few like « marka-ṭa » undoubtedly go back to pre-Buddhic times: *e.g.*, « marka-ṭa (regarded as being Dravidian in origin: cf. Tamil « maram » *tree*); kaṅka-ṭa, karka-ṭa (see p. 368); karpa-ṭa *rag* (< *√[s]karp); parka-ṭī; karva-ṭa; kukku-ṭa; lak-u-ṭa > lag-u-ḍa;

muk-u-ṭa (?); cip-i-ṭa *flattened rice*; vadhū-ṭī; kula-ṭā (explained as being from « kula + √aṭ »); barba-ṭa »; etc. This « -ṭa » is not found in Vedic. There is nothing in the non-Aryan languages, Dravidian and Kōl, to warrant any influence from that side. And such a characteristic IA. suffix, so persistent in all the forms of NIA., can reasonably be expected to have an OIA. source. It seems quite possible that this « -ṛa < -ḍa < -ṭa » is only a form of a « -ta », undoubtedly the same as the passive participle affix, which was used as a secondary affix in some noun and adjective formations in Vedic (cf. Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, § 1176, § 1245; Macdonell, Vedic Grammar, § 209): *e.g.*, « eka-tá, dvi-tá, tri-tá; muhūr-tá; ava-tá *well*; raja-tá; párva-ta ». Some sense of connexion with or modification of the original idea is implied by this « -ta », which also is not absent in the NIA. « -ṛa ». By spontaneous cerebralisation (see *supra*, pp. 487-488), « -ta- » can very well give « -ṭa » in dialectal OIA. and in Early MIA. Thus we have OIA. « vibhī-ta-ka (beside « vibhīdaka »: < « √bhid » ?) > *vibhī-ṭa-ka » > MIA. « bahēḍaa- » > NIA. « bahēṛā »; OIA. « āmr-ā-ta-ka > *āmrā-ṭa-ka » > MIA. « ambāḍaa- » > NIA. আমড়া « āmṛā »; and OIA. « śṛṅg-ā-ta-ka-, śṛṅg-ā-ṭa-ka- » > NIA. « sīgāṛā ». Throughout the whole history of IA., « -ta > -ṭa > -ḍa > -ṛa » would seem to have been fairly common in the *spoken* language; and after phonetic decay had put an end to most of the characteristic OIA. affixes in the Second NIA. stage, the « -ḍa » affix, with its strong cerebral sound, seems to have become quite a prominent and a popular one. The large number of names in « -ḍa », Sanskritised to « -ṭa » during the Second and Third MIA. periods (see *ante*, p. 89), would also indicate its popularity in the Indo-Aryan speech from the early centuries of the first millennium A.C.

Hoernle's derivation of this affix from a Skt. « -dṛśa » (Gaudian Grammar, § 218) is phonologically inadmissible; there is also the fact that the earlier form of « -ṛa < -ḍa » was « -ṭa ».

Examples of « -ṛa- » from Bengali: OB. (Caryā 38) « ṇāva-ṛ-ī » (nāva, nāu̯); (Caryās 10, 20) « bāp-u-ṛ-ā » *a Kāpālika* (cf. Śaurasēnī Ap. vappuḍā); (Caryā 10) « pākh-u-ṛ-ī » *petal* (pakṣa = parva); MB. (ŚKK.) মুদড়ী « mudaṛī » beside ‡মুদি « mudi » *ring* (mudrā); MB. দিঅড়ী

« diyåṛī » *lamp* (< dīpa) ; মাকড় « mākåṛa̸ » (markaṭa) ; কাপড় « kāpåṛa̸ » (karpaṭa) ; রাজড়া « rāja̸ṛā » *king, rich men* as in রাজা-রাজড়া « rājā-rāja̸ṛā » *kings and swells* ; so গাছ-গাছড়া « gācha̸-gācha̸ṛā » *plants and herbs* (gaccha), কাঠ-কাঠড়া « kāṭha̸-kāṭha̸ṛā » *wood and timber* (kāṣṭha) ; পাতড়া « pāta̸ṛā » *leaves and sticks* (< patra) ; আঁকড়ী « ā̃ka̸ṛī » *loopin writing* (aŋka) ; শাশুড়ী < *শাশড়ী « śāśuṛī < *śāśåṛī » *mother-in-law*, beside শাশ « śāśa̸ » in compounds (śvaśrū) ; চামড়া « cāma̸ṛā » *hide, skin* (carma) ; পাখড়া « pākha̸ṛā » *scapular-bone* (pakṣa) ; খাগড়া « khāga̸ṛā » *reed, marsh plant with sharp edge* (khaḍga) ; বাগড়া « bāga̸ṛā » *obstruction* (*sts.* < vyāghāta + -ṛā) ; ঝগড়া « jhåga̸ṛā » *quarrel* (see p. 478) ; আঁতুড়ী, আঁতড়ী « ā̃t(u)ṛī » *entrails* (antra) ; বহুড়ী « bå(h)uṛī » (vadhūṭī, vadhŭṭī, vadhūṭikā) ; ঝিউড়ী <*ঝিঅড়ী « jhiuṛī < *jhiåṛī » (<duhitṛ) ; মোহড়া<মুহড়া « mōhāṛā<muhåṛā » *vanguard* (mukha) ; কেওড়া « kēŏṛā » (kētaka-) ; চিঁড়া, চিড়া « cĩṛā, ciṛā » *flattened rice* (cipiṭa-) ; চুমকুড়ী « cumkuṛī » *making the sound of kissing* > *assuring* (*as a horse*) (cumba-) ; ফুসকুড়ি « phuskuṛī » *a small boil* beside ফোস্কা « phōskā » *a large boil or sore* ; মামড়া « māma̸ṛī » *crust on the surface, as on a healing sore* (marman *sensitive or exposed part*) ; চুপড়ী, চুবড়ী « cupa̸ṛī, cuba̸ṛī » *basket* (from a *dēśī* root meaning *to cover* ? cf. চুপ « cupa̸ » *quiet, hidden* ; চাপ « √cāp » *press*) ; চাঙড়া « cāŋ(g)a̸ṛā » *large basket* ; হিজড়া « hija̸ṛā » *hermaphrodite* (< Pers. « hīz ») ; etc.

The « -ṛ » affix also figures in verb-roots : দৌড় « √dåu̯-ṛ- » *run* (davaḍa, drava- < dru) ; see *infra*, under 'Verb : Roots.'

In some cases, « -ṛ- » figures as র « -r- » apparently through originally dialectal pronunciation : *e.g.*, কাঠরা « kāṭha̸rā », see *supra* ; গাঁঠরী beside গাঁঠড়ী « gā̃ṭha̸rī, -ṛī » *baggage* (granthi) ; টুকরা « ṭuka̸rā » *a piece*, beside Hindōstānī « ṭukṛā » (see p. 489) ; ছোকরা « chōka̸rā » *a boy* (conn. with « śāba » > ছা « chā » ?) ; চাঙ্গারী « cāŋ(g)ārī » *little basket*, beside চাঙড়া « cāŋ(g)a̸ṛā » above ; পেঁটরা « pẽṭa̸rā » *box* (*pĕṇṭa = pĕṭṭa = pēṭa-) ; বাঁশরী « bā̃śårī » *bamboo flute* (vaṅśa) ; ‡ছায়রা « chāyrā » *shade* (see p. 342) ; ভায়রা « bhāyrā < bhāi » *wife's sister's husband* : etc.

(47) ত « -ta̸ », তী « -tī » (i).

442. Found in a few words, in the abstract sense. From MIA.

« -tta » < OIA. « -tva »: *e.g.*, MB. আইহত > আয়াত > NB. এওৎ « āihåtå > āyyåtø > ēōtø » (avidhavatva), also with তী « -tī » with « -ī < -ikā »; *sts.* ‡« raizot » (=rājya+tva) in the 'Crepar Xaxtrer Orthbhed.' This affix was later reinforced by the Perso-Arabic affix noted at p. 656.

(48) ত « -tø », তা « -tā », তী « -tī » (ii).

443. From « patra- » as well as « pātra- », a decayed word figuring in some disguised compounds in which it has acquired the force of an affix: *e.g.*, নামতা « nāmøtā » *multiplication table* (nāma-patra-); রাঙতা « rāŋ(g)øtā » *tinsel, copper-foil* (raŋga-patra-); চাকতি « cākøti » *some flat or mashed object cut into a ring* (cakra-patra + -ikā); চুনাতি « cūnāti » *lime-box (for betel)* (cūrṇa-pātra + -ikā); MB. চামাতি « cāmāti » *thong* (carma-patra + -ikā): cf. also করাত « kårātø » *saw* (kara-patra).

(49) ত « -tø », ত « -tå », তী « -tī », উতি « -uti » (iii).

444. From « -putra, -putrika, -putrikā »: a decayed word in disguised compounds: *e.g.*, জেঠুত, খুড়ুত, মাসুত, পিসুত « jēṭhut(å), khuṛut(å), māsut(å), pisut(å) » respectively, = *son of father's elder brother, father's younger brother, mother's sister, father's sister,* also with তা « -tā » (see p. 503); MB. (ŚKK) একুইতি « ēkåuiti » (ēka-putrikā); বালতি « bāløti » as in « rāṛī bāløtī » *widow, and having small children only* (bāla-putrikā); চাটুতি « cāṭuti » *a surname=Chatterji* (« caṭṭa-putra- »: see p. 409).

(50) নী, নি « -nī, -ni », ন « -nø »; ইনি « -i-ni »; আনী, অনি, উনি « -ānī, -åni, -uni ».

445. In OIA. « -nī » and « -ānī » are two feminine suffixes which occur with a number of forms, *e.g.*, « pat-nī » (< pat-i); « paruṣ-ṇī » (paruṣa); « rōhi-ṇī (fem. of « rōhi-ta »: may be from « *rōh-in »); asi-k-nī, har-i-k-nī »; and « indr-āṇī, varuṇ-ānī, rudr-ā-ṇī, bhav-ānī, upādhyāy-ānī, mātul-ānī », etc. (Cf. Whitney, § 1176 d, § 1223 b, c.) Here « -ī » is the proper feminine-indicating affix, and the « -n-, -ān- » apparently belonged to the base of the noun. Practically no form in NIA. has come down with

this « -nī, -ānī » of OIA. (cf. the word সৎ, সতা « såtẗ, såtā », Hind. « saut » < MIA. « savattī » < OIA. « sa-patnī »).

The OIA. feminine affix « -ā » was lost (see *supra*, pp. 305 ff.), and « -ī » also has generally not come down to NIA.,—it was weakened to « -ĭ » in Late MIA., and when not after a vowel, it has dropped off in Bengali (see *supra*, pp. 307 ff.). OIA. « -ikā » gave, through Late MIA. « -iă », the most common, it may be said the most characteristic feminine affix of NIA., namely « -ī, -i » (cf. pp. 307, 672).

But there was the large class of nouns in OIA. with the attributive suffix « -in », giving in the masculine nominative singular « -ī » (« mālī, yōgī » etc.), and feminine nominative singular « -in-ī » (mālinī, yoginī). This supplied to MIA. numerous feminine forms differentiated from the masculine only by « -inī, -iṇī », especially when the nominative came to be used for all the cases in the masculine, the « -in- » of the base being totally lost. Some common isolated words like « raṇṇī », NIA. « rānī » (rājñ-ī), fem. of « rāa, rāja » (rājan, rājā) also helped to establish this « -nī » as a feminine affix. So that in Late MIA., « -iṇī (-nī, -anī, -ṇī) » also was a well-marked feminine affix, side by side with « -ia < -ikā ». Moreover, « -iṇī (inī) » was partly generalised, and came to be attached to nouns to which it did not properly belong; and when added to masculine nouns in « -ă », the « -i- » was dropped, making it « -ă-nī ». NIA. thus inherited this « -inī, -a-nī (-iṇī, -a-ṇī) », although more restricted than « -ī », from Late MIA. In most NIA. of the recent period ('New' NIA.), the final vowel « -ī, -i » has dropped, leaving the affix at « -n (-ṇ) »; and when in a language like Bengali, we have the full form in « -nī, -ni », it is due only to the influence of *ts.* feminine words in « -in-ī, -ānī ».

The « -i-nī, -a-nī » affix in the older periods of NIA. was not so common, and its improper use (that is, in the « -a-nī » form with original OIA. vowel bases) was less frequent; in the older periods we have commonly « -ī ». Gradually the « -n- » form, as more distinctive, came to dispute the field with « -ī », and to oust it from many words, and now it may be said to be equally important with « -ī » in most NIA. speeches; and in some, it is even more important. The loss of the gender sense

in the *adjective* in Bengali is also partly responsible for the curtailment of « -ī », and « -nī » is becoming more prominent in distinctive feminine *nouns*.

Examples: cases of « -nī<-in-ī » in OB.: « jōïnī » (yōginī); « kariṇi », masc. « kariṇā » (kariṇī), cf. « hariṇī », masc. « hariṇā » (hariṇa); « ghariṇī, MB., NB. ঘরণী gharànī » (gṛhiṇī); « śuṇḍini » (« śuṇḍin-ī »; also « śăuṇḍika > *śoṇḍia, *śuṇḍī », fem « śuṇḍi-nī »); MB. and NB. examples: NB. গোয়ালিনী, গয়লানী « gōālinī, gàylānī », fem. of গোয়ালা, গয়লা « gōālā, gàylā » *milk-man* (the old feminine from is গোআলী « gōāl-ī », which occurs 15 times in ŚKK., whereas the new form গোআলিনী « gōālinī » is found in the same work 12 times); MB. (ŚKK.) কালিনী রাতি « kālinī rāti » *black night*; চোরনী, চুরনী « cōranī > curànī », ŚKK. চুরণী, চুরিণী « curaṇī, curiṇī » *woman thief*; NB. চাঁড়ালনী « cằṛālànī » *Caṇḍāla woman* (OB. = চণ্ডালী caṇḍālī); NB. *sts.* অভাগিনী « abhāginī », besides the older আভাগী, আবাগী « āb(h)āgī » (< abhāgya); MB. টেটনী « ṭēṭànī », *bad woman* beside older ঠাঁটী « ṭhằṭ-ī » (<dhṛṣṭa ?); NB. ডোমনী, ডুম্‌নী « ḍōmà-nī, ḍum-nī » *Dōm woman* (=OB. ডোম্বী ḍōmbī); NB. পাগলিনী « pāgàlinī » beside older পাগলী « pāgàlī » *mad woman* (the first is a literary word, the second commoner, and is used also affectionately—পাগলিনী would be regarded as being from পাগল *mad, mad one*, and পাগলী from পাগ্‌লা *the mad one, madcap*); NB. মেছুনী « mēchunī < *māchuā-nī » *fish-wife*; NB. বেহাইন, বেহান, বেয়ান্ « bēhāin, bē(h)ān » (văivāhika>বেহাই bēhāi + -nī); NB. বাঙ্গালিনী « bāṅgàlini » *Bengali woman*, a new, literary form, beside বাঙ্গাল্‌নী « bāṅ(g)ālà-nī » *woman from East Bengal* (but OB. বঙ্গালী « baṅgālī » *woman from East Bengal*, as in the Caryās, < বঙ্গাল « baṅgāla » *East Bengal people, or land*); সোহাগিনী « sōhāginī » *woman beloved by her husband*, beside older সোহাগী « sōhāgī » (< săubhāgya-): ননদিনী « nànàdinī », a new formation, literary, beside the proper word ননদ « nànàdà » (nanandṛ); সতিন « sàtin » *co-wife* (sapatuī + -nī), also সতিনী « sàtinī »: cf. Bihārī « sawatiniyā », Hind. « sautin » beside Bengali সৎ, সতা « sàtà, sàtā » and Hind. « saut »; নাতিন « nătin », MB. (ŚKK.) নাতিনী « nātinī », also নাত্‌নী « nātnī », *grand-daughter* feminine of নাতী « nātī » (naptṛ-): here we have NB. loss of final « -ī » of MIA.; so মিতিন্ « mitin » *girl friend* (< mitra), ঠাকর(া)ন, ঠাকরুন, ঠান্ < ঠাকুরাণী « ṭhākrān, ṭhākràn, ṭhākrun, ṭhān < ṭhākur-āṇī » *Madam, Lady* (< « ṭhākura +

-āni »; the wife of a « ṭhākura̸ » *a cook*, or *a Rajput* would be ঠাকুরনী « ṭhākura̸-nī », a modern formation); ‡ঘুড়নী > গুন্নি (Chittagong) « ghuṛ-nī > gunni » = « *ghōḍa-nī » *mare*, beside older ঘুড়ী < *ঘোড়ী « ghuṛī < *ghōṛī » (= *ghōṭ-ikā); বাঘিনী « bāghinī » *tigress* (< vyāghra); সাপিনী « sāpinī » *female snake* (<sarpa); সিংহিনী « siṁhinī » (< siṁha); etc.

(আ)নী « -ānī » has become the common affix to denote a woman of a particular caste or profession: সেকরানী « sēka̸rānī » *woman of the goldsmith caste* (<« sēkyakāra », see pp. 194-195); ধোবানী « dhōbānī », *woman of the washerman caste*; কায়েৎনী « kāyeta̸nī » *a Kāyastha woman*; বদ্যিনী « bȧdyi-nī » *woman of the Vaidya caste*; কুমোরনী « kumōra̸-nī <kum(h)ārȧ-nī » *woman of the potter caste* (< kumbha-kāra); চামারনী « cāmāra̸-nī » *woman of the leather-worker caste* (< carmakāra); মেথরনী « mēthȧr-nī » *sweeper-woman*, beside মেথরাণী « metha̸rāṇī » (< Persian « mihtar » *prince*, by euphemism, commonly spelt like রাণী « rāṇī » with the cerebral « ṇ »); চৌধুরাণী « caudhu-rāṇī » *lady of the Chaudhuri family*; ডাক্তারনী « ḍāktārnī » *Lady Doctor*; মাষ্টারনী « māṣṭār-nī » *school-mistress*.

A great many common forms, however, have retained the old « -ī » and have not taken up the « -nī »: *e.g.*, মামী « māmī » *mother's brother's wife* has not been ousted by MB. (ŚKK.) মাউলানী « māulānī » (mātulānī); কাকী « kākī », খুড়ী « khuṛī » *father's younger brother's wife*; জেঠী « jēṭhī » (=jyēṣṭhikā), জেঠাই « jēṭhāi » (=jyēṣṭhȧryikā) *father's elder brother's wife*; শালী « śālī » *wife's sister*; খুকী « khukī » *girl baby* (<khōkā); রামী « Rāmī » (<Rāma), শ্যামী, শামী « Ś(y)āmī » (<Śyāma), বামী « Bāmī » (Vāmā +-ī), forms of women's names among the lower classes; দুলালী « dulālī » *darling*, etc. In many feminine adjectives, the MB. « -ī » has now been dropped with the weakening of the gender-sense, as in MB. (ŚKK.) বিতপনী « bitȧpȧnī » (= vitapanā), পাতলী « pātȧlī » *slim* (< patra-la-), বিকলী « bikȧlī » (= vikalā), দারুণী « dāruṇī » (=dāruṇā), কোঁঅলী « kōȧli=kōwȧlī » (=kōmalā), আনাথী « ānāthī » (=anāthā), etc. In Late MB. and in NB., when through the influence of Sanskrit, the « -ānī, -inī » affix was regarded as an elegant form, *tbh.* formations like ননদিনী, পাগলিনী, etc., etc., were evolved by the dozen in the literary language, as well as *sts.* ones like নাগিনী, চণ্ডালিনী and চণ্ডালনী, বিহঙ্গিনী, চাতকিনী, কামস্থিনী, প্রেতিনী (> colloquial

পেত্নী), পণ্ডিতানী, অনাথিনী, হতভাগিনী, রজকিনী, নাপিতানী (colloquial নাপিৎনী, নাপ্তিনী), ভিক্ষুণী (< MIA. Pali « bhikkhunī »), শ্বশ্যানী (Śūnya-Purāṇa), etc., and quite a host of others, some of which are not Sanskrit at all (*e.g.*, বন্দিনী « bȧndinī » *woman prisoner* from Persian « bandī »); but they are very freely used. (See Lalit-Mōhan Banerji, 'Vyākaraṇ-Vibhīṣikā,' Calcutta, San 1320, pp. 40 ff.)

The « -nī » affix is not be confused with « -āni » (13a, 14) discussed before, and also with the « -nī » in some isolated words, like রানী « rānī » (see p. 674), কাহিনী « kāhinī » *tale* (< * kathinikā = kathānikā), etc.

(51) পনা « pȧnā ».

446. This well-known NIA. affix, indicating state or function, is from OIA. « -tvana- ». From the change of « tv- > -pp- », it would seem to have originated in the South-western IA. region during the First MIA. stage, whence it spread elsewhere (see p. 508, *supra*). Examples; ঢীটপনা « ḍhīṭȧ-pȧnā » (dhṛṣṭa + -tvana-); গিন্নীপনা < গৃহিণীপনা « ginnī-pȧnā < gṛhiṇī-pȧnā »; etc.

There is an affix পানা, পনা « -pānā, -pȧnā » meaning 'like,' 'resembling,' 'similar to,' which seems te be a blend of পনা « -pȧnā » (in an extended, adjectival use) and the *sts.* word পারা « pārā » *like* < « *parāa < prāya- »: *e.g.*, চাঁদপানা « cȧ̃dȧ-pānā » beside চাঁদ-পারা « cȧ̃dȧ-pārā » *moon-like*; কুলাপানা, কুলাপনা, কুলোপনা « kulā-pānā, kulā-pȧnā, kulō-pȧnā » (*flat and broad*) *like a winnowing fan*; লালপানা « lālȧ-pānā » *reddish*; etc.

(52) মত « -mȧtȧ, -mȧtȧ », মন « -mȧnȧ » < মন্ত « -mȧntȧ ».

447. Occurring in some pronominal adjectives and adverbs, like এমত « ē-mȧtȧ » *like this* যেমত « jē-mȧtȧ » *like that*, etc. The form in « -nȧ » is due to influence of MB. « kēhȧⁿȧ, jēhȧnȧ » etc. See *infra*, under the 'Pronoun.' It is used as an independent word as well, *e.g.*, আমার মত « āmārȧ mȧtȧ » *like me, of my sort*. A blend মতন « mȧtȧnȧ » = « mȧtȧ + mȧnȧ » is also found. It is from MIA. « -manta » (< OIA. « -mant- »), which figures also as a stereotyped form in some adjectives and some names, *e.g.*, শ্রীমন্ত « śrī-mȧntȧ » *prosperous*, পয়মন্ত « pȧyȧ-mȧntȧ » *lucky*,

luck-bringing (pada *status, position*), হনুমন্ত(া) « Hånumånt(ā) » *Hanuman*; etc.

The MIA. affix « -vanta », influenced by the Skt. form of it, also gave the Bengali বন্ত « -bântå » in words like গুণবন্ত « guṇå-bântå », ভাগ্যবন্ত « bhāgyå-bântå », etc.

Persian « -mand », cognate with the Indo-Aryan « -mant- », reinforced these affixes in Late MB., *e.g.*, « ʿaql-mand, dāniš-mand », etc.

(53) রূ > রু > উর « *-rū > -ru, -ur∅ ».

448. Originally implying 'similarity, intensity,' from OIA. « rūpa » *form, shape* > MIA. « -rūva », this affix is generally used pleonastically in NIA. in which it occurs in only a few words: *e.g.*, *গোরূ > গোরু, « *gō-rū > gō-ru » *ox, cow, cattle,* wrongly spelt গরু in Bengali: cf. Hindī गोरू « gō-rū » (< « gō-rūpa », originally meaning *buffalo*); সাঁজারু « sā̃jā-ru » *porcupine,* beside the simple form ‡ সেঁজা, হেঁজা « sē̃jā, hē̃zā » (śalyaka- + rūpa: p. 476); বাছুর < *বাছরূ « bāch-ur∅ < *bācha-rū » (cf. Hindōstānī « bach-rū », Marāṭhī « vās-rū »), beside MB. বাছা « bāchā » *calf* (vatsa-rūpa); MB. শশারু « śåśā-ru » *hare* (śaśa- + rūpa); MB. ঘোড়ারু « ghōṛā-ru » *a kind of deer* (ghōṭaka- + rūpa); also MB. তুলারু « tulā-ru » *a kind of deer* (<?); ‡ গাবুর, গাভুর, MB. গাভরু « gāb(h)-ur∅ < gābhå-ru » (cf. Hindōstānī « gabh-rū ») *young person* (« garbha-rūpa » *children, young persons* as in the 'Divyâvadāna'); MB. (ŚKK.) জিঙ্গালরু « jiŋgālå-ru » *the 'Jiṅgini' or 'Jiger' tree*; MB. কাঁউর, কাঙুর « Kā̃-ur∅, Kāw̃-ur∅ » < OB. কামরু « Kāmaru = *Kāw̃a-rū » (as in Caryā 2: « Kāma-rūpa » i.e. West Assam: see *supra,* p. 299). Cf. also Marāṭhī « pākh-rū » *bird* (pakṣa-rūpa), Bhōjpuriyā « meherā-rū » *wife,* beside « meher » (mahilā-rūpa, mahilā), Skt. « hṛṣṭa-rūpa » *exceedingly glad.*

(54) ল « -l∅ », লা « -lā », লী « -lī ».

449. A common OIA. affix (with a variant « -ra »), « la » is found in the adjectival sense, meaning also 'possessing.' The pleonastic (svârthē) value also is very common; as well as a slightly modifying sense. The affixes « -ila » (see pp. 676-71) and « -ula » (< MIA. « -ulla », Bengali

« -ulɸ », as in MB. লাজউলী « lājåulī » = « lajjā-śīlā », and রাতুল » rātulɸ » *red* <MIA. « *rattulla » = OIA. « rakta + -ula ») are forms of this affix, with « -i- » and « -u- » themes. The affix is in some cases found in the form of « -r- », due probably to Bihārī influence, original Māgadhī « -l- » becoming « -r- » in Bihārī (see *supra*, pp. 536-538). Examples: আদল « ādålɸ » *resemblance (as of one face to another)* (OB. ādaa < advaya + -la), beside আদরা « adɸrā »; আধলা « ādhålā » *half, half-piece,* beside আধেলা « ādhēlā » (ardha); MB. উতরলী « utårålī » (fem. in « -ī < -ikā »), NB. উতরোল, উতরল « utårōlɸ < utårålɸ » *anxious* (uttvara-la); ছাওয়াল « chāwālɸ » *child,* ছাওয়ালিয়া > ছালিয়া, ছেলে « chāwāliyā > chāliyā, chēlē » *boy* (śāba- + -la + -iyā); পোলা « pōlā » beside পো(য়া) « pō(ā) » *son, child* (pōta-la-); MB. ছেলি « chēli » Bhōjpuriyā « chērī » *she-goat* (chagalikā < chaga); গাড়ল, গাড়র « gāṛålɸ, gāṛårɸ » *sheep* (cf. Late Skt. « gaḍḍalikā < gaḍḍala » *rolling animal, as in the entire flock*); দীঘল « dīghålɸ » *long* (dīrgha-la); OB. fem. আগলি « āgali » *advanced* (Caryā 32 : <agra-la-); পাকল « pākålɸ » *ripe, well-ripened* (pakva-la); হাঁড়ল « hā̃ṛålɸ » *big, open-mouthed pot* (cf. হাঁড়ী, হাঁড়া « hā̃ṛī, hā̃ṛā » *large pot*); পাতলা « pātɸlā » *lean and thin < like a leaf* (patra-la-), MB. fem. পাতলী « pātålī »; MB. নহলী = নঅলী « nå(h)ålī », fem. *fresh, new* (*nava-l-ikā); MB. (KKC.) সোহাগলী « sōhāgålī » *wife beloved by her husband* (sāubhāgya + -lī); MB. বিজুলী, NB. বিজলী « bijulī > bij(å)lī », also বিজুরী « bijurī », beside Hindōstānī « bīj, bijlī » (MIA. vijjulia, OIA. vidyut + -la + -ikā); ফাটল « phāṭålɸ » *crack (on a wall, on the roof)* (ফাট √phāṭ *split*); *সহিলা > সহেলা > সয়লা, সহিলী > সহিলি, সইলি « *såhilā > såhēlā > såylā, såhilī > såhili, såili » *friend (among women)* (sakhī + -lā, -likā); MB. মাতল « mātålɸ » (matta-la); ধকল « dhåkålɸ » *strain* (cf. ধাক্কা « dhākkā » *push*); বাঁধুলী « bā̃dhulī » *a flower* (bandhuka + -likā); দাঁদলান « dā̃dɸlānå » *to be on the aggressive, to be fighting and quarrelling, to oppress* (dvandva-la-); ফাঁদল « phā̃dålɸ » *circumference* (< ফাঁদ « phā̃dɸ », cf. Late Skt. « phaṇḍa < *phandra » *belly*); হাতল « hātålɸ » *handle* (hasta-); পয়রা « påyrā » *liquid (as of treacle)* (< payas); etc., etc. We have this affix apparently in বাদল, বাদলা « bādålɸ, bādɸlā » *cloud, rainy weather* (Late Skt. vardala-), মাদল « mādålɸ » *a deep-toned drum* (mardala), কাতল, কাতলা « kātålɸ, kātɸlā » *carp fish*; etc.

(55) স « -sϕ », সা « -sā », ছা, চা « -chā, -cā ».

450. This affix, meaning 'likeness, similarity, resemblance,' is derived by Hoernle from OIA. « sadṛśa » (Gaudian Grammar, § 292); but this derivation is not tenable phonologically. As a source of this NIA. affix, I suggest the OIA. affix « -śa », as in a limited number of words in Skt., *e.g.*, « lōma-śa, kapi-śa, karka-śa, yuva-śa, arva-śa, ēta-śa, lōpa-śa, ? giri-śa, ? kala-śa ». This « -śa » affix was both pleonastic and adjectival, with an implication of similarity: *e.g.*, « kapi-śa » *tawny, 'monkey-like,'* « karka-śa » *harsh, grating, 'gravel-like.'* (This « -śa » is derived from an Indo-European « -ko [-k̂o] »: cf. Brugmann, 'Vergleichende Grammatik der idg. Sprachen[1]', II, Strassburg, 1889, § 83.)

Examples: « -a + -śa > -åsϕ », feminine « -ås-ī »: খোলস « khōl-åsϕ » *covering, slough of snake* (< khōlϕ *cover*); মুখস *ts.* « mukha » + « -sϕ » *mask*; তাড়স « tāṛå-sϕ » *force, influence, sympathy, as in fever due to a pain or wound* (< তাড় √tāḍ *drive, beat*); ঢেঁড়স « dhẽṛå-sϕ » *a vegetable, 'lady's fingers,'* beside ঢেঁড়ি, ধেঁড়ি « ḍhẽṛi, dhẽṛi » *a kind of ear-ornament*; আপস « āpå-sϕ » *friends, people of the same group or family* (appā < ātman, *ātma-śa); *sts.* রূপসী « rūpåsī » *a beautiful woman* (*rūpa-śa- + -ikā).

« -å-śa + -āka > -ås-ā > -ϕsā »: also altered to the affricates ছা « -chā », চা « -cā », in the feminine, সী, চী « -sī, -cī »: *e.g.*, পয়সা « påysā » *pice* (< pāi-sā, Hind. paisā); আলিসা > আলসা, আলসে « āli-sā > āĭlsā, ālsē » *parapet on a terrace* (< āli, āĭl *embankment*); চিপসা, চুপসা « cipϕsā, cupϕsā » *lean, pressed* (√cip *press*); ভাপসা « bhāpϕsā » *foetid, rank, dank (like vapour) with a bad odour* (*bāṣpa-śa-); পানিসা > পানসে « pāni-sā > pānsē » (by Vowel Harmony) *watery* (pānīya + -śa-); চামসা « cāmϕsā » *like untanned hide in smell* (*carma-śa); চকসা « cåkϕsā » *clearing of the sky* (cf. চকচক « cåk-cåk » reduplicated form = *to be bright*); ফরসা « phårϕsā » *light, dawning*, beside Chakma dialect « pår = phår » *light* (see p. 512); ঝাপসা, ঝাপসা « jhāpϕsā, jhupϕsā » *hazy* (cf. ঝোপ « jhōpϕ » *wood, grove*); আবছা « ābϕchā » *hazy, < cloudy* (cf. ‡আভ « ābhϕ » = « abbra » *thin cloud*); লেঙচা « lēŋϕ-cā » *to limp, to be like a lame man* (cf. লেঙড়া « leŋgϕrā » *lame man*, লেঙ « lēŋ » *kick, foot, shin*); ভেংচা, ভাঙচা « bhēŋ-cā, bhāŋ(g)ϕ-cā » *make faces or wry-*

mouth (cf. bhaŋgi) ; কপচা « kåpɔ̸cā » *to chatter* (√kḷp, kalp) ; ঘুমসী, ঘুঙসী « ghumɔ̸-sī, ghuŋ-sī » *waist-string*, ' *winding thread* ' (< √ghum *to wander about*) ; আল্‌গোছা « ālɔ̸gōchā » *without touching, from a distance* might be from « *ālågå-śā » *distinct-like* (alagna + -śa) : cf. however আলগোছে at p. 551 ; একসা « ēkɔ̸-sā » *rolled or united into one* seems to have been influenced by, if not actually derived from, the Persian « yak-sān ».

There are extensions of this affix : অসিয়া > চে « -å-s-iyā > -cē », and আসিয়া > আসে « -ā-s-iyā> -āsē » : লাল্‌চে « lālɔ̸cē = *lālå-siyā » *reddish* ; so কাল্‌চে « kālɔ̸cē » *blackish* ; ফাঁকাসিয়া > ফেঁকাসে « phå̃kāsiyā> phē̃kāsē » (also without nasalisation) *pale, colourless*, cf. Hindōstānī « phakk » *colourless.*

In the words সাতাসে, আটাসে « sātāsē, āṭāsē » *a child prematurely born after seven months or after eight months,* the « -āsē » represents মাসিয়া « mās-iyā » < « māsa » *month.* In a few onomatopoetics, however, we have an আস্ « -āsɔ̸ » and উস্ « -usɔ̸ » which seem to be connected with this « -sɔ̸ » affix : *e.g.*, ধপাস্ « dhåpāsɔ̸ », ধড়াস্ « dhåṛāsɔ̸ » *with a loud thud,* পটাস্, কটাস্ « påṭāsɔ̸, kåṭāsɔ̸ » *with a crack,* ধুপুস্ « dhupus » *with a gentle thud* etc. Cf. « -āṭɔ̸ » (p. 655) and « -ākɔ̸ » (pp. 681-682).

(56) সই, সহি « såi, såhi ».

451. OB. « *sahī », from OIA. « sahita », as in জলসই « jålɔ̸-såi » *immersed in water,* বুকসই « bukɔ̸-såi » *reaching up to the breast,* রুলসই « rūlɔ̸-såi » (' Hutōm-Pēcār Naksā,' 1862, p. 74) *belabouring with a cudgel* (« rulɔ̸ < English *ruler*) : etc. This is coufused with another সই « -såi » from the Perso-Arabic, for which see below.

(57) সর, সরা « -sårɔ̸, -sarā ».

452. From OIA. « sara < √sṛ » *moving.* This affix forms ordinals, and a few other adjectives and nouns : *e.g.*, MB. একসর « ēkåsårå » *alone, by one self* (wrongly Sanskritised in MB. to একেশ্বর, also একশ্বর « ēkēśwårå, ēkåśwårå ») ; দোসর « dōsårɔ̸ » *a second, a supporter, a double, second,* দোসরা « dōsɔ̸rā » *second, second day of the month* ; তেসর, তেসরা « tēsårɔ̸, tēsɔ̸rā » *third (day of the month)* ; চৌসর « cåusårɔ̸ » *fourth, square* ; MB. সোসর « sōsårå » *equal,* lit. *moving along with* (= sama-sara) ; etc. Hoernle

derives this from « sṛta » (Gaudian Grammar, §271), but in MIA. this would give either « saṭa > saḍa », or « sata, sita > sa(d)a, si(d)a ».

(58) সোঁআ « -sõā ».

453. Found in MB., as in (ŚKK.) কানাসোঁআ « kānā-sõā » *reaching the brink* (=karṇa- + -sama-).

(59) হার, হারা « -hāra̸, hāra ».

454. It occurs in a few words like একহারা, দোহারা, তেহারা, চৌহারা « ēka̸hāra, dōhārā, tēhārā, căuhārā », to mean 'fold.' (দোহারা « dōhārā » also means *stout, robust, 'double-sized'*). The source seems to be the Skt. « hāra » *division, portion* (Yōgesh Chandra Vidyānidhi, Bengali Grammar, VSPd., p. 178). Cf. MB. ষাঠিহার « ṣāṭhi-hāra », *ষাঠিহারা « ṣāṭhihārā » > NB. ষেটেরা « ṣēṭērā » *sixth-day ceremony and worship after child-birth.* The affix occurs in Hindōstānī also, where it is agentive: *e.g.*, « sirjan-hār » *Creator*, « dēnē-hārā » *giver*, « pālan-hār » *one who maintains*, etc. The Hind. « hār(ā) » is commonly derived from « kāra- » *doer*: but the aspiration in this case would be difficult to explain. There seems to have been a confusion between « kāra > -āra » and « hāra » in Early NIA.: cf. Bengali জোকার, জাঁকার « jōkāra̸, jā̃kāra̸ » *shout or song of triumph*, beside জোহার « jōhāra̸ » *salutation*, Hind. « juhār », found also in Kōl as « juhar » *salutation*; দোহার « dōhāra̸ » < « *dhuārå » *singer in a chorus* (< dhruva-kāra).

In দেহারা « dēhārā » < দেহরা « dēhårā » *temple*, we have « ghara, gṛha »; and দোঁহার « dõhāra̸ » *of two* is from « dõṇha, dõṇṇa + (k)ara ». Hoernle derives « hāra̸ » from Skt. « vidha + ra » (Gaudian Grammar, §412), but this derivation offers phonological difficulties.

455. There are in addition a number of affixes which are in most cases mutilated forms of words forming parts of compounds, and these are found mainly in place names (*e.g.*, আস, সা, সী « -āsa̸, -sā, -sī » < « -āvāsa, -vāsa- », as in ইন্দাস, « Indāsa̸ » = « Indrâvāsa », পাকড়াশী « Pāka̸ṛāśī » *a surname* = « Parkaṭâvāsa + -ika »; -দী, দীয়া > দে « -dī, -dīyā < -dē » as in ন'দে < নদীয়া « Nōdē < Nådīyā », from « dvipa- »; etc.);

but as these are not found in derived verbal or nominal forms of the language, and have long lost all force of affixes, they are not considered here. (See Y. C. Vidyānidhi, Bengali Grammar, VSPd, pp. 188-199). Affixes like ভর, ভরা « -bhårꝺ, -bhårā » (*e.g.*, পেট-ভরা « pēṭꝺ-bhårā *belly-full*, দিন-ভর « din-bhårꝺ » *all day long*), করা « -kårā » (as in শত-করা « śåtꝺ-kårā » *by the hundred, per cent*, where « kårā = Bengali passive participle of কর « √kår », corresponding to « kṛta »: Hindōstānī has « kaḍa- » as in « saĭ-kaṛā, saĭ-kaṛō », where « kaḍa » curiously enough preserves the old Māgadhī equivalent of « kṛta » which is lost to Bengali) are but compounded words, and are self-explaining; and they need no further discussion.

[II] TATSAMA SUFFIXES.

456. From the large and ever-increasing *tatsama* element in Late MIA. and in NIA., a number of common Sanskrit affixes were familiarised, and gradually these have been adopted into the language, their naturalisation being indicated by the formation of hybrids with *tbh.* or foreign roots or words. There seems, moreover, always to have been present in the minds of speakers of Late MIA. and Early NIA. a sense of some vague connexion between the « -ā, -ă » of nouns and adjectives and Skt. « -ākă, -ăkă », and between the « -a-, -ia- » of the passive participle with « -ta, -ita »: a connexion which the scholars have always noted and indicated.

In Second and Late MIA., as a single unvoiced stop would not be allowed intervocally (at least in orthography), the « -k- » or « -t- » of the *ts.* affixes would be written « -kk-, -tt- », and free use of this device would be made for purposes of metre or rime. This practice was continued to the Early NIA. stage: the 'Prākṛta-Paiṅgala' has spellings like « rūakka (rūpaka), Mēṇakkā (Mēnakā), Sāraṅgikkā (Sāraṅgikā), ghitta (ghṛta), āattı (āyati) », and in Old Hindī, Old Rājasthanī, etc. we find instances where this tradition is carried on, like « matti (mati), Sarasatti (Sarasvatī), Manmaththa (Manmatha), sukkha (sukha), hayaggaya (haya-gaja), jagga (jagat), uṛaggana (uḍa-gaṇa), saddāi (sadā) » etc., and even in foreign borrowings like « surattāna (sultān),

Arabbī (Perso-Arabic « ʿarabī »), Turakkī (Turkī) », etc. There are, however, also cases of doubling of other consonants than stops and aspirates in Late MIA. and Early NIA. In OB. of the Caryās we find also a few cases (see below, under « -ta, -ita »).

(1) ইমা « -imā ».

457. From OIA. « -iman », with the force of the English *-ness*: found also in MIA., *e.g.* « munisima (=manusyatva), gahirima (gabhīratva), vaḍḍhimā (vṛddhi-bhāva) », etc. OB. (Caryā 34) « pārima » (=pāra); MB., NB. বঙ্কিমা « bāŋkimā » (vakra-tva), লালিমা « lālimā » *redness*, রাতিমা « rātimā » *redness* (raktiman), beside কালিমা « kālimā » *blackness*, নীলিমা « nīlimā » *bluish tinge*, চাঁদিমা « cādimā » *moon-light, moon-sheen*. This affix is found in other NIA. languages, but it is literary rather than popular. In Bengali, « -imā » has also a slightly diminutive force.

(2) ঈয় « -īyȧ » [iɔ, io].

458. This is affixed to foreign and other names, forming adjectives: রুষীয় « Ruṣīyȧ » *Russian*, আরবীয় « Ārȧbīyȧ » *Arabian*, মিসরীয় « Misȧrīyȧ » *Egyptian*, খ্রীষ্টীয় « Khrīṣṭīyȧ » *belonging to Chirst, Christian*, ইটালীয় Iṭālīyȧ » *Italian*, ডেনীয় « Ḍēnīyȧ » *Danish*, হেগেলীয় « Hēgēlīyȧ » *Hegelian*, etc.

(3) ক « -kȧ ».

459. It is sometimes difficult to decide whether the pleonastic « -ka » of Bengali comes from MIA. « -kka » (see p. 683), or is an OB. or MB. employ of the *ts*. affix. The Skt. « -ka » undoubtedly sustained in Bengali this MIA. borrowing from it, and helped to extend its use. When it is in connexion with *ts*. words, the « -ka » might be regarded as the *ts*. affix: *e.g.*, রাজনৈতিক « rājȧnītikȧ » beside -নৈতিক « -nȧitikȧ » *political*; আদিক « -ādi-ka- » > দিগ « -digȧ » in the oblique plural base of nouns; Skt. words with « -ka, -ika », like « bāla-ka, pañca-ka, sahāya-ka, mās-ika, pākṣ-ika, dain-ika, dōla-ka, sthāpa-ka, māpa-ka, jñāpa-ka, pāitṛ-ka, vāiṣay-ika, lāuk-ika, sāgni-ka, tīrth-ika, māukh-ika », etc., etc. form a whole host in Bengali,

and since many of these words are freely used in the colloquial, « -ka, -ika (with modification of root vowel) » have become quite familiar as adjectival affixes.

In a few words like পেটুক « pēṭ-ukå » *glutton*, মিশুক « miś-ukå » *sociable*, লাজুক « lāj-ukå » *shy*, মিথ্যুক « mithy-ukå » *liar*, we have probably the Skt. affix « -uka »; cf. also হিংসুক « hiṅs-ukå » *envious*.

See also below, under 'Verb : Pleonastic Affixes.'

(4) ত, ইত « -t(å), -it(å) ».

460. The passive participle affix of OIA. (Skt.), it is in very common use. It was apparently re-introduced in the Late MIA. period, in which it was written « -tta, -itta ». This affix is frequently used with *tbh.* and *sts.*, as well as foreign roots and words, showing its complete naturalisation. Examples: OB. (Caryā 8) ভরিতী « bharitī » *filled*, fem. in « -ita » + « -ī »; (Caryā 9) নিবিতা « nibitā » (nirvṛta, MIA. *nivvitta-); so (Carya 12) পরিনিবিত্তা « parinibittā »; (Caryā 30) উইত্তা « uittā » (MIA. « *uitta- » for « uia » = « udita »); MB., NB. থকিত « thåkit(å) » *astonished* (thakka < *stabh-kṛta + -ita), খলিত « khålitå » *slipped* (√skhal), লখিত « låkhitå » *seen*, *noticed* (√lakṣ), জানিত « jāniṭå » *known* (see p. 654), করিত « kår-it(å) » as in করিত-কর্ম্মা kåritå-kårmā » *experienced* (= kṛta-karmā), জন্মিত, জম্মিত « jånmit(å), jåmmit(å) » *begotten*, উজলিত « ujålitå » *brightened* (< ujjvala), অবিয়াত « åbiyåtå » *unmarried* (« å- + biyā < vivāha + -tå »: cf. Hindī « byāh-it » *married*); এলায়িত « ēlåyitå » *dishevelled* (where « ēlā » < আলা, আউলা « āllā, āulā » = « ākula- », see p. 383, + « -itå »); etc.; নিকাহিতা স্ত্রী « nikāh-itā strī » *woman or wife married in the* nikāh *form* (< Perso-Arabic « nikāh »); বাপ্তাইজিত « bāptāij-itå » *baptised*; and even আইনানুসারে রেজেষ্ট্রিত « āinânusārē rējēṣṭritå » *registered in accordance with law* (Perso-Arabic « ʿaīn »: রেজিষ্ট্রীকৃত « rējēṣṭrīkṛtå » is more common, however). A number of wrong forms in « -i-tå », created by Bengali writers, have become well-established in the language, like খনিত « khånitå » (= khāta), ইচ্ছিত « icchitå » (= iṣṭa), দংশিত « dåṅśitå » (daṣṭa), অনুবাদিত « ånubāditå » (anūdita), সিঞ্চিত « siñcitå » (« sikta », causative « sēcita »), নমিত « nåmitå » (nata), আহরিত « āhåritå » (āhṛta, āhārita), একত্রিত « ēkåtritå » (= ēkatra), নিঃশেষিত « niḥśēṣita »

(<nih̥śēṣa), etc., etc. The « sêṭ » and « an-iṭ » bases of the Sanskrit grammarians have been entirely ignored. (See *supra*, p. 201).

(5) তব্য « -tåbyå » [-tobbo].

461. The Skt. « -tavya » is combined in the colloquial rather than in the literary speech with a few *tbh.* roots, through an extension of its employ in *ts.* forms : বলতব্য « bålå-tåbyå », কহতব্য « kåhå-tåbyå » (√bål, kåh=brū, kathaya-), সহতব্য, সহিতব্য « såhå-tåbyå, såh-i-tåbyå » for « sōḍhavya »; rarely with other roots, as *e.g.*, like খাতব্য « khātåbyå » (khāditavya), imitating « dātavya ».

(6) তা « -tā ».

462. The affix of abstraction, used mainly with *ts.* and *sts.* words, often wrongly : *e.g.*, সখ্যতা « såkhyå-tā » *friendship*, আধিক্যতা « ādhikyå-tā », colloquially among women আদিখ্যেতা « ādikhyētā » *excess, effusive or gushing affection*, জাতীয়তা « jātīya-tā » *nationalism*, রোমাণ্টিকতা « rōmāṇṭikå-tā » *Romanticism*, মানবিকতা « mānåbikå-tā » *human character*, ভদ্রতা « bhådrå-tā », সৌজন্যতা « såujånyå-tā » beside সৌজন্য « såujånyå » *courtesy*, etc.

(7) ত্ব « -twå » [-tto].

463. Quite common in Bengali with *tbh.* and even foreign words : *e.g.*, নতুনত্ব, নোতুনত্ব « nåtunå-twå, nōtunå-twå » *newness* (<nåutunå : p. 345); হিন্দুত্ব « hindu-twå » *Hinduism, Hindu ideas and practices* (Persian « hindū »); বামুনত্ব « bāmunå-twå » *Brahmanism, Brahmanishness*; মুসলমানত্ব « musålmānå-twå » *Mohammedan notions and ways*; ছোটত্ব « chōṭå-twå » *smallness*, বড়ত্ব « båṛå-twå » *bigness*; একঘেয়েত্ব « ēkåghēyē-twå » *monotony* (< « ēkå-ghā-iyā » *with the same beat*); কর্ত্তাত্ব, কত্তাত্ব « kårtā-twå, kåttā-twå » *domineering manner* (« kårtā », *sts.* « kåttā » =' *boss* '+ « -twå »), which, through influence of words ending in consonant + « -yå » changing the final syllable into « -i » (like সত্যি « såtyi » [ʃotti], পথ্যি « påthyi » [potthi], অবিশ্যি « åbiśyi » [obiʃʃi] = « satya, pathya, avaśya », see p. 406), is frequently found as কত্তাত্তি [kottatti] in the Standard Colloquial.

(8) পারা « -pārā ».

464. A *sts.* form, form Skt. « prāyah » > « *parāa », meaning 'like,' 'almost as': see under পনা « -pȧnā », p. 696. In Oṛiyā, this appears as « pȧrā ». Example: পাগল-পারা « pāgȧlẟ-pārā » *like a mad person,* also পাগলের পারা « pāgȧlērẟ-pārā »; « pārā » is thus used as a separate word, as it is also in Oṛiyā.

(9) ময় « -mȧyẟ ».

465. In the sense of 'full of,' 'spread about in or with': জলময় « jȧlȧ-mȧyẟ » *covered with water,* পথময় « pȧthẟ-mȧyẟ » *throughout the street,* কাদাময় « kādā-mȧyẟ » *all covered with mud,* দেশময় « dēśẟ-mȧyẟ » *all over the land,* ইউরোপময় « Iurōpẟ-mȧyẟ » *all over Europe,* etc.

(10) সহ « -sȧhȧ ».

466. The Skt. particle is loosely compounded with nouns to indicate inclusion: কাপড়-সহ « kāpȧṛẟ-sȧhȧ » *with the garments on,* বাছুর-সহ গোরু « bāchurẟ-sȧhȧ gōru » *a cow together with the calf,* ঢাকীসহ বিসর্জ্জন « ḍhākī-sȧhȧ bisȧrjȧnẟ » *casting the image (of Durgā or other goddess or god, after the annual worship) into water, with the drummers and all=making a thorough end of an affair*; also ঢাকীশুদ্ধ « ḍhākī-śuddhȧ », see below; etc.

(11) শুদ্ধ « -śuddhȧ », শুদ্ধা « -śuddhā ».

467. Also used in the inclusive sense: আমি-শুদ্ধ « āmi-śuddhȧ » *including me,* সব-শুদ্ধ(া) « sȧbẟ-śuddhȧ, -ā » *including all,* সাজশুদ্ধ ঘোড়া « sājẟ-śuddhȧ ghōṛā » *horse with harness and all,* etc. This usage apparently originated from the sense of *entire, complete* which the Skt. word has. The word is also spelt with a dental স « s- », and a *sts.* or *tbh.* from সুধু or শুধু « sudhu, śudhu » also occurs, meaning 'only.' In Hindōstānī we have the same word in « suddhā », also « sūdhī »; in Sindhī it occurs as « sūdhā » *along with.* Hoernle derives it from a MIA. « *saūddha, *saṁvaddha », from Skt. « sam-ā-dhā » (Gaudian Grammar, p. 226), but does this not look likely.

See also under 'Post-positions,' *infra,* under 'Noun.'

[III] FOREIGN SUFFIXES: PERSIAN.

468. Persian suffixes, and some words which have almost become like suffixes in Bengali, are given below.

(1) আন, ওয়ান « -ān, -wān » *possessing* (<« -wān, -bān »): গাড়ীআন্, গাড়ী-ওয়ান্, গাড়ওয়ান, গাড়আন « gāṛīān, gāṛīwān, gāṛwān, gāṛaān » *cab-man*; বাগান < বাগোয়ান « bāgān < bāgwān » *garden* (=bāgwān); the word কোচুয়ান « kōcuān » beside কোচমান « kōc-mān » *coachman* seems to the English word, with influence of the Persian « -wān », found in দরওয়ান « darwān » *gate-keeper* (darwān, darbān).

(2) আনা « -ānā » *pertaining to, having the nature of* (= -ānah): with an extension আনী, আনি « -ān-ī, -ān-i » (= -ānah + -ī), indicating abstraction: *e.g.*, বড়-ঘরানা « baṛa-ghar-ānā » *pertaining to rich or high families*; হিন্দুয়ানী « hindu-ān-ī », হিঁদুআনী « hĩdu-ān-ī » *Hindu ways*; বাবুয়ানা « bābu-ānā », বাবুয়ানী « bābu-ān-ī » *the ways of a gentleman, luxury and dressiness*; সাহেবিয়ানা « sāhēbi-ānā » *Europeans ways, extravagance and haughty ways*, etc., etc. See p. 592 for the intrusive « -i- », giving rise to the form « -iānā ».

(3) খানা « khānā » *place, abode* (=xānah): শুঁড়ীখানা « śũṛī-khānā » *vintner's shop*; মুদীখানা « mudī-khānā » *grocer's shop, oilman's store*; ডাক্তারখানা « ḍāktār-khānā » *dispensary*; ছাপাখানা « chāpā-khānā » *printing establishment*; বৈঠকখানা « baiṭhak-khānā » *drawing-room*; etc.

(4) খোর « khōr » *eater* (= xōr): গুলিখোর « guli-khōr » *opium-smoker*; আপিম-খোর « āpim-khōr » *opium-eater*; ঘুষ-খোর « ghus-khōr » *bribe-taker*; etc.

(5) গর « gar » *maker* (=gar), frequently altered to an Indian কর « -kar »: কারিগর « kārigar » *artisan, craftsman* (Skt. « kāru » *maker* + Pers. « gar ») beside কারিকর « kārikar »; বাজীগর, -কর « bājī-gar, -kar » *magician, acrobat*.

(6) গিরি « giri » *business, craft, trade; manners, ways* (=Pers. « gar-ī »; also « gīr » *taking, holding, seizing* > *taker, holder* + nominal affix « -ī »): মুটিয়া-গিরি « muṭiyā-giri » *the calling of a porter*; মুচিগিরি « muci-giri » *a shoe-maker's calling*; বাবুগিরি « bābu-giri » *the ways of a gentleman=soft living*; কেরাণীগিরি « kērāṇī-giri » *the profession of a clerk*; etc.

salted (as of curry) (a-lavaṇ-ika); আকাচা « ā-kācā » *not washed (as a dhōtī)*; অবনৃতি « å-bånåt-i » *disagreement* (বন √bån *to make up*); আকাঁড়া « ā-kā̃ṛā » *not cleaned (as of rice)* (a-kaḍḍhia, *a-kanḍia = a-kṛṣṭa); MB. *sts.* আবুদ্ধিয়া « ā-buddhiyā » *without intelligence*; অশুধ « åśudhå », *mourning, ceremonial uncleanliness,* often written ওষুধ « ōṣudhå » (a-śuddha); MB. (ŚKK.) আদেখ « ā-dēkhå » *not seen,* আদিবস « ā-dibåså » *bad day,* আবেলা « ā-bēlā » (NB. অবেলা « å-bēlā ») *bad time*; আধোয়া « ā-dhōā » *not washed*; অকেজো « å-kējō < *ā-kāj-uā » *good-for-nothing*; MB. আকারণে « ākāraṇē *without any reason*; আজান(া), অজানা « ā-jān(ā), å-jānā » *unknown*; অঘর « å-ghårå » *bad family*; আঘাট « ā-ghāṭå » *a bad 'ghāṭ'*; অবিয়ত « å-biyå-tå », see p. 704; etc.

We have also hybrids like অহিন্দু « å-hindu » *non-Hindu, un-Hindu,* অখুশী « å-khuśī » *displeased* (Persian « xūšī »), অহিসাবী *unmethodical* (Perso-Arabic « ḥisāb » *accounts*).

OIA. « ăn- », before vowels, is the source of the Bengali অনা « ånā », through the occurrence of forms like « an-āgata, an-āvṛṣṭi » etc.: *stss.* অনামুখ « anā-mukhå » *evil-face,* অনাছিষ্টি, অনাসৃষ্টি « anā-chiṣṭi, anā-sṛṣṭi » *extraordinary (in a pejorative sense).*

(2) অ, আ « å-, ā- »: Intensive > Pleonastic.

470. It is found in some MB. and dialectal NB. words. See *supra,* p. 378. Possibly it is a semantic development of the negative অ, আ above. The OIA. particle (later prefix) « ā » could not continue its force in NIA., as it was assimilated through phonetic decay in MIA. Examples: অমন্দ « å-måndå » *bad*; অবৃথা, আবৃথা « å-bṛthā, ā-bṛthā », « obretha » in the 'Crepar Xaxtrer Orthbbed' (see p. 234) = « vṛthā »; অঘোর নিদ্রা « å-ghōrå nidrā » = « ghōra nidrā » *deep sleep*; অরঙ্গা, আরঙ্গা « å-råṅgā, ā-råṅgā » *coloured*; অকুমারী, আকুমারী « å-kumārī, ā-kumārī » *virgin,* « ocumari » in the 'Orthbhed.'

Connected with the above would seem to be an আ « ā- » prefix, indicating 'similarity' or 'resemblance': *e.g.,* আকাঠ, -ট « ā-kāṭ(h)å » *like a log > idiotic*; আখ(া)ম্ভা « ā-khāmbhā, -khåmbhā » *like a pillar* (slang);

·আভাজা « ā-bhājā » *slightly fried* < *not properly fried* (here = the privative or pejorative « ā- » ?).

(3) কু « ku- ».

471. Pejorative, from OIA. « ku- ». This prefix also is used as a noun in Bengali, meaning 'something bad.' Examples: কুকাজ « ku-kājø » *bad deed*, কুচাল « ku-cālø » *bad ways*. There are also hybrids—কুনজর « ku-nåjår » *bad sight* > *eye of displeasure* (*or of sensuality*) (Perso-Arabic « nazr »), কুকেচ্ছা « ku-kecchā » *scandal* (Perso-Arabic « qiṣṣah »), etc. (The OIA. « duṣ-, dur- » *bad* has not been naturalised in the same way.)

(4) দর « dårø- ».

472. A diminutive preffix, meaning *half, a little*, from MIA. « dara » (cf. Pischel, 'Grammatik der Prakrit-sprachen,' § 222) from OIA. « √dṛ » *to break*: *e.g.*, দরকাঁচা « dårø-kā̃cā » *half unripe*, also ‡ দরকচা, দরকোচা « dårø-kåcā, dårø-kōcā », *not properly matured*; দরপাকা « dårø-pākā » *half-ripe*. It is a rare and practically an obsolete affix.

(5) নি « ni- », *sts.* নির্ « nir- ».

473. Privative affix, from OIA. « niḥ, nir ». Through Skt. influence this affix also occurs as নির্ « nir ». Examples: নিভুল « ni-bhulø » *faultless, without a mistake* beside নির্ভুল, 'নিব্ভুল' « nir-bhulø, nibbhulø »; নিখুঁত « ni-khũtø » *without a blemish*; নিগাঁই, নির্গাঁঞি « ni-gā̃i, nir-gāñi » *without any village home*; নিখান্তি, নিখাউন্তি « ni-khā-(u)nti », feminine from « *ni-khā-wåntå » *one who does not eat*; নিনাই, নিনায়, নিনাও « ni-nāi, ni-nāy, ni-nāo » *one without a boat*; *sts.* ‡ নিউদ্দিশ « ni-uddiśø » beside নিরুদ্দেশ, নিরুদ্দিশ « nir-uddēśø, nir-uddiśø » (= nir-uddēśa); ‡ নিখাইক « ni-khāikø » *one who does not eat*; MB. (ŚKK.) নিমাথি, নিমাথিতী « ni-māthi, ni-māthitī » *woman without protector* (ni + māthā < mastaka- + ikā, etc.); নিলাজ « ni-lājø » *shameless*; নিদয় « ni-dåyø », নিকরুণ « ni-kåruṇa » *pitiless*; etc., etc.

It is found also in verbs and other forms, like নিবা « nibā » *to extinguish* (nir-vā), where its force as a prefix is now lost.

(6) বি « bi- », rarely বে « bē- ».

474. Privative and pejorative = OIA. « vi- »: *e.g.*, বিজোড় « bi-jōṛạ » *without a match, odd*; MB. বিবুধি « bi-budhi » (= dur-buddhi); বিকরুণ « bi-kȧruṇȧ » (= niṣ-karuṇa); বিহড় « bihȧṛȧ » *to turn wrong* (= vi-ghaṭa-); *sts.* বেজম্মা « bē-jȧmmā » beside বিজন্মা « bi-jȧnmā » *bastard* (= vi-janman); etc. Cf. OB. (Caryā 32) « khāla-bikhalā » = « khāta- + vikhāta ».

(7) স « sa- ».

475. Skt. « sa- », *along with*, is used in Bengali in an intensive or ameliorative sense: *e.g.*, সঠিক « sȧ-ṭhikạ » beside ঠিক « ṭhikạ » *true, correct*; সকাল « sȧ-kālạ » *early, morning* (as opposed to বিকাল « bi-kālạ » *afternoon, evening*); so সবের « sȧ-bērạ » *morning, early*, as opposed to অবের « ȧ-bērạ » (< vēlā); *stss.* সাবকাশ « sābȧkāśạ » (= avakāśa), সক্ষম « sȧ-kṣȧmạ » (= kṣama); etc. From the Persian « nābāliġ » > নাবালক « nābȧlȧkạ » *minor*, a form সাবালক « sā-bālȧkạ » *major*, as if with this prefix, has been formed.

The old sociative or instrumental use of « sȧ- » has been partly revived in Bengali, and we have even a hybrid form like সবুট « sȧ-buṭ » *with boots on* (< English *boot*, as in সবুট পদাঘাত « sȧ-buṭ pȧdȧghātạ » *a kick with the boot on*), সজোরে « sȧ-jōrē » *with force* (Persian « zōr »), on the model of *ts.* forms like « sa-vastra, sa-bala, sa-daya », etc.

(8) সু « su- ».

476. Ameliorative affix, used also as a noun = *something good*, (like « ku »). Examples: সুছাঁদ « su-chȧ̃dạ » *of good-shape*; সুজন « su-jȧnạ » *good man*; সুমন « su-mȧnạ » *good-minded* (predicative adjective), *good mind* (su-manas); সুদিন « su-dinạ » *good day*; সুনাম « su-nāmạ » *good repute*; সুডোল « su-ḍōlạ » *of good shape*; etc. Hybrids—সুনজর « su-nȧjȧrạ » *good glance, kindly glance* (Perso-Arabic « nazr »), সুখবর « su-khȧbȧr » *good news* (xabr), etc.

(9) হা « hā- ».

477. Explained as the interjection হা « hā » *alas*, which is a very likely source. It might have, however, originated from a MIA. « haa »

(=hata). Used with a few words to indicate absence of something, and a consequent yearning for it: *e.g.*, হাপুতি « hā-puti » *a woman who mourns or longs for children*; হাভাতিয়া > হাবাতে « hā-bhātiyā > hābātē » *a beggar for bread* (lit. *rice*); হাঘরিয়া > হাঘ'রে « hā-ghāriyā > hāghōrē » *homeless vagrant*; হাপুস as in হাপুস নয়নে কাঁদা « hā-puss nāyānē kādā » *weep with flooded eyes*, where হাপুস may be from *হাউস « hā-wuss » from « hā, ha(t)a » + « √vṛṣ » *rain*; etc.

Some independent words like ভর « bhār », as in ভর-সাঁঝ or -সন্ধ্যা « bhār-sājh, -sāndhyā » *in the middle of the evening*, আধ « ādh » (ardha) as in আধ-ফোটা « ādh-phōṭā » *half-open* (*flower*), etc., occur in compounds, and these strictly speaking are not prefixes.

[II] FOREIGN PREFIXES: PERSIAN.

478. (1) গর « gār- », from Perso-Arabic « ġair » *without*; গরমিল « gār-mil » *disagreement*; cf. গরহাজির « gār-hājir » *absent* (ġair-ḥāẓir).

(2) দর « dār- » *under, within*; দরপত্তনী « dār-pāttānī » *sub-tenancy*.

(3) না « nā- » *not*: *e.g.*, না-পাজ্জিমানে < না + পার্য্যমাণে « nā-pājjimānē < nā + pāryamāṇē » *when one is not able*, on the model of নাহক « nā-hāk » *without reason, without right* (nā-ḥaqq), নাবালক « nābālāk » *minor* (nā-bāliq), etc. In forms like না-টক না-মিষ্টি « nā-ṭāk nā-miṣṭi » *neither sour nor sweet*, we have, however, the native Bengali negative particle rather than the Persian affix.

(4) ফি « phi- », from Perso-Arabic « fī », used in Bengali to mean *each*: ফি-লোক « phi-lōk », ফি-জন « phi-jān » (*for*) *each man*, ফি-হাত « phi-hāt » *at each hand, at each step*, etc.

(5) বদ « bād- » *evil* (Persian « bad »): বদ-রীত « bād-rīt » *bad ways*, বদ-রাগী « bād-rāgī » *one who flies into a passion*, বদ-গন্ধ « bād-gāndhā » *bad odour*, etc.

(6) বে « bē- » *without*: also used pejoratively. This affix is assimilated to the cognate Skt. « vi- » > বি « bi- ». Examples: বেহাত « bē-hāt » *out of reach*; বেচাল « bē-cāl » *evil ways, waywardness*; বেরসিক « bē-rāsik » *one who is impervious to witticism*; বে-হেড « bē-hēḍ » (slang) *off one's head, losing control over oneself* (« hēḍ » < English *head*); বে-টাইম, -টাইন

« bē-ṭāim, -ṭāin » *in improper time* (< English *time*) ; etc. The word বেয়াড়া « bēāṛā », of course, represents the native « vikaṭa- ».

(7) হর « hår- » *each,* from Persian « har »: হরবোলা « hårŏ-bōlā » *ventriloquist* ; হর-দিন « hår-dinŏ » *daily* ; etc.

There are other Persian words like « bar-, sar-, kam- », but these have not as yet acquired the force of an affix, at least so far as native words or roots are concerned.

ENGLISH.

479. The English words *head, full,* and *half* are used in a number of compound forms with Bengali words, and have almost become affixes : *e.g.*, হেড-পণ্ডিত « hēḍ-påṇḍitŏ » from the Anglo-Indian *Head Pundit* ; so হেড-বাবু « hēḍ-bābu » *chief Indian clerk in an office* ; হেড-মুহুরী « hēḍ-muhurī » (Pers. « muharrir », see p. 610); হেড-গোমস্তা « hēḍ-gōmåstā » (Pers. « gumāštah »); হেড-মৌলবী « hēḍ-måulåbī » *Head Moulvi* ; ফুলবাবু « phul-bābu » *a fop, a 'Full Babu'* ; ফুল-আখড়াই and হাফ-, হাপ-আখড়াই « phul-ākhŏṛāi, hāp(h)-ākhŏṛāi » *two styles of poetical and singing contest much in vogue in mid-19th century Bengal* (*full, half* + « ākhŏṛāi » *gathering* < « ākhŏṛā = akhāṛā » *club*). The prefix *sub-* (as সব, সাব « såb-, sāb- ») is quite well-known through the occurrence of words like *sub-division, sub-deputy, sub-assistant, sub-overseer, sub-inspector, sub-registrar,* etc., etc., which are familiar to Bengali speakers everywhere, but it has not yet been used with an Indian word.

CHAPTER II

DECLENSION OF THE NOUN

[A] STEMS.

480. Bengali like most NIA. languages may be said to have started *de novo* in its morphology, having preserved but very little of the declinational system of OIA.; and the little that it has preserved consists of a few inflexions which have been generalised. MIA. considerably curtailed the elaborate declension of the noun of OIA. The various vowel and consonant stems of OIA. (as in Vedic), considerably over a dozen, were reduced to a bare six (« -ă, -ĭ, -ŭ ; -ā, -ī, -ū » stems) in Early MIA., when « ṛ » became « -ă, -ĭ, -ŭ », and final consonants dropped off ; and there were just a few relics of the other stems. They were further simplified in Late MIA., when the final long vowels were shortened (see *supra*, p. 301), and there was a general tendency to bring all declensions under the « -ă » type. Stems in « -i, -u » were gradually approximated to the « -ă » declension ; « -i, -u » nouns were often extended to « -ia, -ua » by adding of « -ă < -kă, -kā » ; and new affixes in « -a » replaced older ones in « -i-, -u », like « -ira » in literary Apabhraṁśa of Gujarat removing affixes like « -in, -ālu » (cf. R. G. Bhandarkar, 'Wilson Lectures,' pp. 111-114 ; Jacobi, 'Bhavisatta-kaha,' pp. 30* ff. ; C. D. Dalal and P. D. Guṇē, 'Bhavisayatta-kahā,' Baroda, 1923, Introduction, pp. 17 ff.). Final « -i, -u » even tended to disappear from the stem, giving place to « -ă » : so that Early NIA. could inherit from Late MIA. (and from MIA. changing to NIA.) many stems in « -ă » like « rāsă (=rāśi) ; mună (=muni) ; dhună (=dhvani) ; gură (=guru) ; sāhă (=sādhu) ; bāhă, bā̃hă (= bāhu) ; sūdhă (= śuddhi) ; dēvă, dē (dēvī < dēvī) », etc. The OIA. stems were in this way reduced to the bare « -ă, -ĭ, -ŭ » stems in Early NIA., with « -ĭ, -ŭ » taking up the affixes of the « -ă » stem and at times even being suppressed in favour of the « -ă ». This is what happened in all OIA. words inherited through MIA. Late MIA. « -ăă, -āă, -iă (-īă),

-uă (-ūă) » became the long vocalic stems « (-å), -ā, -ī, -ū » of Early NIA., and these long stems are preserved in most MIA. In Bengali, however, these final long vowels became weakened: « -ā » of course remained as আ « -ā » in writing (as the original short « ă » sound had become a vowel of a different quality, অ = [ɔ]), but it was not, and is not pronounced fully long; and « -ī, -ū » became « -i, -u », indifferently written long or short.

In MB., we have frequent examples of this levelling of the « -i, -u » stems to « -ă ». The nominative, through the influence of Sanskrit, may preserve or may even have restored the original vowel; but the stem, forming the basis of the other cases, is plainly an « -ă » stem. Even *ts.* words follow this tendency. Thus, we have commonly ধূলি « dhuli » beside ধূল « dhūlă, dhūlå » *dust*, nominative and accusative, but in locative it is ধূলে « dhūlē » (= dhūla + -ē); দিঠি « diṭhi » *sight*, nominative, but locative দিঠে « diṭhē » (= diṭha + -ē); বেলি « bēli < *bēlī » *time of the day*, (= *vēlikā) (beside বেল « bēlå », as well as বেলা « bēlā » with « -ā » from Skt.), locative বেলে « bēl-ē »; *ts.* nominative বুদ্ধি « buddhi », locative বুদ্ধে « buddhē », genitive বুদ্ধের « buddhērå »; *ts.* অপমৃত্যু « åpa-mṛtyu », locative and instrumental অপমৃত্যে « åpå-mṛty-ē » (as in the 'Caitanya-bhāgavata' of Vṛndāvana-dāsa); so in the 'Crepar Xaxtrer Orthbhed,' we find « xotro » = শত্রু « śåtru », but locative « xotre » = শত্রে « śåtrē »; etc. Such modifications of « i, -u » to « -å » in the oblique are fairly common in MB. In MB., epenthesis no doubt gave to original « -i, -u » nouns (*tbh.* or *sts.* and *ts.*) the appearance of being « -ă » nouns in the inflected forms: *e.g.*, চক্ষু, চখু « cåkkhu, cåkhu » *eye* > চউখ, চৈখ « cåŭkh, cåĭkh », genitive চক্ষের « cåkkhērå », চউখের, চৈখের, চোখের « cåŭkhērå, cåĭkhērå, cōkhērå »; সাধু « sādhu », genitive সাধের « sāĭdhērå », instrumental সাধে, সেধে sĭdhē, sēdhē », etc., which would suggest as stems *চৈখ *cåĭkhå », *সাধ « *sāĭdhå »; so ষাঠী « Ṣāṭhī » *the Goddess of children* (ṣaṣṭhī, ṣaṣṭhikā) gives ষাইঠের, ষেঠের, ষাঠের « ṣāiṭhērå, ṣēṭhērå, ṣāṭhērå » as if from *ষাঠ « sāĭṭhă »: and quite a number of similar cases.

481. The inflexions of the seven (or eight, including the vocative) cases of OIA. tended to disappear in NIA., but some occur as survivals. Although we have in NIA. here an old instrumental or there an old

locative affix preserved, the two characteristic forms from point of view of most NIA. are (i) the nominative, and (ii) the oblique. The former roughly represents the old nominative, and the latter, frequently the sole representative of other case inflexions of OIA., rests on the original genitive or dative, locative or instrumental inflexion, to which the new case-forming post-positions are added. The juxta-position of these two stems, nominative and oblique, is the regular rule in Western and Central NIA., in Marāṭhī, in Gujarātī and Rājasthānī, in Western Hindī, in Panjābī, in Lahndī, in Sindhī, and in Western and Central Pahāṛī. It is much confused in Eastern Pahāṛī. In Eastern Hindī, it has fallen into disuse in the singular noun; and it is absent in the Eastern languages, Bihārī, Bengali, Oṛiyā and Assamese. The declension of the noun has thus become considerably simplified in the last group.

Distinction between masculine and feminine forms is absent in Bengali and other Magadhan languages. The same inflexions serve for both masculines and neuters as well as feminines. Thus the instrumental « -ē, -ẽ » is found in feminine nouns like « ghadiẽ, āliẽ, kāliẽ » in the Old Bengali of the Caryās; and the old feminine inflexions (although at times found in a form like « samāhia » [=samādhyā], which is a sporadic survival in the literary language) are entirely lost.

482. Bengali nouns thus have come to have one declension only, irrespective of stem and gender. There are in the NB. Standard Colloquial just a few phonetic modifications in the inflexions, and these are noted below. We have in Bengali—

(1) Consonantal stems = mainly « -ă (-å) » bases of Early MB. and OB., and Late MIA., and partly also OIA. « -i, -ī, -u, -ū » bases (see pp. 301, 305, 307, 308, 310); and *ts.* words with quiescent « -ă »; and also foreign words ending in a consonant.

So long as the final vowel was pronounced, the genitive affix was « -rå < -årå » (kără), as *e.g.*, MB. হাতর, রামর « hātårå, Rāmårå », as well as « -ērå <-kēra » (kārya), as in হাতের, রামের « hātērå, Rāmērå »; but NB., which has dropped the final vowel, now does not use « -årå > র -rå̸ », but only « -ērå > এর -ērå̸ ».

(2) **Vowel stems, simple and diphthongal:**

[i] « -ȧ » or « -o, -ō » stems, in *tbh.* forms, representing an earlier « -aẘa »; and in *ts.* and *sts.* forms, the Sanskrit « -ă » (see *supra*, pp. 302, 304, 347);

[ii] « -ā » stems, in *tbh.* nouns representing « -aă, -ăā, -āā' » of MIA. (see *ante*, pp. 302, 307); in *ts.* nouns, representing Skt. « -ā »; and in foreign nouns ending in vowels [-ă, -ə], etc., normally changing to « -ā » in Bengali (see *supra*, under 'Phonology of the Foreign Element');

[iii] « -ĭ, -ī » stems, representing, in *tbh.* words, the MB. « -i » after a vowel or after « -h- » (=OIA. « -ĭ, -ī »: see pp. 308-309), or the OB. « -ī » <« -ikă, -ikā » of OIA. (see pp. 302, 303, 852); in *ts.* stems, the Skt. « -i, -ī, -in » are properly represented by « -i, -ī »; and in foreign words, « -i, -ī » remain as « -i, -ī » (see *supra*, 'Foreign Element');

[iv] « -ŭ, -ū » stems, the history of which is parallel to that of the « -i, -ī » stems: they represent in *tbh.* words the MB. « -u » after a vowel or after « -h- » (=OIA. « -ŭ, -ū »: see p. 310), or the OB. « -ū » < OIA. « -ukă, -ūpă, -ukā, -upā » (see pp. 310, 311, 352); in *ts.* words, Skt. « -ŭ, -ū » remain « -ŭ, -ū », pronounced [u] in Bengali, as well as foreign « -ŭ, -ū »;

[v] a few « -ē » nouns; and

[vi] « -ō » nouns; both in *tbh.* forms representing the contracted « -ă » bases of Late MIA. (cf. pp. 311, 352, 353).

Foreign words with « -ē, -ō » bases are also found.

In addition, there are [vii] diphthong stems, in *tbh.*, *ts.* as well as foreign words (see *supra*, pp. 415 ff., under 'Bengali Diphthongs.')

NB. *tbh.* vowel stems in « -ȧ, -ā, -ē, -ō » as a rule take the র « -ra̸ » affix for the genitive, and not এর « -ēra̸ »: *e.g.*, ভালর, পনেরর, ঘোড়ার, কালোর, আলোর, দের (=the surname, < « dēva ») « bhālȧ-ra̸, pȧnērȧ-ra̸, ghōṛā-ra̸, kālō-ra̸, ālō-ra̸, dē-ra̸ »; but monosyllabic words in « -ā » can take both « -ra̸ » and « -era̸ »: *e.g.*, মায়ের, ঝীয়ের, ঘায়ের « mā-ēra̸, jhī-ēra̸, ghā-ēra̸ » (*of a blow or sore*) beside মার, ঝীর, ঘার « mā-ra̸, jhī-ra̸, ghā-ra̸ ». OB. and MB., of course, used both « -ără=-ra̸, -ērȧ= -ēra̸ », the « -rȧ » form being found compounded with Late MIA. bases in « -ă ». In OB. and

MB. (unlike NB.) « -ērå » seems to have been preferred with *tbh.* as well as *ts.* forms in « - i, - ī, - u, - ū »: *e.g.*, Caryā 19 « ḍōmbīera » = NB. ডুমনীর « ḍumånīrå » *of a Dōm woman*; মুনিএর beside মুনির « muni-ērå, muni-rå » *of a sage*; বহুএর beside বহুর « båhu-ērå, båhu-rå » *of many*; etc. Except in the case of diphthongs ending in « -i, -u », and in the diphthongs « -æo, -āo » with which euphony in NB. demands that « -ērå » is to be used, all NB. « -i, -ī, -u, -ū, -ē, -ō » words take « -rå ». *Tatsama* or foreign words in « -å », however, can use either « -ērå » or « -rå ».

The instrumental-locative in Old and Early Middle Bengali was « -ē, -ẽ », in the case of all nouns ending in « -ǎ » or in any other vowel. NB. continues the « -ē » in what were originally « -ǎ » nouns (now nouns with a consonant ending through loss of the « -ǎ »); and in the case of nouns originally ending in other vowels, it uses the post-positional affix তে « -tē » rather than the organic one « -ē » for the instrumental and locative cases, to avoid the hiatus, always after « -i, -u, -ō » vowels, and optionally after « -ā » [1]: *e.g.*, লোকে « lōk-ē < lōkå » *on, by or with a man*; but ঘোড়ায়, ঘোড়াতে « ghōṛā-ē > ghōṛāy, ghoṛā-tē » *on or with a horse*; মায়ে ঝীয়ে « māē jhīē » *mother and daughter both* (instrumental and nominative), beside মাতে ঝীতে and মায়েতে ঝীয়েতে « mā-tē jhī-tē, mā-ē-tē jhī-ē-tē »; Early Bengali বাবুয়ে « bābu-ē », NB. বাবুতে « bābu-tē » *on or by a gentleman*; Early Bengali মুনিএ « muni-ē », NB. মুনিতে « muni-tē » *on or by a sage*, etc. Assamese, and numerous dialectal forms of Bengali as well, stick to the instrumental, and avoid this further confusion between the locative and the instrumental by importing the « -tē » which has now come in the « sādhu-bhāṣā » and the Standard Colloquial.

The above are the slight alterations which are noticed in the use of some of the inflexions with the Bengali noun stems, and being recent, and essentially phonological, they cannot be said to mark out any distinction in the stem of the noun in Bengali.

[1] One may compare the importation of [t] in the popular French of Paris to avoid the hiatus (cf. Henri Bauche, 'Le Langage populaire,' Paris, 1920, p. 58). See *infra*, under Cases—Nominative, Instrumental, Locative.

[B] Gender.

483. It has been noted above that the tendency in Apabhraṅśa was to generalise the inflexions of the masculine « -ă » stem. This considerably weakened the grammatical distinction between masculine and feminine nouns, and this distinction has been entirely dropped in Bengali, in its *tbh.* element. Adjectives qualifying feminine nouns (grammatical or *natural) are sometimes* furnished with an « -ā » or « -ikā » (*tatsama*) or an « -ī, i » or « -nī, -ni » (*tatsama* or *tadbhava*) affix, *e.g.*, পরমা সুন্দরী « pȧrȧmā sundȧrī », তরুণী স্ত্রী « tȧruṇī strī », বৎসহারা গাভী « bȧtsȧ-hārā gābhī » *a cow which has lost her calf*, ‡ ভাগ্যিমানী মেয়ে « bhāgyimānī mēyē » *a woman happy in her husband's love* (a from used by women in the Standard Colloquial, « =bhāgyavatī strī ») ; but these feminine forms are confined to *ts.* and *sts.* words, and are entirely against the spirit of the language. (Cf. Lalit Mohan Banerji, 'Vyākaraṇ-Vibhīṣikā,' pp. 27 ff., for examples of wrong use of the Skt. feminine affixes in Bengali). In the Western Magadhan dialects, predicates referring to nouns or pronouns in the feminine gender have the feminine affix « -ī, -i », but in the declension there is no distinction, such as we find for instance in Western Hindī and Marāṭhī.

Grammatical gender may be said to be preserved in all NIA. except Magadhan. In most of them, however, the neuter has merged in the masculine : in some, like Marāṭhī, Gujarātī and Sinhalese, the neuter is preserved. Thus in Western Hindī, « pōthī, bāt » are feminine, as they represent the earlier « potthiā, vattā = pustikā, vārtā », and verbal predicates referring to them (in the past participle or future) as well as genitive and other adjectival forms qualifying them must be put in the feminine. This is thus a survival of MIA. conditions : and there is no survival of this kind now in the Eastern Magadhan speeches, Bengali, Assamese and Oṛiyā, although it exists in the older phases of the above speeches, and is still found to some extent in the Central and Western Magadhan speeches. We have in OB., and to some extent also in Early MB., a state of things almost identical with that obtaining in Western Hindī or in Apabhraṅśa. In the Caryās, there are numerous cases showing that nouns in « -ī, -i < -ikā » and in « -ā = *ts.* -ā » preserved their grammatical gender, and were in the

feminine: *e.g.*, « diṭi (=diḍhī < *dṛḍhikā) ṭāŋgī » *strong axe* in Caryā 5; « sōnē bharitī nāw̃ī » *boat filled with gold* (Caryā 8); « mēlili kācchi » *the hawser was loosened* (Caryā 8); « tōhōri kuḍiā » *thy little hut*, « tōhōra antarē mōẽ ghalili hāḍēri māli » *for thy sake the chaplet of bones has been cast away by me* (Caryā 10); « tōhōri bhābhariālī » *thy coquetry*, « ḍombi-ta āgalī nāhi cchiṇāli » *before the Ḍōm woman there is no (greater) wanton* (Caryā 18); « maï dibi piricchā » *a question (or statement) is to be rendered by me* (29); « ṭuṭi gēli kaṅkhā » *the desire was destroyed* (37); « lāgēli āgi » *the fire caught* (47: āgi = āgī <aggia = agnikā); « nia ghariṇī canḍālī lēlī » *as (thy) own wife, a Caṇḍāla woman has been taken (by thee)* (49); « phiṭilī Śabarālī » *the Śabara's nature was destroyed* (50); etc. These would indicate that the sense of grammatical gender was quite strong in the language. Inanimate nouns, abstract, material or concrete, like « kaṅkhā, piricchā, nāw̃ī, āgi, māli, ṭāŋgī » etc., are feminine only because of their affixes,—as much as names of persons of the female sex like « cchiṇāli » and « canḍālī »; and they as a matter of course take feminine forms of the genitive-adjective (tōhōr-i, hāḍ-ēr-i) or attributive adjective (āgal-ī, diḍh-i), or verbal predicate of participial and adjectival origin (dib-i, gēl-i). But in Early MB., this is changed, and names of inanimate objects cease to have any grammatical gender, inspite of the affix. Grammatical tradition yields to reason. In Early MB. (ŚKK.) there are cases like গেলী or চালিলী রাহী « gēlī, cålilī Rāhī » *Rādhā went*, তার পিসী নিয়োজিলী « tārå pisī niyōjilī » *her aunt was appointed*, রোষিলী রাধিকা « rōṣilī Rādhikā » *R. angered*, etc., where predicates take the fem. affix « -ī, -i » when they qualify feminine nouns, names of sentient beings. In other MB. and NB., occasional cases of similar use crop up: *e.g.*, VSP., p. 166, ব্রাহ্মণেরি নারী « brāhmåṇ-ēr-i nārī » *a Brāhman's wife*; and there are also in MB. stray relics of grammatical gender, like ŚKK. (p. 381) চুড়ী « cuṛī » *bracelet* being qualified by the feminine adjective জড়ী « jåṛī » *encrusted with gems* (jaḍita + -ikā), and বরণে উজলী কনক বউলী « båråṇē ujålī kånåkå-båülī » *a floret of gold shining in its lustre* (KKC., p. 64).

This early abandoning of grammatical gender in the eastern speeches has been regarded as a heritage from the non-Aryan languages current in the East, and has been connected with conditions in Tibeto-Burman, which

(=carma-kārāṇām). The instrumental supplies the nominative plural affix « -ē » of W. Hindī, as noted above; but the genitive plural never invades the domain of the nominative plural. This distinction is preserved in Marāṭhī, Sindhī and other Western speeches, and also in the Eastern speeches; although in the latter, the old genitive>oblique is found in some cases to encroach into the domain of the nominative; *e.g.*, Eastern Hindi nom. sg. « ghōṛā », nom. pl. « ghōṛawan=ghōṭakānām », beside « ghōṛawē =ghōḍa(ẇ)ahi=*ghōṭakēbhiḥ »; Maithilī « lōkani » pl. genitive originally, is commonly used as plural affix; however, it may be said that the plural oblique is used for the oblique only. Thus in Oṛiyā, we have « purușȧ », plural « purușē < *purușahi=purușēbhiḥ » but « purușȧŋ-kȧ(rȧ) » where the form « purușȧn- < purușāṇām » retains its genitive function.

Evidence of Western Hindī and the Eastern languages would show that in Northern India, from the Panjab and the Midland eastwards, the instrumental assumed the place of the lost nominative, at least in masculine « -ȧ » nouns, from the Early NIA. or Late Apabhraṅśa stage. But in Bengali, this instrumental « -ahi, *-ai, -ē » no longer figures as an affix, although it is found in its immediate neighbour and relation Oṛiyā, as well as in forms of the Bihārī speeches. It is just possible that in a NB. expression like লোকে বলে « lōk-ē bȧlē » *people say* we have in Bengali the plural « -ē < -ahi ». Cf. also expressions like চল সবে « cȧlȧ sȧb-ē » *come all*; সবে মিলি ভারত সন্তান « sȧb-ē mili Bhārȧtȧ-sȧntānȧ *all united Sons of India*; দশে মিলি করি কাজ, হারি জিতি নাহি লাজ « dȧś-ē mili kȧri kajȧ, hāri jiti nāhi lājȧ » *ten people united we do the deed, we lose or we win there is no shame*; ŚKK., p. 192, সবেঁ কহিব আইহনের মাএ « sȧb-ē̃ kȧhibȧ Āihȧnērȧ māē » *we shall all tell Ā.'s mother*. But this form can also be explained as a sg. instrumental-nominative « -ē < -ē̃ < -ēna ». Cases of instrumental nominative like the above can thus be regarded as representing both « -ēna > -ē̃ > -ē, -ĕ » in the singular and « -ēbhiḥ > -ahi > -ai > -ē » in the plural. In the ŚKK. there occur two cases সবই, সবঈ « sȧbȧi, sȧbȧī » (pp. 66, 336), which may represent the « *-a(h)i » stage, rather than the emphatic particle « hi » (saba+hi); for in MB. the latter is commonly preserved as « hi ». Relics of the instrumental plural are found in the pronoun (see *infra*); but

in general, it can be said that the plural instrumental affix of OIA. is lost to Bengali and Assamese.

486. The genitive plural affix « -ānām > -ṇă, -nă » is better preserved in Bengali. It is found (though as a rare form) in nouns in dialectal MB. and NB., and also occurs in the pronouns; but in the noun, its proper genitive force is now lost. It is used mainly as a secondary affix added to the nouns of multitude which are used to form the plural: *e.g.*, Standard Bengali গুলিন, গুলান « -gul-i-na̸, -gul-ā-na̸ » beside গুলি, গুলা « -gul-i, -gul-ā », plural affix (< Skt. kula-); dialectal (East Vaŋga) Bengali আইন < আনি « -āin<-āni » as in সক্কলাইন, হক্কলাইন « sȧkkȧl-āin, hȧ- » *all*, হোলাইন « hōl-āin <*pōlāni » *sons*; Western Bengali (LSI., V, I, pp. 89, 100) মিতান-রা-কে « mit-ān-rā-kē » *to friends*, সাংগানগার « sāŋg-ān-gā-ra̸ » *of friends*, etc. We have also in MB. সভান « sȧbhā-na̸ » *all*, gen. সভানের « sȧbbān-ēra̸ ». The genitive force is preserved in the pronoun: *e.g.*, ‡তান « tāna̸ » *his* (honorific), but even in the pronoun, the genitive in « -nă » has supplied the (honorific) nominative, as তিনি « tin-i ». The forms « -n-i » and « -ān-i > -āin » have their « -i » apparently from the old instrumental plural « -hi » which in this way modified the genitive before being itself lost. Maithilī, Magahī and Bhōjpuriyā as well as Western Hindī also show this « -n-i » for the plural. We have another modification of « -na » in Bengali, viz. « *-nha > -hā̃, -˜hȧ » as in pronominal forms like যেঁহ, তেঁহ, ইঁহ « jẽhȧ, tẽhȧ, ĩhȧ » *who, he, this* (honorific), দোঁহ « dõhȧ » as in দোঁহে « dõhē » *two* (nominative), দোঁহার « dõhāra̸ » *of two*, which may be compared with the Eastern Hindī « -nha, -nhi » as in Tulasī-dāsa. The « -ha, -hi » is difficult to explain: but it can well be due to contamination with the instrumental plural « -hi », or the singular locative « -hi » which became the accusative (oblique) in Bengali (see under 'Locative' below).

The « -na, -n-i, -nha > -hā̃, -˜hȧ » form is practically obsolete in Bengali as a plural affix for the noun, agglutinated words of multitude having taken its place. In the respectful form of the verb, which represents an original plural, we have ন « -na̸ »: করেন, গেলেন, দিবেন, বলিতেছেন « kȧrēna̸, gēlēna̸, dibēna̸, bȧlitēchēna̸ » *gives or give, went, will give, is or are telling*: this « -na̸ » represents the OIA. « -anti », but phonologically it

cannot be the Bengali development of « -anti », we would expect « -ãt » or « -åt » or « -it » (*supra*, p. 502) ; it is certainly the genitive plural « -na » extended from the noun to the verb to indicate the plural or the honorific. In certain forms of MB. (as for example in the 'Padmā-Purāṇa' of Baṅśī-dāsa), this verbal affix occurs as অাঁই, আঞি « -ãi, -ãñi », *e.g.*, দিলাঞি « dilãñi », করিলাঁই « kårilãi »: here it is unmistakably a modification of the nominal « -nå > -ni » as added to the verb.

The genitive « -ṇa, -na » certainly existed in OB., but no sure example is found in the Caryās. (Cf. Caryā 18, « kājaṇa kāraṇa » = « kāryāṇām kāraṇam » ?). So far as NB. is concerned, it occurs only sporadically, in some stereotyped plural forms, like « gulā-nå, guli-nå », and it figures in a few forms like নানান্ « nānā-nå » *many, several* (nānā). Words like ভোটান « Bhōṭānå » *Bhotan country* <' *Bhōṭ* ' *or Tibetan people*, কোল্হান « Kōlhånå » *tract inhabited by the Kōls* (see *supra*, p. 2) are instances of this « -nå < -ānām » ; phonetically a form like ভোটান « Bhōṭānå » cannot represent a Skt. « Bhōṭånta » *Bhōṭa frontier*, as it has been suggested by some.

487. In the word সবাই « såbāi » *all* (MB. সম্হাই, সম্হাঞি « såmhāi, -āñi », as in the ŚKK.) beside an emphatic সব্বাই « såbbāi » (see *supra*, p. 448), we have possibly a unique relic of the OIA. nominative plural affix : « sarvē hi > sabbā hi (generalised « -ā ») > sab(b)āï ». The force of the « -hi > -i » is no longer present. The form সবে « såbē » noted above (p. 724), may be a contracted form of it, rather than « *sabahi ».

In the ŚKK. (p. 176) we have the following : মারন্তাক যে না মারে। তার পাণী না লএ পীতরে ॥ « māråntā-kå jē nā mārē, tārå pāṇī nā låē pītårē » *the fathers do not accept the water (offered in the Śrāddha) of him who does not strike an aggressor*. Here of course পীতরে is merely a *sts.* form from the Skt. « pitaraḥ », familiar in many a *ślōka* current among the people.

488. Original nominative plural affix was lost to OB. Original plural instrumental certainly was used for the nominative, but it also became obsolete in OB. itself. Original genitive plural had only a very restricted use for the plural of all cases down to Early MB. To indicate the plural, which had come to be indistinguishable from the singular, some new devices came in. Of these, the most noteworthy was the affixing of

some noun of multitude to the noun. This method of indicating the plural by composition is already found in OB. as in the Caryās. Where the noun was qualified by a plural numeral, there was no necessity of compounding with a noun of multitude: *e.g.*, « pañca vi ḍāla » (*with*) *five branches indeed* (Caryā 1); « bēṇi pakhā » *two wings or sides* (pakṣa-: Caryā 4); « cau-ṣaṭṭhi pākhuḍī » *sixty-four petals* (Caryā 10); « pāñca janā » *five men* (Caryā 12: « janā=jana+ā », see pp. 658-659; it is not the MIA. plural nominative « -ā »: cf. NB. একজনা « ēkø janā » *one man*, সে জনা « sē jånā » *that man*, and পাঁচ জনা « pãcø jånā »); « pañca tathāgata » (Caryā 13); « pāñca kēḍuāla » *five oars*, « dui māga » *two ways* (Caryā 14); « batisa tāntī » *thirty-two strings* (Caryā 17); « tini bhuana » *the three worlds* (Caryā 18); « tia dhāu » *three natures* (dhātu) (Caryā 28); etc. But in the other cases, where it was felt necessary for the plural idea to be specified, we have compounding or periphrasis: *e.g.*, « maṇḍala-saēla bhājai » *all the maṇḍalas are broken* (Caryā 16); « kuliṇa-jaṇa » *people of good family*, « bidujaṇa-lōa » = « vidvajjana-lōka » (Caryā 18).

« Saēla=sakala, jaṇa=jana, lōa=lōka » seem to have been established as plural-forming words in OB. In MB. we find গণ « gåṇå », সকল « såkåla », সব, সভ, সহ্ম « såbhå, såbå, såmhå » (see p. 319), আদি(ক) « ādi(ka) » and কুল « -kulå », among others. The last is the source of the common pan-Bengali affix for the plural, গুল « -gulå » (-kula-ka > MB. -kulå, -gulå), extended to গুলা « gul-ā » < (« -*kulâka »: by Vowel-Harmony গুলো « gulō »), গুলান্ « gulā-nø », ‡গুলাইন « gulāin < *gulā-n-i » with the « -na » from the old genitive (see p. 725), and গুলি « -guli » (to denote pettiness, lovableness or prettiness of the object whose plural it indicates is really the feminine: < « -*kulikā »: see pp. 672, 673, 686), and we have further an extension গুলিন « -gul-i-nø ». In addition, we have extensions of « -gulå » with the pleonastic ক « -kø » (গুলাক « -gul-ā-kø », গুলিক « -gul-i-kø ») which are found mostly in West Rāḍha. This *sts.* form with the « -k- » in an intervocal position softened to « -g- », seems to have been quite common from Early MB. times; but literary Bengali preserves the *ts.* « kulå > kulø » as well, as in অলিকুল « åli-kulø » *bees*, কামিনীকুল « kāminī-kulø » *ladies*, ধেনুকুল « dhēnu-kulø » *cows*, পাখীকুল « pākhī-kulø » *birds*. In dialectal

Bengali, « -gulå, -gulā, -gulān » become গুনো « -gunō » (Calcutta and surrounding tracts), গিলা, গ্লা « -gilā, -glā » (North Bengali), and উন্, গিন্ « -un, -gin » (Chittagong).

489. There is in NB. the affix দিগ « -digå », genitive দিগের « -digēra̸ » which is used with names of animate, preferably sentient and intelligent beings, in the plural forms of the *oblique* cases. The affix is never used for the nominative. দিগ, দিগের « -digå, -digēra̸ » are « sādhu-bhāṣā » forms; in the specimens of prose in the Late MB. and Early NB. periods, a form দিগর « digåra̸ » also occurs side by side with দিগ « -digå ». The equivalents of দিগ, দিগের « -diga, -digēra̸ » are common in West Bengali, specially in the Standard Colloquial, and are দি, দিগ্ and দের « -di, -dig-, -dēra̸ ». The affix seems to have been of Central Rāḍha origin: it is not found in East and North Bengali dialects, where its occurrence at the present day can without difficulty be explained as being due to the influence of the « sādhu-bhāṣā » as well as of the Standard Colloquial. The use of this affix, both with organic inflexions and with post-positions, is indicated below, with the word মানুষ « mānuṣa̸ » *man.*

Accusative and Dative: Sādhu-bhāṣā মানুষদিগকে « mānuṣa̸-digå-kē », মানুষদিগেরে « mānuṣa̸-dig-ēr-ē », archaic মানুষের দিগরে « mānuṣ-ēra̸ digår-ē », মানুষের দিগরকে « mānuṣēra̸-digåra̸-kē »; Standard Colloquial মানুষদিকে « mānuṣa̸-di-kē », মানুষদিগে « mānuṣa̸-dig-ē », মানুষ'দগকে « mānuṣa̸-dig(å)-ke », also « mānuṣa̸-dikkē », beside the genitive মানুষদের, মানুষেদের « mānuṣa̸-dēra̸, mānuṣēdēra̸ », and the genitive *plus* the dative or accusative post-position কে—মানু(ে)ষদেরকে « mānuṣ(ē)-dēra̸-kē »;

Instrumental: Sādhu-bhāṣā মানুষদিগ-দ্বারা, -কর্তৃক « mānuṣa̸-digå-dwārā, -kårtṛka̸ » মানুষ, মানুষের দিগর (দিগের) দ্বারা « mānuṣ(ēra̸) -digåra̸ (-digēra̸) dwārā », etc.; Standard Colloquial মানুষদের দিয়ে < দিয়া, -দ্বারা « mānuṣa̸-dēra̸-diyē < diyā, -dwārā », etc.;

Ablative: Like instrumental, with হইতে, হ'তে « håitē, hōtē », থাকিয়া, থেকে « thākiyā, thēkē » etc., in the place of instrumental post-positions.

Genitive: Sādhu-bhāṣā মানুষদিগের, মানুষেরদিগের « mānuṣ(ēra̸) -digēra̸ », মানুষদিগর « mānuṣa̸-digȧra̸ », archaic and rare মানুষের দিগরের « mānuṣēra̸ digȧrēra̸ »; Standard Colloquial মানুষেদের, মানুষদের « mānuṣ-ēdēra̸, mānuṣa̸-dēra̸ », মানুষেরদের « mānuṣēra̸-dēra̸, mānuṣēddēra̸ »;

Locative: Sādhu-bhāṣā মানুষদিগতে, -দিগেতে « mānuṣa̸-digȧ-tē, -digē-tē », archaic মানুষের দিগরে, মানুষের দিগরেতে « mānuṣēra̸ digȧr-ē, -digȧr-ētē »; Standard Colloquial মানুষদেরতে « mānuṣa̸-dera̸-tē », মানুষদিগেতে « mānuṣa̸-digētē » (rather uncommon for the locative: the Standard Colloquial would prefer the form মানুষ-গুলিতে, গুলাতে « mānuṣa̸-guli-tē, -gulā-tē » etc.)

The affix is thus in three forms, -দি -দ « -di-, -d- », দিগ « -dig(ȧ)- » and দিগর « -digȧra̸ ». The last form apparently has a র « -ra̸ » which is not the genitive affix. It is frequent in letters and documents and in prose generally from the 18th century onwards, but it became obsolete by the middle of the 19th century. This দিগর « -digȧra̸ » is only an artificial form built on the proper genitive দিগের or দিগর « -dig-ēra̸, -dig-ȧra̸ ». It came to be established through a confusion with the Persian « dīgar » *another, more, and the rest*, etc. Persian « dīgar » occurs frequently in the highly Persianised Bengali of the law courts: a form like মানুষের দিগরকে « mānuṣēra̸ digȧra̸-kē » *to men* arose probably in the early 18th century in the law courts; and when a prose style came into being in Bengali about that period, it had to be based as a matter of course on the only prose that was current, viz., in legal and epistolary documents. The curious form দিগর « digȧra̸ », which is thus merely the native দিগ-র, দিগের « -dig-ȧra̸, -dig-ēra̸ » mistaken for the Persian word, in this way came to be accepted in the « sādhu-bhāṣā » in its formative and early periods. The confusion between the native affix দিগ « -digȧ » and the Persian « dīgar » is plain: we have তাহাদিগকে, তাহাদিগের « tāhā-digȧ-kē, tāhā-dig-ēra̸ » *to them*; and a Persianised expression তাহার দিগরকে « tāhāra̸ digȧra̸-kē » = *to the others of his (group) > to them* could easily be evolved when the form « -dig-ȧra̸ » was handy in the language. With the decay of Persian influence upon Bengali, the form দিগর « digȧra̸ » has become obsolete.

The persistent use in many Late MB. and Early NB. prose documents of the form দিগর « digårø » as a separate plural forming post-position, like সব, সকল « såbø, såkålø » and the rest, has thrown some Bengali scholars off their guard, and has been responsible for the assumption that দিগর « digarø » and -দিগ, -দিগের, -দি, -দের, « -digå, -dig-ērø, -di, -dērø » etc. are derived from the Persian word.

There is no affix corresponding to -দিগ, -দিগের, -দি, -দের « -digå, -di, -dig-ērø, -dērø » in any other NIA. language. It does not occur in OB. There has been some speculation about the origin of this group of affixes. (Cf. Beames, 'Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India,' II, London, 1875, p. 200, Bengali Grammar, Oxford, 1894, p. 20; R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar, Wilson Philological Lectures delivered in 1877, Bombay, 1914, pp. 238-239; A. F. R. Hoernle, Gaudian Grammar, pp. 190-191; Chintāmaṇi Gāŋguli, Bengali Grammar, Bengali year 1288, p. 40; Rabindranath Tagore, 'Śabda-tattwa,' pp. 85-90.) But there is nothing in MB. to warrant an affiliation to an obsolete genitive affix « -dā » (Hoernle), to a plural form « *-nhi-kēra > *-ndigēra > -digērø » (Rabindranath Tagore), or a derivation from a Skt. « diś, dik » *direction* (Beames and Bhāṇḍārkar), or from a Skt. « dīrgha » (Gāŋguli).

The proper source of -দিগ, -দি « -digå, -di » is undoubtedly the *ts.* word « ādi » which came into wide use in Eastern Rāḍha from the Second MB. period. Rai Bahadur D. C. Sen suggested « ādi, ādi-ka », so commonly found in MB. literature from the 16th century onwards (and certainly earlier still) as having developed into the NB. affix. (Cf. 'Vaŋga-bhāṣā Ō Sāhitya[4],' pp. 33, 34, 235, 332). It would be noted that in MB., আদি « ādi » and its extension আদিক « ādi-ka » are used for the nominative as well. The words are used in MB. mainly after proper names, but they are found with other nouns, masculine as well as neuter. The sense is not exactly of the plural, but of 'and the like,' 'and the rest.' Thus, in the 'Narôttama-Vilāsa' of Narahari Cakravarti (c. 1614-1625), we have—

ঐছে কত কহি অধ্যাপকে স্থির কৈলা।
প্রাতঃকালে স্নানাদিক করি সজ্জ হৈলা॥

বিনা যানে রাজা অধ্যাপকাদি সনে।
গেলেন খেতরি শীঘ্র গৌরাঙ্গ প্রাঙ্গণে ॥......
মহাবিজ্ঞ রামচন্দ্র গোবিন্দাদি তথি।
কৈল সমাদর সবে হৈলা হৃষ্ট অতি ॥ (VSP., II, pp. 1244-1245)

« ȧi̯chē kȧtȧ kȧhi, ȧdhyāpȧkē sthirȧ kȧi̯lā |
prātȧḥ-kālē snānâdikȧ kȧri sȧjjȧ hȧi̯lā ||
binā yānē rājā ȧdhyāpȧkâdi sȧnē |
gēlēna̸ Khētȧri śīghrȧ Gȧu̯râŋgȧ-prāŋgȧṇē ||......
mȧhā-bijñȧ Rāmȧ-cȧndrȧ Gōbindâdi tāthi |
kȧi̯lā sȧmādȧrȧ, sȧbē hȧi̯lā hṛṣṭȧ ȧti ||

In this way saying a great deal, he made the scholars quiet;
In the morning-time, having finished his bath and other duties, he was dressed;
Without a vehicle the king, with the scholars and the rest,
Went quickly to Khetari, to the courtyard of Gauráṅga;
The very wise Rāma-candra, and Govinda and the rest there
Did honour, and all were very glad.

In some cases, we find the phrase আদি করি সবে « ādi kȧri sȧbē » *all with so-and-so at the head=so-and-so and others*, rather than the simple আদি or আদিক « ādi, ādi-kȧ ». This « ādi-kȧri » must have had something to do with the evolution of দিগর « digȧra̸ » discussed above.

As yet the more common plural-affix is গণ « gȧṇa̸ », at least in literature; but the « ādi, ādi-ka » > « -da̸, -digȧ », for the plural oblique seems to have been well-established by the end of the 15th century: তোমাদের « tōmādērȧ » *your*, for instance, is found in Kṛttivāsa's 'Rāmāyaṇa, Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa' (pp. 29, 30, VSPd. edition, MS. of c. 1602 A. C.) as well as in 'Uttara-kāṇḍa' (*e.g.*, p. 194; MS. of c. 1580 A.D.; the MSS. are late, and it cannot be ascertained whether « -dērȧ » was actually in use in Kṛttivāsa's time, 15th century, but in all probability it was).

MB. *ts.* « ādi » would naturally become « āidȧ, āi̯d » by epenthesis: মানুষাদি « mānuṣâdi » would become মানুষাইদ « *mānuṣāi̯d », genitive মানুষাইদের « *mānuṣāi̯dēra̸ », whence NB. মানুষেদের « mānuṣēdēra̸ », which is still common, and then by dropping of the « -ē », মানুষদের « mānuṣa̸-dēra̸ ».

We even now invariably say রামেদের « Rāmēdērẚ » *of Rāma and his people* = « *Rāmāïdērå < Rāmâdi, Rāmāïd + -ērå » ; and রামদের « *Rām-dērẚ » is not heard at all : the old full form is preserved in this case, where we have a proper name, and the sense too is the old one of a group rather than of the plural. The « ā- » of « ādi, āïd » came to be linked with the preceding word, and gradually « -di, -d- » alone had the force of an affix. Then it came to be used with nouns ending in vowels like « -i, -u » : *e.g.*, পাখীদের « pākhī-d-ērẚ » *of birds*, গোরুদের « gōru-d-ērẚ » *of cows*. The intermediate stages are not preserved in MB. literature, as the literary language scorned to have colloquial forms as yet not fully established. The form দি « -di » without epenthesis, is found, but it is rather rare in the Standard Colloquial (see under accusative above, p. 728). আদিক « ādi-kå » became আদিগ « ādigå » by voicing, as in the case of গুলা < কুল- « -gulā < kula- ». The « ā » was assimilated with the ending of the preceding word, and there was not much scope for epenthesis here (to a possible « * āïdgå ») : and the « -kå » form seems to have been rather a learned and artificial one than colloquial—the result of an attempt to give a respectable look with the all-useful « -ka » to a vernacular form in « -di, -ādi ». দিগ « digå » also came to be generalised, like দি, দ « -di, -dẚ » with words in « -i-, -u » vowels. The genitive form of দিগ is দিগের « digērẚ = digå + -ērẚ » ; and দিগর « digårẚ = digå + -årẚ » also is found. It would not be correct to derive দিগের form আদি-কের « ādi-kēra », regarding the case as one of retention of the older MIA. form of the common Bengali genitive affix « -ērẚ » ; the occurrence in MB. of আদিক « ādi-kă » is against such a derivation. Rai Bahadur Y. C. Vidyānidhi, while accepting « ādi » as the source of the Bengali affix, suggests that « ādi + kāra » > দিগার « *digārå » was the original form of দিগের « digārẚ » (Bengali Grammar, VSPd., p. 196), which has the « -ā- » changed to « -ē- » through Vowel Harmony (see pp. 400 *supra*) ; but the need to postulate a MB. « *digārå » is equally unnecessary.

490. The *tbh.* word সব « såbẚ », strengthened in MB. by the *sts.* সভ < সভা « såbhå < såbhā », the *tbh.* or *ts.* words কুল- > গুলা « kulå- > gula- », জন « jånẚ » and গণ « gåṇẚ », and the *ts.* or *sts.* আদি, আদিক > দ, দিগ « ādi, ādi-ka > -d-, -digå », have thus furnished to Bengali a set of new

agglutinated plural affixes. There are other *ts.* words of multitude loosely agglutinated to indicate the plural in the « sādhu-bhāṣā »—*e.g.*, « samasta, sakala, samūha, varga, lōka, caya, nicaya » etc. The Perso-Arabic « mahal » is also similarly used, though in a restricted way, *e.g.*, বন্ধু মহল « bȧndhu-mȧhȧlɒ̸ » *society of friends = friends*, রাজনৈতিক মহলে « rājnȧitikɒ̸-mȧhȧl-ē » *among politicians*, etc.

The case affixes and post-positions are placed after the noun of multitude agglutinated, and this system has its parallel in the agglutinative system of Dravidian, *e.g.*, মানুষ-গুলা-কে « mānuṣɒ̸-gulā-kē » *to men*, cf. Tamil « manidaŋ-gaḷ-ukku ». Here of course we have only a fortuitous resemblance, there being no genetic connexion whatever between the very late Indo-Aryan « -gulā, -kē » and the Dravidian « -gaḷ, -ukku ».

Of the above nouns of number, সব « sȧbɒ̸ », সকল « sȧkȧlɒ̸ » sometimes সমস্ত « sȧmȧstȧ », and অনেক « ȧnēkɒ̸ » (MB. আণেক « āṇēkȧ ») which indicate merely number and not grouping, are loosely compounded with nouns as attributives to express the plural. This is found from the oldest period of Bengali: *e.g.*, Caryā 1, « saala-samāhia » *with (all) samādhis*; ŚKK., p. 1, সব দেবেঁ মেলি সভা পাতিল আকাশে « sȧbȧ-dēbẽ mēli sȧbhā pātilȧ ākāśē » *the Gods having met held a gathering in the sky*; ibid., p. 1, ব্রহ্মা সব দেব লঞা গেলান্তি সাগরে « Brȧhmā sȧbȧ-dēbȧ lȧyā̃ gēlānti sāgȧrē » *B. taking the Gods went to the sea.* In NB., the noun qualified can optionally take a second word at the end, or the affix « -ērā, -rā » (see *infra*).

Other forms of periphrasis are found from the Early MB. period: the pronominal adjective জত, যত « jȧtȧ » *as much* is used attributively, singly or with সব « sȧbȧ », গণ « gȧṇȧ » etc.: *e.g.*, Early MB. (ŚKK. p. 19), যত নানা ফুল পান করপুর সব পেলাইল পাএ « jȧtȧ nānā phulȧ, pānȧ kȧrȧpurȧ, sȧbȧ pēlāïlȧ pāē » *all the various flowers, betel-leaves, and camphor she scattered with her foot.* ibid., p. 237, কাহ্ণাঞিক দেখি যত গোপগোপীগণে। হরষেঁ হয়িলা তবেঁ সজল নয়নে ॥ « Kānhāñīkȧ dēkhi jȧtȧ gōpȧ-gōpī-gȧṇē, hȧrȧṣẽ hȧyilā tȧbẽ sȧjȧlȧ nȧyȧnē » *Seeing Kṛṣṇa, all the herdsmen and herdswomen through joy then had moistened eyes.* The loss of a genuine plural-forming affix had placed the language in this difficulty.

« chāĭlā-rā ») *children* (p. 12), কাজীরা « kājīrā » *the Qāzīs* (p. 55), বাপুরা « bāpurā » *good men, fathers* (a term of address: p. 149), কামারেরা « kāmārērā » *black-smiths* (p. 169), শিবেরা বাপে ঝী « Śibērā bāpē jhī » *they together, Śiva the father and* (*Padmā or Manasā*) *the daughter*, lit. *the Śivas, father and daughter* (p. 219), etc., beside তা(হা)রা « tā(hā)rā », মোরা « mōrā » (pp. 53, 54), তোরা « tōrā » (p. 71), etc., etc. In MB. from the 16th century the use of « -rā, -ērā » is steadily on the increase, although it looks as if it was not favoured by literary Bengali of the Late MB. period. The « sādhu-bhāṣā » of the 19th century similarly preferred compoundings with « gåṇå̸, såmūhå, såkålå̸ » etc.; but « -rā, -ērā » are at the present day commonly used both in the « sādhu-bhāṣā » and the Standard Colloquial and it is found in all the dialects. In the « sādhu-bhāṣā » and the Standard Colloquial « -rā, -ērā » are used only for the nominative, but in many forms of dialectal (colloquial) Bengali, we have the « -rā, -ērā » bases employed for the genitive as well by adding the usual « -rå̸ »: *e.g.*, Standard Colloquial nominative তারা « tārā » *they*, genitive তাদের « tādērå̸ » *their* (= « sādhu-bhāṣā » তাহারা « tāhārā » and তাহাদিগের « tāhādigērå̸ »), but East Bengali তারা « tārā », genitive তারার « tārā-rå̸ »: the last is therefore a double genitive form. Similarly, there is Western Bengali (Dhalbhum) আমরাকে « āmå̸rā-kē » *us, to us* = Standard Colloquial আমাদের « āmādērå̸ »; so Malpaharia চাকররাকে « cākårå̸-rā-kē » *to servants*, মিতানরাকে « mitān-rā-kē » *to friends* (LSI., V, I, p. 100), etc.

The use of a form of the genitive for the nominative plural is not an isolated fact in Bengali. Apart from the genitive plural in « -rā, -erā », we have in Bengali itself, in the Western dialects, plural forms by extension from the obsolete genitive in « -kā »: *e.g.*, Western Bengali (Dhalbhum, LSI., V, I, p. 79) ইগা « i-gā <* i-kā » *these*; (Malpaharia, Santal Parganas, LSI., V, I, p. 100) বেহিয়াগা « bēhiyā-gā » *courtesans*, ইহাগা « ihā-gā » *these*, সাঙ্গানগার « sāŋgānå̸-gā-rå̸ » *of friends*; (Manbhum, LSI., ibid., p. 97) হাৎগা « hāt-gā » *hands*; S.W. Bengali (LSI., ibid., p. 110) ইগা « i-gā » *these*; etc. Among the sisters and cousins of Bengali we have similar instances, *e.g.*, Magahī « hamar-nī » *we* <« hamar » *of us* + genitival affix « -nī »; Bhōjpuriyā « hamanī-kā, hamaran » *we*, « unha-kā » *they*,

« kēkanī, kekanī-kā » *who ?* (pl.); in the Baghēlkhaṇḍī form of E. Hindī, we have similarly « hamārē, tihārē » *we, ye* (cf. Kellogg, 'Hindī Grammar' p. 193). In Eastern Pahāṛī (Khas-kurā or Nēpālī), the plural affix is « -hēru, -haru » and « -ēru », with which are connected the dialectal Rājasthānī (Mālvī) plural affix « -hōr, -hōrō, -hōnō » and the Early Kanaujī (W. Hindī) plural affix « -hwār » (cf. LSI., IX, IV, p. 23; IX, II, p. 55). The source of the above would seem to be the old genitive and adjectival post-position of MIA., namely « -kara, -kēra »,—the source equally of the Bengali « -rø, -ērø »: the « h-, hō-, hē- » being possibly the « -h- » of the old oblique (cf. Hoernle, Gauḍian Grammar, pp. 191, 192).

The evolution of the « -r-ā, -ēr-ā » affix for the plural is comparatively a late thing in Bengali, and its derivation from « kara, kēra < kārya » is clear; and it cannot be in its origin a Dravidian borrowing, nor should it be compared with the Dravidian plural « -ăr, -ār », found in Tamil as well as in the Dravidian speeches adjoining Bengali, viz., Oraon and Maler.

492. In dialectal Bengali there is an affix for the plural, মীনা « mīnā » (West Bengali, Manbhum Dist.), or মন « månø » (South-Western Bengali of Midnapur). This is undoubtedly the same as the affix « -māna- » which is found in Oṛiyā as a common plural affix (in the nominative « mānē »): *e.g.*, « puruṣå », pl. nom. « puruṣ-ē, puruṣå-mānē », genitive pl. « puruṣåŋ-kå(rå), puruṣa-mānåŋ-kå(rå) ». In the Early Oṛiyā of the 15th century inscriptions (see *supra*, p. 107), the form occurs as both « māṇa » (with a cerebral « ṇ ») and « māna ». The source of this form is the OIA. « mānava », compounded to indicate the plural, like « jana, lōka ». The *tbh.* form in Oṛiyā gave « *māṇå = *māṇå » (« ava, awa > å »: see p. 346): but when it became an affix, it was possibly confused with a *ts.* « māna » *measure*, and this has led to the spelling with a dental « -n- » which obtains now: « *māṇavahi, māṇåhi » gave « māṇē, mānē ». In OB., the word is found with the « -ā » affix, *e.g.*, in Caryā 46: « mōha-vimukkā jaï māṇā, tabẽ tuṭaï avaṇā-gamaṇā » *when a man is freed from ignorance, then (his) coming and going (= saṁsāra) is broken.* The word is found in the Haijong dialect of East Bengali (Maimansing) as মান « mānø » *man*, and possibly it occurs in other dialects. In Bhōjpuriyā, we have « manaī », a common word for *man in general*, which

represents either a « *mānavika » or the old Māgadhī nominative singular « māṇavē>*māṇawi » : and « man » for the plural is found in the Nāgpuriyā dialect of Bhōjpuriyā, as well as in the contiguous Chattisgaṛhī form of Eastern Hindī. We have thus a tract of IA., embracing the Oṛiyā, West Bengali (in part), South-eastern Bhōjpuriyā and Chattisgaṛhī speeches, in which « mānava » has come to be a plural indicating word : and considering that « mānē » is in full force in Oṛiyā, it may be presumed that this employ originated in the old West Rāḍha form of Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa, which was the source of Oṛiyā, and thence it spread to the contiguous dialects.

493. Early Assamese uses the words « gaṇa, saba (samha, sama), sakala » etc. to indicate the plural, just like Bengali. The use of these affixes has become obsolete now. New Assamese employs instead the words « -bilākꞩ, (-blākꞩ), -bōrꞩ » and « -hātꞩ ». All these are rare in Middle Assamese. « -bilākꞩ » is of obscure origin. North Bengali has a dialectal form for the Common Bengali « -gulā, -gulākꞩ », namely, « -gilā, -gilākꞩ, -glā », and a connexion between « -gilākꞩ » and « -bilākꞩ » has been suggested ; but apart from the phonetic difficulty of the change of « -gi- » to « -bi- », there is a wide difference in the employment of this word — « -gulā » in Bengali is contemptuous, but « -bilākꞩ » in Assamese is honorific. In Early Assamese, again, « -gulā(ka) » is not found at all. The Skt. work « vilōka » has been suggested as the source of « -bilākꞩ » (Devānanda Bharāli, 'Asamiyā-bhāṣār Maulik Vicār,' Dibrugarh, 1912, p. 35). The use of the *ts.* « lōka » as an honorific plural affix in Assamese lends support to this derivation (*e.g.*, « tai » *thou*, « tumi » *you*, honorific « tumi-lōkꞩ » ; so « mantrī-lōkꞩ » *ministers*), but the change of « ō » to « ā » is not justifiable, and this precludes the above derivation.

« -bōrꞩ » may be from an IA. « bahula » or « bahala » *many*, rather than from « bhūri » (as suggested by Devānanda Bharāli, *op. cit.*) Or can it be that « -bōrꞩ » and « -bilākꞩ » are connected with each other, and are to be referred to a non-Aryan (Tibeto-Burman) source ? There is the common Boḍo plural affix « frā, for, fŭr » which comes up in this connexion : Boḍo formed an important (if not the largest) non-Aryan element in Western Assam where the Assamese dialect was characterised.

Assamese « -hātā » represents « *ahanta », present participle of « √ah = as », corresponding to Bengali হৈতে, হইতে « hāitē », apparently used as a genitive-ablative post-position in the Eastern Magadhan dialects, and later stereotyped into the plural affix in Assamese.

494. By reduplicating the adjective, we have the sense of the plural distributive in Bengali, as in other NIA. languages: *e.g.*, বড় বড় ঘোড়া « bāṛā bāṛā ghōṛā » *horses, each a big one*; OB. (Caryā 28) « ūcā ūcā pābata (*sts.*) » *hills, each a high one*; MB. (ŚKK., p. 388) বড় বড় গাছের « bāṛā bāṛā gāchērā » *of trees, each a big one.*

[D] CASE INFLEXIONS: INHERITED FROM MIA., AND NEWLY CREATED.

495. Following the method of the Sanskrit grammarians, the Bengali noun is declared to have seven cases (eight, including the vocative), which are formed by adding both inflexions and postpositions. The following are the case affixes which are added to the noun in New Bengali, like organic inflexions, as distinct from the detachable post-positional words:

Nominative: এ, য় « -ē, -yā »;

Instrumental: এ, য় « -e, -yā »;

Locative: এ, য় « -e, -yā »; ‡ত, তে « -tā, -t-ē », এ-তে « -ē-t-ē », extended also to the Instrumental and the Nominative.

Oblique-Locative: এ, য় « -e, -yā », occurring as the Accusative and Dative, and also in the Instrumental with the post-positional verb করিয়া « kāriyā » or ক'রে « kōrē »;

Genitive: র, এর « -rā, -ērā »: in the plural, ‡ গা, গো « -gā, -gō »;

Dative: কে, রে, এরে « -k-ē, -r-ē, -ēr-ē ».

496. Of the above, the Genitive, Dative, and Locative affixes « -rā, -ērā, -gā, -gō; -k-e, -r-ē, -ēr-ē; -ta, -t-ē » are of recent, Late MIA. origin, having developed, not from OIA. case inflexions, but from help-words which came to be combined with the stems or inflected forms of the noun in the period immediately before the NIA. stage. The other affix, the affix এ « -ē », occurring also as য় « yā » after the « -ā » and « -ō » vowels in New Bengali, which is found in the Nominative and Instrumental, and in the

Oblique-Locative and Accusative, is the sole representative in Bengali of the OIA. case affixes, into which several OIA. cases have merged.

NOMINATIVE.

497. Bengali and Assamese nominative affix has the characteristic affix « -ē ». It has become rather obsolete in West Bengali, but it is still a living form in East Bengali and in Assamese. Instances are exceedingly common in the OB. of the Caryās and in MB. of all periods. In other Magadhan Languages, « -ē » as the nominative affix (singular) is obsolete now, but the older literatures of Oṛiyā and Maithilī show that it was formerly as much a living form as in Bengali and Assamese. See *infra* for examples.

In the old Prācya or eastern speech of the First MIA. Period, the OIA. nominative masculine and neuter affixes « -aḥ, -am » both became « -ē ». The specimens of the Eastern dialect that we have all show this « -ē »—Aśōkan Eastern speech, Old Māgadhī as in the Śutanukā inscription (see p. 59), 'Māgadhī' and 'Ardha-māgadhī' as in Aśvaghōṣa's dramas (p. 59), Jaina Ardha-māgadhī, and Māgadhī of the Sanskrit drama. In Late MIA., i.e., during the Apabhraṁśa Stage, this « -ē » in all likelihood became « *-i », as we find from the evidence of some of the Prakrit grammarians. Thus Mārkaṇḍēya (17th century) in his 'Prākṛta-sarvasva' notes for Māgadhī that « sāu puṁsy ēd-itāu : puṁsi sāu parē 'kāra ēd-itāu syāt »: i.e., *in* -su, *or nominative singular, masculine* (*and neuter*), *the final* « -ă » *becomes* « -ē » *and* « -i » : *e.g.*, « śili muṇḍidē=śiraḥ muṇḍitam » (Vizianagram ed., p. 102); and further, he says that in the Śābarī dialect, a form a Māgadhī, « -ă- » in the nominative singular becomes both « -ē » and « -i », and this is a rule which is common to both masculine and neuter nouns: « māṇuśē, māṇuśi ; vaṇē, vaṇi » beside « māṇuśō, vaṇaṁ », for Skt. « mānuṣaḥ, vanam » (p. 108: « ataḥ sāv ēd-itāu ca, puṁ-napuṁsaka-sādhāraṇō' yaṁ vidhiḥ »). Paralleling the weakening of the OIA. locative « -ē » to « -i » in Late NIA. of both the East and the West, and that of Śaurasēnī and Mahārāṣṭrī and other Western MIA. « -aḥ > -ō » to « -u »

in the Apabhraṅśas of the West (see pp. 311-312), the Māgadhī « -ē » can reasonably be expected to have also become « -i », as the grammarian has noticed it. A form like « putra > puttē » would therefore result in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa as « * putti », in Māgadhī NIA. (including OB.) as « * pūti ». This « -i » form for the nominative (by extension, serving as the base for the other cases also) seems to have actually survived in a few words: *e.g.*, OB. vocative « Kānhi » (Caryā 7: < Kăṇhē, Kṛṣṇa); N.B. ‡ পুতি « puti » beside পুত « putᵻ » *son*; চাটুতি « Cāṭuti » (see pp. 409, 692); ঠাঁই « ṭhāi » *place* < « *thāw̃i, ṭhāmē = sthāman » (but cf. W. Hindī « ṭhāw < *ṭhāw̃u »); নেই « nēi » *indulgence* < « *nēhi = ṇēhē = snēhaḥ » (but cf. MB. দে « dē » < « dēha »; « dēhi » is found in Early Oṛiyā); and a few similar forms in MB., NB. A form like « putra-kaḥ » with pleonastic « -ka » would give Māgadhī Pkt. « putta(g)ē » which would become in Māg. Ap. « *puttaï », and the Old Bengali transformation of it would be « pūtē » = MB. and NB. পুতে « putē ». And probably in this way the « -ē » is mostly to be derived from a Māgadhī « -aē » = Skt. « -a-kaḥ ». Thus, OB.: « jē ajarāmara hōï diṭa-kāndha » (= « diḍha-kāndhē », to rime with « sāndhē » in preceding line) *so that he becomes ageless and deathless, and strong in his shoulders* (Caryā 3: < *diḍha-kandhaï < diḍha-kandhaē = dṛḍha-skandhakaḥ); « Bhādē bhaṇaï » *says Bhāda* (Caryā 35: < Bhaddaē = Bhādrakaḥ): « kumbhīrē khāï » *the crocodile eats* (Caryā 2: < kumbhīlaē = kumbhīrakaḥ); MB. (ŚKK.) কংসের কারণে হএ স্থষ্টির বিনাশে « Kaṅsērȧ kārȧṇē hȧē sṛṣṭirȧ bināsē » *through the reason of K. the destruction of the world takes place* (p. 2); বাঢ়এ মদনে « bāṛhȧē mȧdȧnē » *love increases* (p. 30); না ছাড়ে নান্দের পোএ « nā chāṛē Nāndērȧ pōē » *Nanda's son does not leave* (p. 38); 'Crepar Xaxtrer Orthbhedh'— « xadhue eq crux bhanaia boner moidhe raqhilo » = সাধুয়ে এক ক্রুশ বানাইয়া বনের মধ্যে রাখিল *the saint made a crucifix and kept it within the forest*, « xtrie zigguiaxa corilo » = স্ত্রীয়ে জিজ্ঞাসা করিল *the woman asked*; etc., etc.;—such instances from MB. and NB. are extremely common. A noun without any verb, in the usual nominal phrase-building of NIA., is frequently found with this « -ē » in Bengali.

Examples from Oṛiyā: « ...Uttȧmȧ-kumȧrē...upujilā » *Prince Uttama was born* ('Dhruva-caritra,' p. 4); « bicārȧ nāśȧ kȧribārē, ētȧ nōhȧi subicārē »

you think of killing, this is not justice (Jagannātha-dāsa, 'Bhāgavata,' the Story of the Birth of Kaṅsa, Contai ed., p. 19); « ēmåntå bhāli jånē jåṇē, buddhi āṇṭilā månē månē » *so viewing, each individually formed the plan in his mind* (*ibid*, p. 7); « båjrå påṛilā jēnhē śirē, bådånē nōhilā uttårē » (text = uttårå) *as if a thunder-bolt fell on the head, there was no reply in the mouth* (*ibid*, Rāsa-līḷā, p. 7); « sujånå jåṅåŋkårå hitē, kåhåï biprå Jågånnāthē » *for the good of virtuous men, the Brāhman Jagannātha narrates* (*ibid.*, p. 10); « ēkå gōpīē āgåsåri jāï, khōjåï puṣpå-bāri » *one herdswoman goes advancing and seeks flowers and water* (*ibid.*, p. 12); etc. This « -ē » for the singular nominative has already become rather rare in Early Oṛiyā.

Examples from Maithili: « jani Manamathē mana bēdhala bānē » *as if Love pierced (her) mind with an arrow* (Vidyāpati, VSPd. ed., p. 39); « kā̃pala parama rasālē » *(he) trembled, filled with love* (*ibid*, p. 40): « sapanē-hu na purala manaka sādhē, nayana dēkhala Hari, ēta aparādhē » *even in a dream the heart's desire was not fulfilled; (she) saw Hari with (her) eyes, (was that) such a crime?* (*ibid*, p. 51); « cintāē bikala hṛdaya nahi thīrē, bådana nihāri nayana baha nīrē » *the heart agitated with thinking is not steady; seeing his face, tears flow from the eyes* (*ibid*, p. 52); etc., etc.

An « -i » affix inherited from the Māgadhī « -ē » disappeared in the OB. period, possibly through confusion with the locative « -i < -ē », and « -akaḥ > -aē > * -aï > -ē » was fully established. In establishing this « -ē » as the characteristic nominative affix, there was the influence of the « -ē̃, -ē » affix of the instrumental. The nominative was replaced by the instrumental in the passive construction which occurred in OB. in the past tense of the transitive verb, following the MIA. conditions: *e.g.*, OB. « * Kānhē (for * Kānhi) pōthī paḍhaï » *Krishna reads a book* would become in the past tense « * Kānhē̃ pōthī paḍhilī ». The difference between the nominative and instrumental affixes in OB. (Kānhē < Kaṇhaē = Kṛṣṇakaḥ, Kānhē̃ = Kaṇhē[ṇa]ṁ = Kṛṣṇēna) was one of nasalisation only, and the cases could be easily confused, and then affixes interchanged. And as a matter of fact, « -ē, -ē̃ » interchange, and are used one for the other from the OB. period. The tendency also was to drop the affixes « -i, -ē » for the nominative when the construction was active: thus, beside

« kumbhirē khāï » (Caryā 2) and « Bhādē bhaṇaï » (Caryā 35), we have the simple « -a » base: *e.g.*, « Saraha bhaṇaï » (Caryā 32). But this tendency may be said to have been resisted by the « -ẽ, -ē » of the instrumental nominative of the past transitive: *e.g.*, OB. « cōrē nila » *a thief took away* (Caryā 2); Kukkurī-pāẽ gāïḍa » *Kukkurī-pāda sang* (*ibid*); « Kānhē gāi » (=Kṛṣṇēna gītam: Caryā 18); « Bājulē dila » *Bājula gave* (35); « Ājadēvẽ saala bihariu » *everything Ārya-dēva has taken away* (48); MB. গাইল চণ্ডীদাসে « gāïlā Caṇḍīdāsē » *C. sang,* etc. The nasalisation of the instrumental « -ẽ » was entirely dropped during the 15th century, and this made the fusion of the two cases complete.

In the gradual merging of the two cases, it is not unlikely that there was some influence of masses of Bengalised Tibeto-Burmans in North and East Bengal, who adopted the Aryan speech of Bengal during the formative period of Bengali. In Tibetan, for instance, the 'verb must be regarded as denoting, not an action, or suffering, or condition of any subject, but merely a c o m i n g t o p a s s, or in other words, they are impersonal verbs, like *taedet, miseret* etc. in Latin, or *it suits* etc. in English. Therefore they are destitute of what is called... the active and passive voice, as well as of the discrimination of persons... From the same reason the acting subject of a transitive verb must regularly appear in the I n s t r u m e n t a l case, as the case of the subject of a neutral verb, —which, in European languages, is the Nominative—ought to be regarded, from a Tibetan point of view, as Accusative expressing the object of an impersonal verb, just as ,poenitet me' is translated by ,I repent'... The subject of a transitive verb, in Tibetan, assumes regularly the form of the instrumental, of a neutral verb that of the nominative which is the same as the accusative.' (H. A. Jäschke, 'Tibetan Grammar[2],' London, 1883, p. 40).

The possibility of the « -ē » of the nominative also preserving the Māgadhī Ap. instrumental plural « -ahi » (> nominative, as in Oṛiyā) has been noticed before (p. 724). The instrumental in MB., through overlapping of function with the locative and through confusion with the « -ē » of the locative, assumed the postpositional affix « -ta, -t-ē » which is proper to the latter: *e.g.*, MB. (ŚKK.) হাথেত « hāthētā » *in or with the*

hand, NB. হাতেতে « hātētē ». This as a matter of course was taken up by the nominative in the Second and Late NB. periods, after nouns ending in a vowel (i.e. the vowels « -ā, -i, -u, -ō », after « -ā » had dropped off) : *e.g.*, ঘোড়াতে ঘাস খায় « ghōṛā-tē ghās̃ khāy̆ » *the horse eats grass*, earlier ঘোড়ায়=ঘোড়াএ « ghōṛā-y̆=ghōṛā-ē » and ঘোড়া « ghōṛā », which are still used ; so গোরুতে « gōru-tē » or গোরু « gōru » (the earlier গোরুএ « gōṛu-ē » is no longer found in the Standard Colloquial : see *supra*, p. 719).

Old Bengali shows a number of instances of nominatives in « -u » and « -ō » : these are literary impositions from Western or Śaurasēnī Apabhraṅśa ; and although they crop up in the artificial Braja-buli dialect, they are not found in the Bengali speech proper, either in MB. or in NB. (see *supra*, pp. 115-116 ; 103-104).

INSTRUMENTAL.

498. The instrumental « -ẽ, -ē » occurs in numerous instances in the Caryās : *e.g.*, « ḍarē » *in fear* (2), « bēgẽ » (5 : vēgēna), « māṅsē » (6 : māṅsēna), « akilēsē » (9 : =aklēśēna), « nāvẽ » (10 : = nāvēna), « bōhẽ » (12, 35,=bōdhēna), « suraa-pasaṅgē, jōïṇi-jālē » (19 : =surata-prasaṅgēna, yōginī-jālēna), etc., etc. This « -ẽ » is used also for the plural number : *e.g.*, « tiṇiẽ paṭẽ » *with* or *in three beings* (16) ; and it has been generalised for feminine nouns as well, *e.g.*, « sāṇē » (Caryā 2 : saṁjñā + -ēna) « michẽ » (22 :=mithyayā), « hēlẽ līlẽ » (18 := hēlayā līlayā), « bhāntiẽ » (41 := bhrāntyā) ; etc., etc. (see *supra*, p. 717).

The « -ē » represents the OIA. « -ēna », instrumental singular : « -ēna » is found in MIA. as « -ēṇa, -ēṇaṁ, -ēṁ » ; in Old Bengali and Early Middle Bengali it still retains the nasalisation— « -ẽ » ; *e.g.*, হাতে মারে « hātē mārē » *strikes with the hand*, eMB. হাথেঁ মারে « hāthẽ mārē », OB. « hāthẽ māraï », MIA. « hatthēṁ mārēi » = OIA. « hastēna mārayati ».

The change of « -ēna » to « ẽ » has been through the nasalisation of the vowel by the « -n- ». The nasalised form already occurs in Apabhraṅśa. A parallel case is the change of « -ānām » of the genitive plural

to the forms « -ā̃, -ō̃ » in NIA. (See p. 373.) The full « -n » also is preserved, for both « -ēna » and « -anām », in NIA.: *e.g.*, in Awadhī (Lakhimpurī dialect) « ḍarēn » *through fear*; and « -n(a), -n-i < ānām » is quite common.

The instrumental « -ē » is the sole relic of a true inflexion of OIA. which has survived in Bengali without contamination.

Instrumental « -ẽ, -ē » is preserved in Bihārī, *e.g.*, Maithilī « nēnẽ » *by a child*. It is found as « -ē » commonly enough in Early Oṛiyā. Traces of it occur in the Western Languages: *e.g.*, Hindī « dhīrē calō » *walk slowly*. For Marāṭhī, cf. Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' § 193, and R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar, 'Wilson Philological Lectures,' pp. 204-205.

The locative and instrumental were confused through the possession of the common affix « -ẽ, -ē », and in some cases a form could be equally either locative or instrumental. This resulted in the employment of the post-positional locative affix « -ta » in the instrumental as well, which has been noticed above. The Caryās show one or two instances: *e.g.*, Caryā 1, « sukha-dukhētẽ » *through joy and misery*; Caryā 15, « biārẽtē » *by discrimination* (vicāra-). In MB. and NB. « -ta, -t-ē, -ē-tē » become established for the instrumental, and for words ending in vowels (esp. « -i, -u, -ō »), « -tē » has become the characteristic instrumental affix (see *ante*, p. 719).

In Caryā 14 « bāha tu cchandā » *row thou with pleasure*, and in Caryā 45 « bāḍhaï sō taru śubhāśubha-pāṇī » *that tree grows through the water of good and evil*, we have exceptional cases of the simple base being used for the instrumental.

Locative and Oblique.

499. It represents in all probability an old locative suffix, an OIA. « *-a-dhi », not found in Sanskrit, but attested from MIA. (Pali) « -dhi » and from the Greek « -thi ». It has been also surmised that there was in OIA. an affix in two forms, « *-bhi, *-bhim » (which is represented in Homeric Greek by « phi, -phin », and is found in Latin in « ti-bi »: it occurs also in Armenian). Its use, as can be seen from the Greek and

other Indo-European languages, was in the sense of 'by, along with,' in the Locative and Ablative, as well as Instrumental, and rarely in the Genitive and Dative: and it was not of a definite number. This « *-bhi, *-bhim » would become « -hi, -hiṁ » in MIA., and it seems this suffix is partly also the base of the MIA. ablative and locative affixes: the nasalised « -hiṁ » would certainly seem to go back to it. (Cf. Wackernagel, 'Altindische Grammatik,' I, p. xx; Herman Hirt, 'Handbuch der griechischen Laut- und Formen-lehre,' Heidelberg, 1912, § 304.) Thus, ঘরে « ghårē » *in the house*, eMB. ঘরে, ঘরেঁ « ghårē, ghårẽ » = Late MIA. « gharahi, gharahiṁ » < OIA. « *gṛha-dhi(m), *gṛha-bhi(m) ».

It is very likely, however, that we have in addition the OIA. locative singular affix « -asmin » here, = « *-assiṁ, -aśśiṁ, -amhi, -ammi » in Early MIA., which has merged into the Late MIA. « -ahi, -ahiṁ ». There is some difficulty of deriving « ahī, -ahi » from the Eastern form « *-assi, *-aśśi » as well as the Western « -amhi, -ammi ». The genuine Māgadhī form in the oldest period was « *-aśśi », and « -amhi » was a Western one (cf. Truman Michelson, JAOS., 1909, pp. 77 ff.); but later Prakrit grammarians note « -ammi » for both Māgadhī and Mahārāṣṭrī. The form « -ahi » is found in Early Maithilī in the locative, and « -e, -ẽ, -aï, -ahi, -ahī » occur in Old Bengali. Oṛiyā uses now « ṭhā-r-ē » for the locative, but « -ē » is quite common for the locative in Early Oṛiyā.

Old Bengali has also « -i » < « -ē » of OIA. for the locative: this « -e > -i » later dropped off in MB. (see *supra*, p. 312).

Instances of the inflected locative from the Caryās: « cīē » *in the mind* (1); « divasaï » (2); « eku hiahī » *in one heart* (2: printed text = « ekuḍi ahī », but « -ḍi ahī » must be for « hiahī », as the commentary has « hṛdayē »); « ghaḍiē, bākalaï » (« balkalē »: Caryā 3: printed text= « bākalaa »); « gharē » (2,11); « khanahī » (4: « kṣaṇē », or « kṣaṇam »); « mājhẽ » (5, 14, 18, 30); « hiahi » (6); « niaḍi » (5), « ṇiaḍi » (7) = « nikaṭē »; « acārē, caraṇē » (11); « pahilẽ » (12: = prathamē); « maṅgē (=mārgē), kulẽ » (14); « caṛilē » *on having mounted* (5) « jīvantē, mailē; jāma-maraṇē » (22); « kanṭhē » (28); « sā̃jhē » *in the evening* (33); « āiē » *at the beginning* (41: < ādi); etc., etc.

There is in Bengali from the earliest times an accusative or dative form in « -ē, -ẽ » : *e.g.*, OB. « sahajē thira kari » *making the* sahaja *steady* (Caryā 2) ; « ṣahajē kahēi » *describes the* sahaja (Caryā 27); « bindhaha parama-ṇibāṇẽ » *pierce the supreme Nirvāṇa* (Caryā 28) ; « balada biāēla gaviā bā̃jhē » *an ox made a barren cow to bear* (Caryā 33) ; « Bhādē bhaṇaï, abhāgē laïlā » *Says Bhāda, I have taken bad-luck* (Caryā 35) ; « sākhi kariba Jālandhari-pāē » *I shall make Jālandharī-pada my witness* (Caryā 36 : see p. 121 *supra*) ; « sadguru-baanē dhara patavāla » *grasp the word of the good master as an oar* (Caryā 38) ; etc. MB. (ŚKK., p. 46), দেহ মোরে সরস বচনে « dēhȧ mōrē sȧrȧsȧ bȧcȧnē » *give me a pleasant reply* ; *ibid*, p. 100, কান্দিআঁ জাণাযিবোঁ কাঁশে। পাছে কাহ্নাঞি মোকে না দিহে দোষে ॥ « kāndiā̃ jāṇāyibõ Kā̃śē, pāchē Kānhāñī mōkē nā dihē dōṣē » *I shall cry and inform Kaṅsa, afterwards Kṛṣṇa will not (be able to) put blame on me* ; (Kṛtti-vāsa, 'Uttara-kāṇḍa') মানুষ হঞা জিনিলে তুমি হেন রাবণে « mānuṣȧ hā̃ñā jinilē tumi hēnȧ Rābȧṇē » *being a man, you could defeat such (a foe as) Rāvaṇa* ; (KKC.) দোষ নাহি দেখ্যা কেন কর অপমানে « dōṣȧ nāhi dēkhyā kēnȧ kȧrȧ ȧpȧmānē » *why do you do me insult, seeing no fault ?* ; *ibid*, ষোল উপচার দিয়া ছাগল মহিষে « sōlȧ upȧcārȧ diyā chāgȧlȧ-mȧhiṣē » *making the sixteen offerings (and sacrifices of) goats and buffaloes* ; NB. অন্ধজনে দয়া কর « ȧndhȧ-jȧnē dȧyā kȧrȧ » *have pity on a blind person* ; etc., etc. We have also an « -ē » in instrumental forms with ক'রে or করিয়া « kōrē, kȧriyā », like হাতে ক'রে « hātē kōrē » *with the hand* (never হাত ক'রে « hātȧ kōrē »), ঝোড়ায় ক'রে « jhōṛāy kōrē (< jhōṛā-ē) » *in a basket*, etc.

This « -ē, -ẽ » affix recalls the oblique (accusative, dative, instrumental and locative cases) in « -(a)hi, -(a)hī » which is found in Early Awadhī and W. Hindī : *e.g.*, Awadhī (Tulasīdāsa), « taba Rāmahī bilōki Baidĕhī » *then Vaidēhī, seeing Rāma* ; « nṛpahi bacana priya, nahī priya prānā » *to the king his word is dear, not dear his life* ; « nāi munihī siru, sahita samājā » *having bowed his head to the sage, together with his companions* ; « aisē prabhuhī bilōkaū jāi » *I shall go and see such a lord* ; « pūchata prabhuhī » *they are asking the lord* ; etc.

W. Hindī ('Chatra-prakāśa,' ed., Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā, p. 88): « utari Narmadā dēsahī āyē » *crossing the Narmadā, they came to the country* ; p. 91,

« jahā̃ sēvakahī nidrā lāgai, sāhiba tahā̃ saŋgahī jāgai » *where sleeps takes the servant, the Lord even there watches in his company*; etc. The affix is exceedingly common with the pronouns, in the form « -hi », and the present-day Western Hindī oblique « -ai̯, -ē » is derived from the earlier « -a-hi ». From their nature and employ, it would seem that we have in Bengali « -ē » and the Eastern and Western Hindī « -ahi, -ahī, -ai̯, -ē » a common inflected form. The use of it has now become comparatively rare in NB., but it was exceedingly common in MB. It is the case of the gradual restricted use in Bengali (as in other eastern dialects) of an oblique form as differentiated from the nominative. We find the same thing in Early Oṛiyā and in Early Maithilī: what may be called the « -ē » oblique is no longer in use now, but it figures in the older literature in these speeches: as *e.g.*, in Oṛiyā, Jagannātha-dāsa's 'Dhruva-caritra': « muniŋki prȧṇȧmi kȧhē mȧdhurȧ bȧcȧnē » *after saluting the sages says sweet words* (Contai edition: p. 17); « muhī jāï bȧsibāku dhȧili ȧñcȧḷē » *I went and caught the skirt to sit down* (*ibid*, p. 19); « Uttȧmȧ putrē sȧŋgē lēi » *having taken (his) son Uttama with him*, « Sunīti putrē kōlē dhȧri » *S. having held her son in her lap* (p. 61); « sē kȧnyā Dhrubē dēlā bibhā » *gave that daughter to Dhruva in marriage* (p. 63); « Guhyȧkȧ-gȧṇē dȧyā bȧhi, kȧhȧnti Dhrubȧ-mukhȧ cā̃hi » *feeling pity for the Guhyakas, he says looking at D.'s face* (p. 69); « ēmȧntē Kubērȧ-bȧcȧnē Dhrubȧ bicāri tōṣȧ-mȧnē » *in this way D., having pondered on K.'s words, glad of heart* (p. 73); etc.; in Maithilī: Vidyāpati (VSPd. edition): « Rāhu dūri basa, niyarō na āvathi, taī nahi karathi garāśē » *R. dwells afar, does not come near, that is why he does not gobble up* (p. 12); « kāmini karaē sanānē » = « kāminī karōti snānam » (p. 23); « āõra pēkhala.... mōtima-hārē » *further I saw the chain of pearls* (p. 28); « lōbhē garāsali lājē » *desire ate up (destroyed) shame* (p. 38); « sunaha, sundari! Bidyāpati-bacana-sārē » *hear, O fair one, the precious words of Vidyāpati* (p. 38); « lakhala lalita tasu gātē rē » *O, I saw his handsome body* (p. 39); « tējala guru-jana-lājē » *I have given up shame of superiors* (p. 43); etc.

This oblique « -ē » of Early Bengali and of other Magadhan dialects, < « -ai, -aī, -ahi, ahī », seems to be identical with the locative. The trans-

·ference from the locative to the dative, accusative and instrumental sense is perfectly clear and intelligible. It has been suggested that this NIA. oblique « -ahi, -ahī » is derived from the OIA. genitive « -sya » (Hoernle, Gauḍian Grammar, p. 210; Beames, II, p. 221; R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar, Wilson Philological Lectures, pp. 243-244); and again, that the instrumental plural of OIA., « -bhiḥ » > Late MIA. « -hiṁ » has been extended to the singular, and as « -hī, -hi » has become the oblique singular (cf. Baburam Saksena, 'Declension of the Noun in the Ramayan of Tulsidas,' IAnt., 1923, Vol. LII, p. 74; cf. also L. P. Tessitori, 'Notes on the Grammar of Old Western Rājasthānī,' § 59, IAnt., 1914, p. 183; see *ante*, pp. 161-162). But the change of « -sya » to « -hi » presents a phonetic problem which is unexplained, considering that « -sya » remains as « -s- » in a number of forms, *e.g.* Hindī « kis, jis, tis = kasya, yasya, tasya », Bengali কিস- « kis- » = « kasya » (see *supra*, p. 549; Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' p. 182). The extension of an old plural to the singular, again, would be extremely curious, and certainly it is a very unsatisfactory explanation. The locative singular in « -a-hi, -a-hī » (< *-dhı; *-bhi, *-bhim; -smin) offers the most likely solution of this very characteristic case inflexion of NIA.

In the Bengali dative case forms « -(e)r-ē, -k-ē » we have the same locative affix « -ē », added to the post-positional affixes; and the locative « -t-ē » is case of double locative form (= post-positional locative affix « -ta » + « -ē »). So also the Oṛiyā « -ṭhā-r-ē », W. Hindī « -m-ẽ ». (Cf. Grierson and Hoernle, JRAS., 1903, p. 617).

500. There are cases of use of the simple base for the locative in OB. and in MB.: *e.g.*, « sāsu gharē ghāli, kōñcā tāla (= tāli) » *putting the breath inside the room, and the key in the lock* (Caryā 4); « bēḍhila hāka paḍaï caŭ-dīsa » *the surrounding tumult falls in the four quarters* (Caryā 6); « kulẽ kula » *from shore to shore* (Caryās 14, 15); ŚKK. গোহারী করিবোঁ রাজা কংসের দুআর « gōhāri kåribõ rājā kånsērå duārå » *a cry for justice shall I raise at the gate of king Kansa* (p. 328). This is mainly for purposes of rime, and does not indicate any real loss of the vowel, but cf. NB. দোর দোর ভিক্ষা মাগা « dōr̥ dōr̥ bhikṣā māŋgā » *to beg from door to door* (see pp. 311-312).

There is no trace of the locative plural affix « -su, -ṣu » of OIA. in Bengali and its sister-speeches : it seems to have fallen into disuse from the Late MIA. stage. Śaurasēnī Ap. uses the instrumental plural « -ahī, -ēhī » for the locative plural : it may be that such was also the case in Māgadhī Ap. in which « -ahī, -ēhī » could easily become confused with the singular locative.

501. The above are the real inflexions of the Bengali declension. The other affixes were independent words compounded with the noun, and then inflected ; but in the genitive, there is in all likelihood an adjectival « -ka ».

The locative « -ta » is found in OB. in numerous instances in the Caryās : *e.g.*, « sāŋkama-ta » *on the bridge* (5) ; « māṅga-ta, bāṭa-ta » (8 : mārga-, vartman); « piṭa-ta » *on the vessel* (14); « gaaṇa-ta » *in the sky*, « gīva-ta » *on the neck* (28) ; « ṭāla-ta » ? *on high*, « hāḍī-ta = *hāṇḍī- -ta » *in the pot* (33). This « -ta » would seem to be the word « -antaḥ » *within* : it was compounded with the noun-base : « mā(ŋ)gata<*maggaanta =mārga+antaḥ ». The loss of the « -n- » here is unexpected for OB. The present participle in « -anta » still preserves the « -n- », and a post position like « antar-ē » *for*, is as yet not reduced to তরে « -tårē » (as in NB.) in the language of the Caryās. The fact of the word being agglutinated with the noun-base may have been responsible for its losing its individuality, and any intermediate stage with the nasalised vowel, like « *mā(ŋ)ga-w̃-āta, *mā(ŋ)- gāta » must be pre-Bengali. The « -ta » post-position characterises the Bengali-Assamese group only among Magadhan speeches. This post-position would nevertheless seem to have been a Magadhan (MIA.) inheritance in Bengali. At the present day, it occurs as « -tå » in Assamese and in dialectal Bengali (North, East, South-east). Standard Bengali employs « -tē » (which is a locative form « -ta+-ē », *i.e.*, from « *antahi = antaḥ+ -dhi »), and also « -ē-t-ē » (=locative in « -ahi »+« antaḥ »+« -ahi »). The word « antaḥ » for the locative is found in Marāṭhī as a recent NIA. formation (see Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' § 197). R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar's derivation of Bengali « -tē » from the MIA. « tahī »=locative of pronominal base « ta- » (Wilson Philological Lectures, p. 248), cannot be entertained, considering the existence of « -ta, -tå » side by side with « -t-ē ».

The extension of « -tā, -t-ē » to the instrumental and nominative has been noted before. It has also been used with an ablative force from Early MB. times: *e.g.*, ŚKK., p. 264, মাআ বাপত বড় গুরুজন নাহী « māā-bāpātā bāṛā guru-jānā nāhī » *there are no greater respected ones than mother and father*; p. 308, আম্হাত আধিক তোর কে করিবে হিত « āmhātā ādhikā tōrā kē kāribē hitā » *who will do more good to you than I?* ; p. 326, আম্হাতে চাহসি বাঁশী « āmhātē cāhāsi bāśī » *askest for the flute from me*; Kṛittivāsa, রাজাতে বিদায় মাঙ্গে « rājātē bidāyā māŋgē » *takes farewell from the king* (cf. R. S. Trivēdī, 'Śabda-kathā,' pp. 102-104).

The Skt. word « madhya » was used as a post-position for the locative in the Apabhraṅśas of Northern India, in the *sts.* form « *maddha, *madha, *mādha > maha, māha ». This is the source of the NIA. locative post-fix « -mẽ, -mā̃, -mā », etc. Dialectal Bengali (Haijong) মি « -mi » is in all likelihood derived from this (LSI., V, I, pp. 214 ff.): *e.g.*, দেশমি « dēśā-mi ». This post-fix is otherwise unknown to Bengali, and to Assamese and Oṛiyā as well.

GENITIVE.

502. The OIA. genitive affixes in the singular have not survived in Bengali, as in most other NIA. speeches. The solitary « -a-sya » of « -ă » nouns was carried down to Late MIA., as a generalised affix for all nouns, and even this fell into desuetude. This « -a-sya » became « -aśśa » in Māgadhī, as we can see from the evidence of the Brāhmī seals found in Magadha (see *supra*, p. 59, foot-note) and from the Prakrit grammarians. Side by side with « -aśśa », Prakrit literature registers a form « -āha » for this form of MIA.: and this « -āha » forms a unsolved problem. A change of « -aśśa » to « -āha » is difficult to explain: the change of « -śś-, -ss-, -ś-, -s- » to « -h- » in MIA. continues to be obscure (see *supra*, pp. 549, 550, 555). It seems « -āha » or some analogous form (-ahō?) is found as early as Second MIA. in Māgadhī, as in the dramas of Aśvaghoṣa. (H. Lüders, 'Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen,' pp. 34-36); and the fact remains that Māgadhī Pkt. has « -āha », Śaurasēnī Ap. has « -ăha, -ăhŏ, -ăhō », beside « -assu, -asu »; and that Old Bengali shows

« -ā » (and in a few pronouns, « -āha, -ha ») for the genitive (examples are given below). Can it be that the real development of Early MIA. « -assa, -aśśa » was a form « -ā, -ă » in Late MIA., through stages like « *-assə, *-aśśə > *-ăsə, *-ăśə, *-āsə, *-āśə > *-ăs, -ăś, *-ās, *-āś > *-ă, *-ā », and then the locative affix « -ha < -dha » (as in Skt. « i-ha » = MIA. « i-dha », cf. Avestan « iδa », etc.) extended to the genitive sense, or an emphatic particle « -ha, -hō < -hu = khu, khalu », was added to it? The transcription in Greek letters of MIA. Brāhmī and Kharōṣṭhī legends in the coins of the Indo-Scythian prince Nahapāna of Malwa of the 1st cen. A. C., so far as it can be restored, would seem to suggest that the pronunciation « *-as » was current at the time, in Western India at least: the transcription seems to have been

PANNIΩ ΞAHAPATAC NAHAΠANAC

=ranniō (raññō) Ksaharatas (Kṣaharātassa) Nahapanas (Nahapānassa) (E. J. Rapson, 'Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty in the British Museum,' London, 1908, p. cxii), where it would seem as if « -āsə » or « ăsə », or « -ās, -ăs » was heard.

Be it as it may, in OB. we find « -ā, -āha » as the genitive affix—« -āha » being found with pronouns: thus, « hariṇā hariṇira nilaa ṇa jāṇī » *the abode of the Stag and of the Doe is not known,* « Bhusuku bhaṇaï, mūḍhā hiahi na païsaī » *B. says, it does not enter into the heart of a fool* (Caryā 6); « jā ēthu jāma-maraṇē bisaŋkā » = « yasya atra janma-maraṇē viśaŋkā » (Caryā 22); « jabẽ muṣā-ēra cā(ra) tuṭaï » = « yadā *mūṣakasya-kāryaḥ cāraḥ truṭyati » (21); « jāh-ēra bāna-cihna-rūva na jāṇī » = « *yasya-kāryakaṁ varṇa-cihna-rūpaṁ na jñāyatē » (29). In MB. the oblique form of the pronouns has « -āha » side by side with « -ā »: *e.g.*, তাহ্, তাহা, তা « tāha, tāh-ā, tā- » = « tasya ». The « -āha, -ā » is thus preserved in the pronoun in Late MB. and in NB., but in the noun it is entirely lost from after the OB. period, except in the verbal noun in « -ibā »—*e.g.*, genitive দিবার, করিবার, যাইবার « dibā-rɑ̸, kåribā-rɑ̸, jāïbā-rɑ̸ », dative ‡দিবাকে, করবাকে, যাবাকে « dibā-kē, kårbā-kē, jābā-kē.

503. From the Transitional MIA. Period we find the use of a number of words, either along with the genitive pleonastically, or compounded with the base to indicate the genitive idea. We have « -santa(+-ka) » (present participle of « √as » *to be*) meaning 'belonging to,' in the Nasik inscriptions of the 1st-2nd century A.C., *e.g.*, « amha-sa(n)taka, pitu-sa(n)taka » *our, of the father* (Senart, 'Nasik Cave Inscriptions,' Ep. Ind., VIII, pp. 73, 78); and the other words which came in during the Second MIA. Period are « kṛta > kada, kaa; kārya > kajja, *kāira > kēra, kēla; kāra; kara; kṛtya > kicca; *dita (= Skt. datta) > dida, dia; karṇa > kaṇṇa », etc. These words have become transformed into the genitive and other affixes of NIA. (see pp. 163, 164 *supra*). MIA. literature, however, does not notice all of them, but only a few, although certainly they all occurred in the spoken dialects in different parts of the country. The most popular post-positional or compounded word of genitival import occurring in MIA. literature is « kēra- (kēla-) », which is found all over Northern India in later times. The source of this word is « kārya », and it cannot be « kṛta » (which would give « kaṭa, kaḍa », or « kada, kaa, kida, kia » in MIA.); « kārya » came to be used (apparently as a *semi-tatsama* form with epenthesis) in Transitional or Second MIA., as « *kāira », before it became « kēra », in Māgadhī « kēla » (cf. Pischel, 'Grammatik der Prakrit-sprachen,' §176). This « kēra- » is found East in Bengal, and West in Rajputana; « kēra- » also occurs in the speech of the European Gipsies who went with their language from North-Western India during the Second MIA. period. A vernacular or *tbh.* form would be « kayya » or « kajja », and the Sindhī affix of the genitive, « -jō, -jī », is certainly from this « kajja ». (Grierson: cf. A. F. R. Hoernle, JRAS., 1903, p. 616). Māgadhī Prakrit, like the Prakrits of other parts, took up « kēra (kēla) », side by side with some of the other words. As in other dialects, the form was either used after the genitive, as an adjective qualifying the noun governed, or it was compounded with the noun-base into an adjective; but in either case, the whole sooner or later came to be regarded as one word, which brought about the voicing and dropping of the « -k- » in Eastern Magadhan quite early.

In Bengali forms like মানুষের « mānuṣērǝ », ঘোড়ার « ghōṛārǝ », making up with the inflexion a single word, as opposed to the Hindī « mānus-kā, ghōṛē-kā » forming a group apparently of an oblique base and a separable post-position, Grierson sees an inherent tendency in Bengali, as an 'Outer' language, towards a synthetic declension, which presents a contrast to Western Hindī as the 'Midland' speech favouring a separate post-position (see *supra*, pp. 161-164; LSI., IX, II, p. 328). But there is nothing in the Prakrit of the dramas, using « kēra(ka), kēla(ka) », to suggest that a particular dialect, Māgadhī, or Śaurasēnī, specially preferred compounding or mere juxta-posing after the inflected genitive. The pronouns, however, generally seem to retain the old inflected genitive which was strengthened by « -kēra (-kēla) », and nouns could have mere compounding. Thus we have, *e.g.*, in the 'Mṛcchakaṭika,' Śaurasēnī « ajjassa kēraõ » beside « vessā-jaṇa-kērakō » and « paḍivēsi-gahavaï-dāraa-kēriāē », and Māgadhī « ajja-Cāludattāha kēlakē » beside « vappa-kēlakē »: but always « mama, tava, tassa (taśśa), kassa (kaśśa), attaṇō » + « kera(ka), kēla(ka) ». The pronominal forms in NIA., like Bengali তার, তাহার « tā-rǝ, tāhā-rǝ » (= tasya + kara), মোর « mōrǝ » (= mama + kara), and Hindī « tis-kā » and « mērau̯, mērā », etc. show that the old usage for pronouns still continues. Besides, 'Outer' speeches do not always show a synthesis: *e.g.*, Oṛiyā « jånåŋ-kå(rå) » (= janānām kara-), which is as much post-positional as W. Hindī « ghōṛõ-kā »; and European Gipsy, which is based on an 'Outer' speech allied to Western Panjābī, possesses forms like « cōres-kērō, -kērī » and « cōreŋ-(g)ērō, -ērī » (= cau̯rasya, cau̯rāṇām + kēra-). The preservation of the « -k- » in W. Hindī is no isolated thing: we have « -kar, -karā » (rather than « -rǝ » as in Bengali) in the Bihārī dialects. The W. Hindī « -kau̯, -kā » seems to have retained the « -k- » chiefly through two reasons: firstly, it formed the only consonant in the post-position, and as such intelligibility demanded its retention; and secondly, there was in all likelihood the influence of the adjectival « -kka » affix, which also had a genitival force. The loss of « -k » in the agentive affix « -nẽ » of W. Hindī (= MIA. *kaṇṇabhī, OIA. *karṇa-smin:

cf. L. P. Tessitori, 'Grammar of Old Western Rājasthānī,' Ind. Ant. 1915, §§ 70, 71) is to be recalled.

Side by side with « kārya > kēra, kēla », the words « kara, kāra » and « kṛta > kaa » were used in Māgadhī Prakrit and Apabhraṅśa to indicate the genitive. It would seem that in Māgadhī Ap. « kara » was used with the pronoun originally, and then was extended to the noun. Reduced to « -ara > -rȧ, -rɔ », it occurs as the genitive affix in Assamese-Bengali and Oṛiyā, and also in Maithilī and other Bihārī speeches in the genitive of the first and second personal pronouns. The unreduced form « -kara » is here and there found as a survival in MB., possibly through Maithilī influence; it is met with in Oṛiyā in the plural, where the « -k- » is preserved by the « -n- » of the genitive plural affix (see *supra*, pp. 137, 724); and it occurs in the forms « -kar, -karā, -kɔrā » in the genitive and dative of the pronouns other than those of the first and second persons in Maithilī, Magahī and Bhōjpuriyā. « kēra, kāra » have become practically doublets of an identical genitive affix. They figure also in Eastern Hindī side by side. « kara » is still found in its unchanged form in Marāṭhī surnames like « Hōḷ-kar, Bījāpur-kar, Cipḷuṇ-kar, Tāḷēgā̃w-kar » etc., meaning 'belonging to, dwelling in': compare the use of the genitive « -kā » in Mārwāṛī family names like « Khēm-kā, Gōyēn-kā, Himmatsiṅh-kā », etc.

The affix « kāra » seems to have been rather rarely used in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa. It is now found in its unreduced form in a few nouns and pronouns in Bengali: *e.g.*, সকালকার « sȧkālɔ-kārɔ » *of the morning*, হেথাকার « hēthā-kārɔ », এখানকার « ēkhānɔ-kārɔ » *of here*, বছরকার bȧchȧrɔ-kārɔ » *of the year*, সকলকার « sȧkȧlɔ-kāɪɔ » and সবাকার, সবাইকার, সব্বাইকার « sȧbā-kārɔ, sȧ(b)bāi-kārɔ » *of all*, আপনকার « āpȧnɔ-kārɔ » *of self*. It does not occur in the other Magadhan speeches: and it may well be a modification of « kȧrɔ » itself.[1] The affix « kārɔ » is used in NB. with nouns indicating

[1] Hoernle (Gauḍian Grammar, p. 236, foot-note) regards this 'kāra' as being a double genitive, '-kā + -ra.' This explanation cannot be objected to considering that we have '-ka' as a genitive affix in Middle Bengali. But we do not have '-kā' (with the long 'ā') with nouns in Bengali: and although in Early Bengali we sometimes find '-ka,' the words which form the genitive with '-kāra,' as above, never employ the '-ka' form.

time and direction, and besides it has a definitive force (cf. Rabīndranāth Tagore, 'Sambandhē « kārḁ »' in 'Śabda-tattva').

The form « kṛta > MIA. kaa » is more important. As a word strengthening the genitive as well as the dative relation it seems to have come up in the Transitional MIA. Period, and probably even earlier. We have quite early « tasya kṛtē dattam = tasmāi dattam » in Sanskrit, an idiom apparently borrowed from a Prakrit or vernacular one; and a Buddhist Skt. form like « udyāna-kṛtam āsanam » shows the early establishment of « kṛta > kaa » as a genitive-indicating word. But it is a question whether the « -k- » genitive of the Magadhan languages (Early Bengali ক « -kå »; New Bengali dialectal কা, গা, গো « -kā, -gā, -gō », Oṛiyā « -kå », in the plural; Maithilī « -k », Magahī « -k, -kē », and Bhōjpuriyā « -k, kē, -kăĭ ») is based on the « kṛta » form. « kaa, kṛta > kaa », compounded with the preceding noun-base, could be expected to drop the « -k- », and to be changed to « -aa » as in the case of « -kēra, -kara > -ēra, -ara ». It seems that the basis of the New Magadhan « -k- » of the genitive is the MIA. pleonastic « -kka », rather than « kaa < kṛta » (see *supra*, p. 683). The « -kḁ » of the Bihārī dialects would derive better from a monosyllabic « -kka » rather than from the disyllabic « -kaa ». The 'Prākṛta-Pāiŋgala' (14th century) has some instances of the « -ka » genitive which would seem to be an Eastern form derived from « -kka »: *e.g.*, (in the 'Bibliotheca Indica' edition, ASB.), p. 249, « Khurasāṇa-ka Ollā »; p. 403, « gāï-ka ghittā »; p. 412, « dēva-ka likkhia kēṇa mēṭāvā »; p. 470, « tā-ka jaṇaṇi ki ṇa thakkaü bañjhaü », etc. But the presence of a « kaa < kṛta » is not absolutely precluded from consideration; and this « kaa » can of course easily give the Western Hindī « kau, kō, kā », and also Eastern Hindī and Bihārī « -kē, -kăĭ ». The « -kå » in an Oṛiyā form like « puruṣåŋ-kå » may be either the « -kka » generalised as an affix or help-word and employed by extension with the original genitive plural, or it may equally be the word « kaa » used post-positionally (= puruṣānām kṛta-).

About the use of the « -ka » (< -kka, -kaa), there is an agreement between Modern Bengali and Oṛiyā: it is confined only to the plural (or plural > honorific singular) in Oṛiyā, and in Bengali now it is found,

although dialectally only, in the plural genitive of the pronouns only. Why this form should be chosen for the plural is not clear: possibly « -ra » and « -ka » (Oṛiyā « -ŋ-ka », Bengali « -kā, -gā, -gă = -gō ») were gradually adopted for the singular and the plural respectively in the absence or disuse of an affix distinguishing the two numbers.

Examples of « kēra > -ēra, -kara > -ara, -kka (-kaa) > -ka » for the genitive, from OB. and MB.:

« chānda-ka bāndha » *the bonds of (=from) pleasure* (1); « rukhēra tentali kumbhīrē khāï » *the crocodile eats the tamarind of (=from) the tree* (2); « hariṇā hariṇira nilaa ṇa jāṇī » *the abode of the Stag and of the Doe is not known,* « hariṇāra khura na dīsaï » *the Stag's hoofs are not seen* (6); « tōhōri kuḍiā » *thy hut,* « kāhari nāvẽ » *in whose boat ?* (tava + ha, kasya, + kara-), « tōhōra antarē » *for thy sake,* « hāḍērī mālī » *chaplet of bones* (haḍḍa + kēra + -ikā) (10); « tōhōri bhābhariālī » *thy coquetry* (18); « ḍombī-ēra saŋgē » *in the company of the Ḍōm woman* (19); « mōhōra » *my* (20); « muṣā-ēra » *of the mouse* (21); « sō karaü rasa-rasānēri kaṅkhā (text = rasānērē kakhā) » *let him entertain the desire for pleasure and for elixirs* (22); « tōhauri » *thy* (28); « jāhēra » *of which,* « tāhēra » *of that* (29: yasya, tasya + kēra-); « cāndari cānda kāntī (reading of the commentary) » *moon-light of the moon* (31); « hāthēra kāŋkāṇa » *the bracelet of (=on) the arm* (32); « Ḍhēṇḍhaṇa-pāēra gīta » *D.'s song* (33); « mōhērā bādhā » *bound up of (=by, with) ignorance* (34); « pākhi na cahaï mōri pāṇḍiācāē » (see *supra*, p. 121); « kāhēri śaŋkā » *whose fear ?,* « mahāmudērī kaŋkhā » *desire of the* mahāmudrā (37); « tōhōrẽ dōsē » *through your fault,* « tōhāra biṇāṇā » *your science* (39); « bāṣaṇā tōrā » *thy desire* » (41); « mōra » *my* (49); « tailā bāḍira pāsēra jonhà-bāḍī tāēlā (=uēlā? bhāēlā?) » *the mansion of moon-light by the side of the third mansion became clear* (50).

It is seen that « -ēra, -ara » like their source-forms in MIA. are adjectives referring to the nouns they quality, and take the feminine affix « -i = -ī » (see *supra*, pp. 720-721), and also the case-terminations (*e.g.*, « tōhōrẽ dōsē » in Caryā 39: = « *tava-kērakēṇa dōṣēṇa » in MIA.)

« kēra, kara » occur in a few instances as cases of stereotyped survival in MB.: *e.g.*, ŚKK. নদীকের « nàdī-kērà »; লাখেকের « làkhē-kērà » *of one*

lakh ; 'Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-vijaya,' বৎসকের « båtså-kērå » (R. S. Trivēdī, 'Śabda-kathā,' p. 103) ; 'Mānik Candra Rājār Gān,' কোড়াকর « kōṛā-kårå » *of a cowrie,* ঘড়িকর « ghåṛi-kårå » *of an hour* (VSP., pp. 63, 65) ; 'Śūnya Purāṇa,' রূপাকর « rūpā-kårå » *of silver* (p. 38), তামাকর « tāmā-kårå » *of copper* (p. 39), হীরকর « hīrå-kårå » *of diamond* (p. 40), etc. In some of the above instances, *e.g.*, « lākhēkērå, kōṛākårå, ghåṛīkårå », the base may be in « -kå » : « lākhēkå » *one lakh,* « kōṛākå » *one cowrie,* « ghåṛikå » *one hour,* so that the inflexion would be « -rå, -ērå » and not the old « kara, kēra ».

The « -ka » affix for the genitive is rather uncommon in Bengali from the oldest times : it has disappeared from Modern Bengali in the singular, but is found in dialectal forms in the plural only. Examples : OB. « chānda-ka bāndha » *the bondage of pleasure* (Caryā 1), « samādhika pāṭa » *the process of* samādhi (comm. to Caryā 21) ; in the ŚKK., জরমক তরে কুলে কলঙ্ক থুইবেঁ « jåråmå-kå tårē̃ kulē kålåŋkå thuibē̃ » *will put a stain on the family for all life* (p. 127) ; আপন কাজক লাগি সবই বিকলী « āpåṇå kājå-kå lāgi såbåi bikålī » *every body is anxious for the sake of her own work* (p. 253) ; পরাক লাগিআঁ সে হারাইবে নাক কানে « pårā-kå lāgiā̃ sē hārāïbē nākå kānē » *he will lose both his nose and his ears for the sake of another* (p. 307) ; নিত্যানন্দ রাম বন্দো রোহিণীক সুত « Nityånåndå-rāmå båndō Rōhiṇī-kå sutå » *I praise N., the son of R.* (Lōcana-dāsa's 'Caitanya-maŋgala'), বিহারক রাজপুরী নামে অম্রাবতী « Bihārå-kå rājå-purī, nāmē Amrābåtī » *the capital of Bihār, Amarāvatī by name* (Vīra-nārāyaṇa's 'Kirāta-parvan') ; গৃহস্থক ধর্ম্ম এহি পুরাণ কহিছে « gṛhåsthå-kå dhårmå ēhi purāṇå kåhichē » *this is the duty of the house-holder, so declares the Purāṇa* (Sañjaya's 'Mahābhārata' : the last three examples given in R. S. Trivēdī's 'Śabda-kathā,' p. 104) ; etc. NB. : মোর, আমার « mōrå, āmārå » *my,* plural ‡ মো(রা)গো, আমা(র)গো « mō(rå)-gō, āmā(rå)-gō », আমকা, আমগা « āmå-kā, -gā » *our* ; তার « tārå » honorific তাঁর « tā̃rå », *his,* plural ‡তাগো, তাঁগো « tā-gō, tā̃-gō » ; মানুষের « mānuṣērå » *of man,* plural ‡মানুষগো, -গা, এর-গো « mānuṣå-gō, -gā, -ērå-gō » *of men.* The « -gā, -gō » affix for the plural is present in some form or other in the vulgar dialects practically all over Bengal.

504. An affix « -sat-ka », loosely compounded with a noun, with its base (for the singular) or with the genitive (for the plural), is largely found

in inscriptional Sanskrit all over Northern India from the Second MIA. period: *e.g.*, Inscription of Jayanāga of Karṇa-suvarṇa (p. 180, *supra*), « brāhmaṇānām-satka-grāma-sīmā »; Siyadoni Inscription (c. 11th cen. A. C., Lalitpur District, U. P., Ep. Ind., I, pp. 162 ff.): « samasta-kallapālānāṁ-satka-haṭṭānām-upari (= Hindī « -kalwārō-kē hāṭō-par), Vigrahapāla-satka-dramma, bāmana-satka-vīthi, caṇḍāla-satkâvāsānikā », etc., etc. This affix « -sat-ka » is difficult to explain: apparently it is the present participle of « √as »—« santa- + -ka » (pleonastic), such as we find in the Transitional MIA. (see *ante*, p. 753). It is not unlikely that a vernacular from « santa-ka » became « *santə-ka, *sant-ka, *sakka » which was Sanskritised into « sat-ka » in medieval Sanskrit as in the inscriptions. In Early Assamese we have the affix সাক « -sākå », as in the forms আমাসাক, তোমাসাক « āmā-sākå, tōmā-sākå » *our, your, us, you*, which are obsolete in Modern Assamese. (Dēvånanda Bharāli, 'Asamiyā-bhāṣār Maulik Bicār,' p. 32). These would affiliate themselves to a MIA. « *amha-sakka, *tumha-sakka », Sanskritised into « *asma-satka, *yuṣma-satka ». This form সাক « sākå » has not been found in Bengali.

The plural of the genitive has been discussed under 'Number' above (p. 725 ff.)

Dative

505. The « -ka » genitive of Bengali is used for the dative in OB.: *e.g.*, Caryā 4 « mantiē [1] thākura-ka parinibittā » *the minister (= queen, in chess) has checked the king*; Caryā 21, « nāśa-ka » *for destruction.* This genitive-dative in « -ka » is exceedingly common in MB., as in the ŚKK. and other works: *e.g.*, ŚKK. p. 3, মানুষ নিয়োজিল মারিবাক তাএ « mānuṣå niyōjilå māribā kå tāē » *appointed men for killing him*; সেই উপদেশ দিব তোহ্মাক তখণে « sēi upådēśå dibå tōmhā-kå tåkhåṇē » *he will give you advice at that time*; p. 108, ঘরক মন না জাএ « ghårå-kå månå nā jāē » *the mind does not turn to home*; etc., etc. This « -ka » occurs as « -kå » now, but it is confined

[1] The printed text reads মন্তিএঁ: I accept the emendation proposed by Muhammad Shahīdullāh in the VSPdP., 1327, p. 151

to North Bengal and Assam only, and members of the Bengali-Assamese group of dialects in other parts now employ « -k-ē, -r-ē ».

« -k-ē » is an inflected form, the final « -ē » being really the locative affix, as has been noted before (p. 749). It can be the locative of the adjective-genitive with pleonastic « -ka » (*supra*, p. 756); it can be equally the locative of the form « kaa < kṛta »: *e.g.*, তাকে দিলা « tākē dilā » = Skt. « tasya kṛtē dattam » for « tasmāi dattam » (cf. Grierson in the 'Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung,' quoted by Hoernle in the JRAS. for 1903, p. 615). There is a third likely source of « -k-ē »—the OIA. « kakṣa » (see *supra*, pp. 164, 553) which has been suggested by Beames ('Comparative Grammar,' II, pp. 252-259) and Hoernle (Gauḍian Grammar, § 375, p. 224), and accepted by Kellogg (Hindī Grammar [2], p. 130). Hoernle later admitted the « kṛta » derivation (JRAS., 1903, p. 615). R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar would trace the dative « -k-ē » of Bengali and « -kō » of W. Hindī to a MIA. locative « kēhĩ, kahī » *where, somewhere*, from the interrogative pronoun base « ka » (Wilson Philological Lectures, pp. 246-248).

The last derivation does not at all seem convincing. Against it, and in favour of a derivation from « kakṣa », are the forms « kakhu » in OB. (see below), « kāhū, kāhu » with « -ā- » in Eastern Hindī, and « kahū » as in Western Hindī. (See also the remark in connexion with the derivation of the locative « -t-ē » at p. 750.) The forms « -kū, kahū » etc., as in Western Hindī, « ku » as in Oṛiyā, and « -ka » as in Early and dialectal Bengali, will also go against it: for all these forms accord but ill with « kahī, kaī » the locative of « kaa, kṛta ». There cannot of course be any objection to the derivation of « kē » from « kṛta », but the difficulty remains with regard to « kō, kū, ku » and the « -hu » forms. The forms « ku, kū » is not found in NB., but it occurred in OB., and it is now the characteristic dative affix of Oṛiyā only among Magadhan speeches. In Caryā 35, we have « ēbẽ cia-rāa ma-kū(=mō-kū) naṭhā » = « idānīṁ cittarājaḥ mama vinaṣṭa(ḥ) », as the commentary explains; and also « Bājulē dila mōha-kakhu (bhaṇiā) » = « Vajrakulēna...mahyam pradattam », also according to the explanation of the commentary.

We have apparently « kakhu » side by side with « kū » here. The Skt. « kakṣa » seems to have been adopted in Late MIA. as a post-positional, and from « kakkha » a weak form « *kakha » can very well be assumed. This in the transitional stage between Late MIA. and NIA. seems to have become « kaha, kāha ». The proper NIA. *tbhs.* « kākha, kā̃kha, kācha » seem to have influenced the lengthening of the « kāha ». The change of « -kṣ- < -kkh- » to « -h- » is not isolated: Beames gives « pāhū, pahū » *beside, to,* from Hindī, which he derives from « pakṣa » ('Comparative Grammar,' II, p. 258); Old Western Rājasthānī also has the same word as « pāhī, pāhi » (Tessitori, §72[8]); and Oṛiyā as « pā̃i, pā̃ » as in « ki-pā̃i, ki pā̃ » *why? wherefore?* Pischel also cites a number of instances of change of « -kṣ->-kkh- » to « -h- » from Prakrit ('Grammatik der Prakrit-sprachen,' § 323). We can also compare the origin of « maha, māhi, mē̃ », NIA. post-position of the locative, from Sanskrit « madhya » introduced in MIA. as a *sts.* « maddha, madha » beside the *tbh.* « majjha > NIA. mājha ». The normal NIA. form of « kakṣa », with « -kh- », is certainly preserved in the Sindhī « khē » for the dative, and « khā̃, khō̃, khū̃ » for the ablative (although Trumpp derived these from « kahā̃ < *kathaṁ < kṛtam, kṛtē »: Sindhī Grammar, London, 1872, pp. 115-116): here the initial « -k- » of « kakkha » has been elided, like the « k- » in « kajja- < kārya » giving « -jō, -jī » for the genitive. The Sindhī « khē, khā̃, khō̃, khū̃ », inflected forms of a post-fixed « (ka)kkha », the Old Bengali « kakhu », and the Early Eastern Hindī « kāhū » would all support the assumption that « kakṣa » is the source of Western Hindī « kahu, kau̯, kō, kū » and Oṛiyā « ku ». These are all to be connected with an Apabhraṁśa (Māgadhī as well as Ardha-māgadhī and Śaurasēnī) form for the *ablative,* « *kakkhahu, *kakkhahū », or probably « *kakkhāu, *kakkhau ». (Cf. Māgadhī and Śaurasēnī ablative affix « -ādō », which we would expect to give « -āu, -au » in Apabhraṁśa). Unlike « kē », the present day « kō, kū, ku » is thus not of locative origin.

« -kē » of Bengali can thus be either « kṛta », or « kakṣa », in the locative. It is not unlikely that the two post-positional words have converged into this one form. In the plural of the dative as in তাদেরকে « tādērạ-

-kē » *to them*, we can see that an analysis into « tasya + ādi-kēra + kakṣē » or into « + kṛtē », is equally possible. The *tbh.* form কাছে « kāchē » is still in use in Bengali as a post-position meaning *near*, *by*, *with*. The earlier forms of « -kē », namely « *-kai, *-kahī », are not found in Old Bengali. The Caryās, in addition to « -ka » and « -ku », give instances of « -kē »: « rūpā thōi mahī-kē ṭhāvī » *putting away the silver, it was placed on the ground*, and « kēḍuāla nāhi kẽ ki bāhaba-kē pāraï (text = pāraa) » *there being no oar, what can one do in the matter of rowing?* (Caryā 18: the text in the second instance is corrupt). « -kē » occurs regularly in MB., NB.; and « kẽ », with nasalisation, is rather rare in MB.

Maithilī has « kẽ », Magahī « kē », and Bhōjpuriyā « kē »: all these are identical with the Bengali post-position. Of the E. Hindī dialects, Awadhī has « kā, kā̃, ka », Baghēlī « kā, kahā̃ », and Chattisgaṛhī « kā ». The Baghēlī « kahā̃ » is a relic of the older forms « kahũ, kahā̃ » etc. of Early Eastern Hindī as in Tulasī-dāsa, and « kā, kā̃ » apparently also are from « kāhũ > *kāhā̃ ». The « kakṣa » derivative is thus found to occur in Bengali, Oṛiyā, E. Hindī and W. Hindī, and Sindhī.

506. The dative « -r-ē, -ē-rē »: it is found from OB. times, *e.g.*, « kariṇā kariṇi-rẽ risaa (= risaï) » *the male elephant is impassioned (?) with regard to the female elephant* (Caryā 9); « kēhō kēhō tōhō-rē biruā bōlai, bidu-jana-lōa tō-rẽ kaṇṭha na mēlaī » *some call thee (as being) of ugly form, (but) the learned never free thee from embrace* (Caryā 18). It is the locative in « -hi, -hī » of the genitive in « -ra, -ēra ». At the present day, the « -r- » dative is found in East Bengal (W. Vaŋga specially), and the « -k- dative is spread from Rāḍha through Varēndra to North Bengal and Assam, and seems to occur also in East Vaŋga, as in the Haijong Dialect of Maimansing, and in the Chakma of Chittagong.

Ablative.

507. Bengali-Assamese does not now possess an organic affix for the ablative, unlike Oṛiyā. In Caryā 4, however, there seems to occur a solitary instance of an ablative form in OB.: « khẽpahu (= khēpahũ) jōini lēpana jāya » = « kṣēpāt sva-sthāna-yōgāt sā bōdhicitta-rūpā nairātma-yōginī, mōha-

malåvaliptā bhavati », as the commentary explains. In Oṛiyā the ablative affix is also « hũ », as in Early Oṛiyā, *e.g.*, 'Kansa-janma' in Jagannātha-dāsa's 'Bhāgavata': « Ugrasēna-hũ nōhē āna » *he is not different from U.* (p. 4, Contai edition), « kāhũ utpatti hōilā » *from whom was the origin?* (p. 8, *ibid*). In Modern Oṛiyā it occurs as « -u »: « ghårå » *house,* ablative « ghår-u »; and it figures also in 'S.-W. Bengali.' The genitive form is also put in the ablative: « ghårå-rå, ghårå-r-u ». With proper names, and as an honorific, the post-positional form « ṭhā-r-u » from « ṭhā » *place* is used (cf. « ṭhā-r-ē » for the locative), and « ṭhāu, ṭhu » also are found as ablative post-positions with pronominal adverbs of place. The « -hũ, -u », doubtless a Māgadhī form, is apparently the same as that we find in Śaurasēnī Ap., viz « -hu » in the singular and « -hũ » in the plural (puttahu, puttahũ). The origin of this « -hu, -hũ » in Ap. is obscure, but it seems that it was due to the fusing of several case-terminations—« -a-taḥ > -adō > *-au » of the ablative, *plus* « -h-, ~ » of the locative, for instance. The form « -a-hu, -a-hũ » occurs in Sindhī, Panjābī and Western Hindī as « -ō, -ō̃ » (*e.g.*, Hindī « hāthō-hāth » *from hand to hand* < « *hatthahu hatthi »), and in Marwāṛī as « -å » (cf. Tessitori, Grammar of OWR., §61).

The use of the locative form in « -ta, -tē » for the ablative has been noted above (p. 751). In the MIA. and NIA. confusion or interchangibility of the three cases, instrumental ablative and locative, there is probably the influence of Dravidian. (Cf. K. V. Subbaiya, IAnt., 1910, pp. 145ff.)

508. The development of the OIA. noun declension, through the Late MIA. (Apabhranśa Māgadhī) into Bengali, as described above, is set forth below, in the declension of the OIA. word « putra » = MIA. « putta »:

Māgadhī Apabhranśa	Bengali
Nominative: singular—	Nominative: singular—
(i) *putti, *putta (< Māgadhī Prakrit puttē < putraḥ).	(i) * pūti, *pūta < পুতি, পুত puti, putå.
(ii) *puttaï (< puttaē < puttagē, puttakē < putrakaḥ).	(ii) পুতে putē.

Nominative : plural—

(i) *puttă (< puttā < putrāḥ).
(ii) *puttahi (< puttēhi < *putrēbhiḥ = instrumental).

Accusative : singular—

*puttā̃, *puttaṁ (< puttaṁ < putram).

Accusative : plural—

*putta, *puttāĩ (< *puttāṇi, *puttāni < putrān).

Instrumental : singular—

*puttẽ, *puttēṁ (< puttē-ṇa[ṁ] putrēṇa)

Instrumental : plural—

*puttahi, *puttahĩ (< puttēhi, puttēhiṁ < *putrēbhiḥ).

Dative : singular—

(i) *puttā (< puttāa < putrāya).
(ii) *puttā/ă(ha) (genitive) + kai ; + ka(k)khi, ka(k)khĩ, kahi, kahĩ ; putta-kkaï, -kkaĩ.
(iii) *puttāha-(k)arahi, -(k)alahi ; *puttāha-(k)ērahi, (k)ēlahi.

Dative : plural—

*puttahi, *puttēhi (< puttēhi [as in Aśōkan inscr.] < *pu-trēbhiḥ = putrēbhyaḥ) (also Genitive Forms).

Ablative : singular—

*puttāu, *puttău, *puttahu, *puttahũ.

Nominative : plural—

(i) পুত puta̸.
(ii) ? পুতে putē.

Accusative : singular and plural—

Lost.

Instrumental : singular—

OB. *pūtẽ, *pūtē > পুতেঁ putẽ, পুতে putē.

Instrumental : plural—

? পুতে putē.

Dative : singular—

(i) Lost.
(ii) পুতকেঁ putåkẽ, পুতেকে « putē-kē », পুতকে puta̸-kē.
(iii) পুতরেঁ, পুতেরেঁ putårẽ, -ērẽ, পুতরে, পুতেরে puta̸-rē, putērē.

Dative : plural—

Lost.

Ablative : singular—

OB. *pūtu, *pūtahu, *pūtahũ ; Oṛiyā putahũ, putu.

Ablative: plural—	**Ablative: plural—**
(i) *puttahī, *puttēhī (< *putrē-bhiḥ = instrumental).	Lost.
Genitive: singular—	**Genitive: singular—**
(i) *puttă, *puttā, *puttaha, *puttāha (= puttaśśa < putrasya).	(i) OB. *pūtā, *pūtāha.
(ii) *puttā/ă(ha)-(k)ēra -([k]ēla); *puttā/ă(ha)-(k)ara, -(-[k]ala); *putta(k)ēra- (-[k]ēla); *putta-(k)ara- (-[k]ala).	(ii) পুতর, পুতের putàra̸, putēra̸.
(iii) *putta-kka- (=putra-ka-).	(iii) OB., MB. পুতক putà-kà.
Genitive: plural—	**Genitive: plural—**
*puttāṇa, *puttāṇaṁ, *puttāṇ-i- (<putrāṇām).	OB. *pūtāṇa, *pūtaṇa, *putāni: NB. ‡পুতাইন putāin.
Locative: singular—	**Locative: singular—**
(i) *putti (<puttē < putrē).	(i) OB. *pūti (cf. NB. ঘর ghàra̸ < ghar-i).
(ii) *puttahi, *puttahī.	(ii) OB. *pūtahi, *pūtahī, *pūtaï, *pūtē>MB., NB. পুতে putē;
(iii) *putta-anta; *putta-antahi, -antahī: *puttahi antahi (*puttahī antahī).	(iii) ‡পুতত putàta̸, পুততে puta̸tē, পুতেতে putē-tē.
(iv) *putta-ma(d)dhi, -ma(d)dhahi, -ma(d)dhahī; -mahī, -mahahi, -mahahī (< madhya).	(iv) ‡পুতমি puta̸-mī (cf. Bihārī pūt-mẽ, -maī).
Locative: plural—	**Locative: plural—**
(i) *puttaśu, *puttēśu.	Lost.
(ii) *puttahī, *puttēhī (<*putrē-bhiḥ=instrumental)	

Post-positional Words.

509. Use of post-positions to denote case relations is found in IA., Kōl and Dravidian. In OIA., indeclinables like « ā, adhi, anu, pari, pra » etc. are found both as prepositions and as post-positions ; so in Old Greek. In IE., these so-called prepositions were properly adverbs referring to the act, but in all IE. languages, including IA., they came to attach themselves to and to 'govern' particular case forms of nouns (accusative or instrumental, ablative or genitive or locative). The prepositional and post-positional use with the noun of these particles fell into gradual disuse from Late OIA., and they lost their separate and independent existence in the sentence as help words : they were compounded as prefixes or pre-verbals with the verb, the sense of which they modified. Classical Sanskrit shows fewer particles with a prepositional or post-positional employ than Vedic (J. S. Speyer, 'Vedische und Sanskrit Syntax' in the Grundriss, §§ 85-90). In MIA., the number of these old particles as post-positions employed with nouns grew even more restricted. On the other hand, to make the sense clear, especially when in MIA. the case terminations were confused and were being lost, the IA. speech began to employ the accusative, dative, ablative or locative form of some suitable noun (with the sense of location, vicinity, direction, connexion, purpose, or power) along with the principal noun which retained its original inflexion. Classical Sanskrit, following the Prakrit vernaculars, took up this device (Speyer, § 91). This sort of auxiliary and post-positional use was later extended to some verbal formations—passive participles and present participles, and to the indeclinable conjunctive verb. Such post-positional or prepositional use of verb forms is not unknown to other IE. languages : *e.g.*, English *during, regarding, concerning,* German *während,* French *pendant,* Italian *mediante, durante,* etc. But this principle was utilised only to a very limited extent elsewhere outside India, whereas IA., from the MIA. stages downwards, fully employed it to form post-positionals. Classical Sanskrit already took up some passive participles and conjunctive indeclinables as post-positions governing oblique cases (Speyer, §§ 92, 93). In this matter, it seems that IA. was profoundly

influenced by Dravidian (*vide supra*, p. 172; cf. also K. V. Subbaya, 'A Comp. Gram. of Dravidian,' IAnt., 1910, pp. 145ff).

Some of these post-positional words—nouns and verb-forms—through phonetic decay became transformed into organic affixes in NIA., as has been seen before. The conjunctive and participle post-positions, however mostly retained their phrasal character, and in NIA. they remain distinct, as detached words. Bengali has a number of such verbal post-positions. Besides, some nouns (old *tbhs.*, as well as *tss.* or *stss.*), are used as separable post-positions in all NIA. Their establishment is apparently post-NIA., and independent in each language or dialect group.

Below are given the more important Separable Post-positions of Bengali.

(1) অপেক্ষা « apēkṣā » = *with regard to*: *ts.*, used either with the base or with the genitive to indicate comparison.

(2) আগে « āgē », locative of আগ « āgå » < « agra »: MB. আগত « āgåtå » *before*. Used more commonly with the genitive, and occasionally with the=base: cf. ŚKK., p. 65, রাজা আগেঁ করিবোঁ গোহারী « rājā āgē̃ kåribō̃ gōhārī » *shall make a plaint before the king*; p. 127, আহ্মার আগত বীর নাহিঁ কোন জন « āmhārå āgåtå bīrå nāhī kōṇå jånå » *before me* (*i.e., greater than me*) *there is no hero*; etc.

(3) করিতে « kåritē » > ক'রতে « kå'rtē, kōrtē » *doing*, present participle of কর « √kår » = « √kṛ » *to do* (instrumental or locative: « kåritē̃ < karantē < karantahi, karantahī » (see p. 676). Employed with the genitive for comparison, *e.g.*, রামের ক'রতে শ্যাম ভালো « Rāmērå kōrtē Śyāmå bhālō » *Ś. is better than R.* This is a form which is not common in the « sādhu-bhāṣa ».

(4) করিয়া « kårıyā » > ক'রে « kå'rē=kōrē » *having done*: added to the locative oblique in « -ē » to denote the instrumental (see *ante*, p. 747). Used with an adverbial force after adjectives and nouns (the commoner practice at the present day being to use it after the base and not after the « -ē » oblique): *e.g.*, জোর ক'রে « jōrå kōrē » *forcibly*, lit. *doing force*; টান ক'রে « ṭānå kōrē » *tightly*; ভালো ক'রে « bhālō kōrē » *well*, etc.; ŚKK., p. 14, এ কাজ সাধিব আহ্মে করিআঁ যতনে « ē-kājå sādhibå āmhē kåriā̃ jåtånē » *we shall*

do this work carefully; p. 250, তখন রাধা রোষ করিআঁ সত্বর গমনে জাএ « tåkhånå Rādhā rōṣå kåriā̃ såtwårå gåmånē jāē » *angrily then R. goes with quick steps*; etc.

(5) কর্ত্তৃক « kårttṛkå » (generally pronounced [kottrik]): a *ts.* word, used as an instrumental post-position, either loosely compounded with the stem, or used with the genitive: 'having (the preceding noun or pronoun) as the doer': *e.g.*, বিদ্যাসাগর কর্ত্তৃক লিখিত « Bidyāsāgårå-kårttṛkå likhitå » *written by Vidyāsāgara*; তাঁহাকর্ত্তৃক দৃষ্ট « tā̃hā-kårttṛkå dṛṣṭå » *seen by him.* A learned form, which became established during the early 19th century.

(6) কাছে « kāchē » *near by, beside* = locative of কাছ « kāchå » *side, neighbourhood.* Like the other derivative from « kakṣa », viz. কাঁখ « kā̃khå » (<MIA. *kaŋkha = kakkha; cf. pp. 178-179), কাছ « kāchå » also meant *waist* in MB.: *e.g.*, ŚKK., p. 287, কাছের কলসী « kāchērå kålåsı »; p. 250, কাছের কলসিএ « kāchērå kålåsiē̃ » *in the jar held on the waist*, beside কাখেত কলসী করি « kākhē-tå kålåsī kåri » *placing the jar on the waist* (p. 259). কাছে « kāchē » is used with the genitive to indicate the locative. The base কাছ « kāchå » (or its genitive কাছের « kāchērå »)+থাকিয়া, থেকে « thākiyā, thēkē » *having been*, or হইতে, হ'তে « håitē, hōtē » *being*, verbal post-positionals for the ablative, are also used along with the genitive of the noun or pronoun to indicate its ablative.

(7) কারণ « kārånå » *cause*: used with the genitive, in an instrumental, dative as well as ablative sense: very common from eMB. downwards: *e.g.*, ŚKK., p. 1, কংসের কারণে হএ সৃষ্টির বিনাশে « Kansērå kārånē håē sṛṣṭirå bināśē » *through Kaṁsa takes place the destruction of the world.*

(8) ঘর, ঘরে « ghårå, ghårē » *house, in the house* (gṛha): used colloquially over a great part of Bengal to indicate the oblique cases in the plural. It is used with the genitive of the noun, and optionally with the « -ā » oblique of pronouns. In the employment of this post-position, there seems to have been some influence of the « -k-, -g- » genitive for the plural (pp. 756, 757). Variations are ঘোরে « ghōrē », গরে « gårē ». (Cf. the plural use of মহল « måhålå »: p. 733).

(9) চাহিতে « cāhitē », present participle locative of চাহ্ « √cāh » *look at, want*: used in comparison, generally with the genitive and occasionally

with the stem. The beginnings of the post-positional use of this present participle form go back to OB.: « cāhantē » already figures in the Caryās (*e.g.*, Caryā 31): but the old sense of *seeing* is still predominant in eMB. (ŚKK.)

(10) চাহিয়া, চেয়ে « cāhiyā > cēyē » *having looked at*, indeclinable conjunctive of চাহ « √cāh »: used in comparison, with the genitive. This use seems to be old. Cf. Early Eastern Hindī as in Tulasī-dāsa: « kahā̃ dhanu kulisahu cāhi kaṭhōrā: kahā̃ syāmala mṛdu-gāta kisōrā » *where is the bow, more tough than even the thunderbolt, and where the lad, darkish and soft of limb?*

(11) ছাড়া « chāṛā » *let loose*=passive participle of ছাড় « √chāṛ » *give up, loosen*: used with the stem in the sense of 'without,' *e.g.*, আমাছাড়া « āmā-chāṛā » *without me*, হুঁকাছাড়া « hū̃kā-chāṛā » *without the hookah*, etc.; or 'in addition to,' *e.g.*, তা ছাড়া « tā-chāṛā » *in addition to that* < *letting that alone*.

(12) জন্যে « jånyē » locative, beside the stem form জন্য « jånyå » =*for the sake of*, *because of*, *caused by*: a *ts.* word, employed with the genitive to express the dative relation.

(13) ঠাঁই « ṭhā̃i » *place* (< sthāma-): dative or locative post-position, used with the genitive of the noun. An old post-position in Bengali: *e.g.*, ŚKK., p. 142, কহ মোর ঠাঁয়ি « kåhå mōrå ṭhā̃yi » *tell me*; p. 200, এবেঁ আম্হাক পাঠায়িল তোর ঠাঁই « ēbē̃ āmhākå pāṭhāyilå tōrå ṭhā̃i » *now me he has sent before thee*. Cf. NB. সবঠাঁই মোর ঘর আছে « såbå-ṭhā̃i mōrå ghårå āchē » *I have a home everywhere*. A locative of « ṭhā̃i »—ঠাঁই-এ « ṭhā̃i-(y)ē » is also found: this ঠাঁইয়ে « ṭhā̃iyē » becomes in the Standard Colloquial ঠেঁএ, ঠেঁয়ে « ṭhē̃ē, ṭhē̃yē », and in Calcutta « ṭhēñē » is changed to ঠেঙে « ṭhēŋē »—the change of « -ñ- » to « -ŋ- » here is curious ঠাঁই « ṭhā̃i » is found in dialectal Bengali as ঠে « ṭhē », ঠি « ṭhi ».

(14) তরে « tårē » *for, for the sake of*, from অন্তরে « åntår-ē », a genuine *tbh.* form, with regular MB. change « -nt- » to « -t- ». Used with the genitive of the noun, and the oblique of the pronouns of the first and second persons optionally. Found in OB. as « antarē »; *e.g.*, Caryā 10, « tōhōra antarē » *for thee, for thy sake*. In the ŚKK., the word occurs as

the regular form তরেঁ « târẽ » only twice, and as আন্তারে « ântârē » over a dozen times: (for « â- », see *supra*, p. 314). The latter is apparently an archaic literary form.

(15) থাকিয়া > থেকে « thākiyâ > thēkē » *having stopped at*: also dialectally *থেএ, থে « thēē, thē » (*thāiâ): affixed direct to the stem (or to the locative oblique in « -ē » or « -tē ») of neuter nouns, and to the genitive of names of sentient beings, to indicate the ablative. Found in Early MB.: *e.g.*, ŚKK., p. 347, দূরথাকি « dūra thāki » *from a distance*. Gujarātī has the same conjunctive used similarly for the ablative, *viz.*, « thakī ».

(16) থানে, থানত « thānē, thānâ-tâ », locative of থান « thāna » (sthāna): used with the genitive to express the dative and locative relations. Examples are numerous in the ŚKK and other MB. works. In NB., it is mainly dialectal (in East and North Bengali, where it is found as থনে, তনে, থোন, তোন, থুন, তুন « thânē, tânē, thōn, tōn, thun, tun »).

(17) দিয়া, দিয়ে, দে « diyâ > diyē > dē » *having given*. This conjunctive form is used ordinarily with the base of the noun (which is in accusative relation to it), but occasionally also with the genitive, to express instrumentality or intermediacy. Found from early times: *e.g.*, ŚKK., p. 22, হাথ দিআঁ দেখ « hāthâ diâ dēkhâ » *feel with the hand*, etc.

(18) দ্বারা « dwārā »: *ts.*, instrumental of « dvār » *door*, = *through the instrumentality of*. Forms the instrumental, with the genitive (and also with the oblique base in « -ā » in the case of pronouns). This is in its origin a learned form, but it has become sufficiently popular to be used in familiar conversation in NB.

(19) নিমিত্তে « nimittē » (locative), নিমিত্ত « nimittâ » (stem) = *mark, target, sign* > *objective*: a *ts.* word, forming the dative with the genitive of the noun.

(20) নীচে « nīcē » *below*: used with the genitive to express the locative.

(21) পর « pârâ » from « upari » of Skt. = *above, upon*. The full form উপর « upârâ » also occurs, as also the Bengali locatives পরে « pârē », উপরে « upârē », as if from a base « upara ». Occasionally also strengthened by তে « -tē », as পরেতে « pârē-tē », উপরেতে « upârē-tē ». Used with the genitive to form the locative. *E.g.*, ŚKK., p. 377, তনের উপর

« tȧnērȧ (*ts.* < stana) upȧrȧ » ; pp. 388, 389, গাছের উপর « gāchērȧ upȧrȧ » *on the tree.* But cf. ŚKK., p. 80, খোম্পাত উপর « khōmpā-tȧ upȧrȧ » *on the coiffure,* where « upȧrȧ » is used along with the locative in « -tȧ ».

(22) পাখে « pākhē » *by the side of,* locative of « pākhȧ » (pakṣa) : found in North Bengal: used like পাশে « pāśē » below (See *supra*, p. 121.)

(23) পাছে, পিছে (পীছে) « pāchē, pichē (pīchē) » *after.* Used with the genitive (as in the corresponding Sanskrit expression). OIA. « paścā(t) » > MIA. « pacchā, pacchă » > NIA. « pācha », locative « pāchē ». The form « pīchē, pichē » has an anomalous « -i- », which is found also in the Hindī « pīchē ». Beames explains the « -i- » as follows: « *paścē > *pah(a)cē », on the analogy of « niścaya > nihacē » : « *pah(a)cē > *pahicē > pīcē », then « pīchē » with aspiration through influence of « pāchē » (Comp. Grammar, II, p. 297). But there is no need to postulate a *ts.* stage for this *tbh.* word : it is more likely that there was the influence of a word like « piccha » *feathers of the tail,* or « nīca » *below down* (also a post-position), or of « pṛṣṭha » > পিঠ « piṭhȧ » *back* (cf. পিছমোড়া « pichȧ-mōṛā » beside পিঠ-মোড়া « piṭhȧ-mōṛā » *with arms pinioned behind the back*), in altering « -ā- » to « -i- ». The « -i- » form might well be a borrowing from a Western dialect, and not native Bengali : and in the derived adjective and denominative verb in Bengali at least, the « -i- » is resultant, due to Umlaut and Vowel Harmony : *পাছ > পাছু, পাছুআ « pāchȧ > pāchu, pāchuā », adjective, > পেছো, পেছু « pēchō, pēchu » > পিছু « pichu » ; verb পাছুআন « pāchuānȧ » > পেছোনো, পেছুনো, পিছুনো pēchōnō, pēchunō, pichunō » *to fall back.*

(24) পানে « pānē » *at, towards, in the direction of* : *e.g.*, মুখ পানে « mukh(ȧ)-pānē » *at the face, towards the face,* আমা(র) পানে « āmā(rȧ)-pānē » *at me, towards me,* ঘর or ঘরের পানে « ghȧrȧ (ghȧrērȧ) -pānē » *in the direction of the house.* This post-position occurs in Assamese as পনে « pȧnē ». The origin of it is obscure, but phonetically it can be from either OIA. « prajñā » *knowledge* (cf. p. 305, *supra*), or « panna » ($\sqrt{}$pad + na) *reached, arrived at.*

(25) পাশে « pāśē » : locative of পাশ « pāśȧ » *side* (pārśva). Forms the locative of proximity with the genitive : ŚKK., p. 7, এহার পাশে « ēhārȧ pāśē » *by his side,* রাধার পাশে, কাহ্নের পাশে « Rādhārȧ pāśē, Kānhērȧ pāśē »

etc. We have also (in poetry especially) পাশ « pāśă », which is the old locative in « -i », = « *pāśi < pārśvē » (see p. 312).

(26) বই « bȧï » *without, apart form, in addition to*: apparently from an OIA. « vyatīta ». Used with the base. In MB., this post-position is written বহি, বহী « bȧhi, bȧhī », as if from বহ্ « √bȧh » *carry, bear, be carried away* (indeclinable conjunctive forms of which are বহি « bȧhi » and বহিয়া « bȧhiyā »). The « -h- » however is euphonic (see *supra*, p. 341), and the OIA. passive participle « vyatīta » is the source : if it were বহি, বহিয়া « bȧhi, bȧhiyā », the Standard Colloquial form would have been ব'য়ে « bōyē », which is not the case. This post-position occurred in eMB. : cf. ŚKK., pp. 192, 193, হাটে দান দেহ এ বাটে বহী « hāṭē dāna dēhȧ ē bāṭē bȧhī » *pay the tax in the market, apart from (the tax) on the road*, ভিন কি দিবোঁর এ বাট বহী « bhinȧ ki dibō̃-rȧ ē bāṭa bȧhī » *what else shall I give, in addition to (that on) the road.*

(27) বাহির « bāhiră », modern locative বাহিরে « bāhirē », Standard Coll. বার, বের « bāră, bēră », বাইরে « bāirē » = *outside* (MIA. *bāhiri, *bāhirē < bāhira : cf. OIA. bahiḥ, bāh-ya). Employed with the genitive.

(28) বিনা « binā », by Vowel Harmony বিনে « binē », also বিনি « bini »: from the OIA. « vinā » *without*. This word is found both as preposition (a rare thing in NIA.) and as post-position. Thus বিনা অনুমতি or অনুমতিতে « binā ȧnumȧti, ȧnumȧti-tē » or বিনা হুকু(মে)ম « binā hukum(ē) », beside অনুমতি or হুকুম বিনা « ȧnumȧti, hukum binā » *without permission*; বিনা হাতা, হাতা বিনা « binā hātā, hātā binā » *without handle*; etc. বিনি « bini » is a rare form, now occurring only prepositionally in a few expressions like বিনি-সুতার হার « bini-sutāră hāră » *a necklet without a cord*, বিনি দুঃখে « bini duḥkhē » *without sorrow*. It is found both pre- and post-positionally in the ŚKK., *e.g.*, p. 212, বিনি যতনে « bini jȧtȧnē » *without any trouble*, beside p. 215, কাহ্ন বিনী আভাগিনী গোপযুবতি « Kānhȧ binī ābhāginī gōpȧ-jubȧtī » *without Kṛṣṇa, the milkmaid girls are unhappy*. বিনি « bini » may be a locative form, from a nominalised use « *bina » of the Skt. particle.

(29) বিহনে « bihȧnē », OB. « bihaṇi, bihunē » (Early Oṛiyā = bihuṇȧ) *without, in the absence of*. It seems to be the Skt. « vihīna » in the locative, with influence of « √bhū > -hu- ». Caryā 13, « niṅda-bihunē suinȧ jaïsō »

just as a dream (suina = svapna) *without sleep*; 23, « jīvantē-bhēlā-bihaṇi maēla » *dead without even having been a living one*; 35, « cia-bihunnē pāpa na punna » *without mind, no sin, no merit.* In MB. and NB., this post-position is used with either the stem or the genitive: cf. ŚKK., p. 172, চুন বিহনে যেহ্ন তাম্বূল তিতা « cunȧ bihȧnē jēnhȧ tāmbūlȧ titā » *just as the betel leaf is bitter without lime*; Kṛttivāsa, 'Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa,' p. 9, তোমার বিহনে বাছা ছাড়িব জীবন « tōmār(ȧ) bihȧnē bāchā chāṛibȧ jībȧn(ȧ) » *in thy absence, my son, I shall give up life*; etc.

(30) ভিত (ভীত), modern locative ভিতে (ভীতে) « bhitȧ (bhītȧ), bhitē (bhītē) » *in the wall, bank, side*: from « bhitti ». Used with the genitive, to indicate direction: *e.g.*, ŚKK., p. 388, যমুনার ভীতে « Jȧmunārȧ bhītē » *towards the Jumna.* Rare in the NB. « sādhu-bhāṣā ».

(31) ভিতর, ভিতরে « bhitȧrȧ, bhitȧrē » *within,* locatives (the first form < « *bhitari<*abhyantarē): used with the genitive.

(32) মাঝে « mājhē » *in the middle,* locative form (< madhya). Compounded with the stem, or used with the genitive: NB. বনমাঝে কি মনমাঝে « bȧnȧ-mājhē ki mȧnȧ-mājhē » *in the woods, or within the heart*; MB., ŚKK., বৃন্দাবন মাঝে « Bṛndābȧnȧ-mājhē » *within Brindāban,* মথুরা পুরের মাঝে « Mȧthurā-purērȧ mājhē » *within the city of Mathurā,* etc. This post-position is a characteristic one of Bengali, and is found from the OB. stage: *e.g.*, Caryā 2, « kōṛi-majhẽ (= mājhẽ) ēku-hiahī » *in one heart, in the midst of (= among) 10 millions* (see *ante*, p. 746); 14, « Gaŋgā-Jaūnā-mājhērē bahaï nāī » *the boat floats in the Ganges and the Jumna*; 30, « uittā gaaṇa-mājhẽ adabhūā » *risen in the sky, wonderful*; etc.

The locative in মি « -mi » in Haijong, from *sts.* « *mahī, ma(d)dhī » = « madhyē », has been noted before (p. 751). Haijong has also the forms মিনি « -mini » and নি « -ni » which are difficult to explain: মিনি « mini » may be from « *mahī » with « hī » changed to « -ni », and « ni » would in that case appear to be a contracted form of « mini ». Or it may be the affix « -hī » as added to the noun—ঘরনি « ghȧrȧ-ni » < *gharanhi < « gharahī ». Or is it the locative of a help-word « karṇa » *edge, side* (« -kaṇṇahi >*(k)annaï > -ni » ?), which is found for the genitive and accusative in W. Hindī, Panjābī, Rājasthānī, etc.?

(33) লাগিয়া > লেগে « lāgiyå > lēgē », poetical লাগি « lāgi » = *having come in touch with*: contracted dialectally to লাগে, লগে, লয়ে, লায়, লই, লে « lāgē, lågē, låyē, låy, låï, lē ». Used with the base, or the genitive, to indicate the dative of interest, 'for the sake of, with the object that.' This post-positional form has become rather rare in the NB. « sādhu-bhāṣā » and in the Standard Colloquial, but it is exceedingly common MB. and in the archaic poetical language: *e.g.*, সুখের লাগিয়া এ ঘর বাঁধিনু « sukhērå-lāgiyå ē ghårå bådhinu » *for the sake of happiness this house I built* (Caṇḍīdāsa); রূপ লাগি আঁখি ঝুরে « rūpå-lāgi åkhi jhurē » *the eyes shed tears for* (*a sight of*) *the beauty* (c. 1590: VSP., p. 1324); এইক্ষণে তোমালাগি ছাড়িব পরাণ « ēi kṣaṇē tōmā-lāgi chāṛibå pårāṇå » *even at this moment for your sake I shall give up my life* (Kṛttivāsa, 'Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa,' p. 9); etc., etc.

(34) সঙ্গে « såŋgē »: instrumental or locative-oblique of the *ts.* « saŋga » *company*: used in MB. and NB. with the genitive, but in OB. with the stem, to mean 'along with': *e.g.*, Caryā 32, « dujjana-sāŋgē » *with a bad man*; ŚKK., p. 169, বড়ায়ির সঙ্গে « båṛāyirå saŋgē » *with the old dame*; etc.

(35) সনে « sånē » *with*, instrumental of « samam, sama- ». In OB. the base « sama » (pronounced undoubtedly « saw̃a ») is used with the instrumental or oblique: *e.g.*, Caryā 10, « ā lō Ḍōmbī, tōē-sama karibe ma sāŋga » *O Ḍombī, with thee shall I have companionship*; Caryā 33, « ṣiālā ṣihē-sama jujhaï » *the jackal fights with the lion*. The instrumental or locative « *sama-hi = såw̃ē > sånē, såỹē » seems to have been in use in OB., and even in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa, as the Maithilī equivalent « sañē, sayē̃ » would show. By the end of the 14th century, it became সনে « sånē »: *e.g.*, ŚKK., p. 19, দেবসনে « dēbå-sånē » *with a god*; p. 382, দসনের সনে « dåsånērå sånē » *with the teeth*. Dialectally in North Bengali, it occurs as সানে « sānē ». The earlier form সমে « såmē » is also found in the ŚKK. (over a dozen times).

The W. Hindī « sõ » and probably also « sē » *with, by* are from « sama ».

(36) সাথ, সাথে « sāthå, sāthē » *with*, from OIA. « sârtha » *having interest in*. Employed with the genitive, to denote association. This word is more commonly used in East Bengali, West Bengali (especially

the Standard Coll.) preferring সঙ্গে « sȧŋgē ». Not found in the ŚKK., which is in Early West Bengali.

(37) সুদ্ধ, সুদ্ধা, শুদ্ধ(!) « suddhȧ, suddhā. (śuddhȧ, -ā) » is used after the noun or pronoun put in the dative in কে « kē » or দের « -dērȡ » to indicate the dative of inclusion : *e.g.*, তাকে শুদ্ধ ব'লতে হবে « tākē śuddhȧ bōltē hȧbē » *one must tell him also*, ছেলেদের(কে) শুদ্ধ নিয়ে « chēlēdērȡ (-kē) śuddhȧ niyē » *taking also the boys*, etc. It is compounded with nouns and pronouns as an inclusive affix : see *supra*, p. 706.

(38) হইতে (হৈতে) « hȧitē » > হ'তে « hōtē » *being*. In MB., this is found also as হন্তে « hȧntē », beside হোন্তে « hōntē », হইতেঁ « hȧitẽ », হত্যে « hȧtyē = hȧïtē », হোইতে « hōitē », হতেঁ « hȧtẽ », হনে « hanē ». With the base, it indicates the ablative. It is the present participle of √হ or অহ « √hȧ, ȧh » *to be* = OIA. « √as » : « *as-ant- > *ahanta- > *ahenta- > *ahita- > hȧita- », locative or oblique « *ahanatahi » > « *ahitē » > হইতে « hȧitē », NB. হ'তে « hōtē ». There are phonological reasons for affiliating হইতে « hȧitē » to « √as > *ahitē » and not to « √hō, hū > *hōitē » : (see *infra*, under Verb : 'Substantive and Defective Verbs.') The MB. dialectal form হনে « hȧnē » shows change of « -nt- > -t- » to « -n- » on the analogy of « karanti > করেন kȧrēnȡ » *does, do* (honorific) : and possibly there is some influence of সনে « sȧnē » (No. 35, above). Equivalents of হইতে « hȧitē » are apparently the Magahī « -satī » and Bhōjpuriyā « -santē » = *from, by* (Hoernle, Gauḍian Grammar, pp. 228, 328), where the sibilant has been preserved.

The use of « -santa- » as a genitival post-position is very old, and has been found, at least in MIA. of the South-west, as early as the Transitional MIA. period (see *supra*, p. 753). At the present day, this employ of « -sant-, -hant- » obtains in the Western lauguages, Sindhī and Rājasthānī (« -sand- » in Sindhī, and « -handō, -handī » in Western Rājasthānī), and in the Dardic speech of Kashmir (« -hondᵘ », beside « -sondᵘ < -s handu » with « -s » from the genitive base to which it is affixed : cf. Grierson in 'Lallā-vākyāni,' London, 1920, p. 139). It has been also suggested that the Panjābī genitive post-position « -dā, -dī » has developed out of the same present participle « -handa » (Beames, II, p. 291), but that is exceedingly problematic, and is not at all attested, and it seems that here we have another

post-positional form, in all probability a derivative from OIA. « √dā » *to give* (see *supra*, p. 164). This genitival use is not met with in the Eastern languages. Early Assamese, like Bengali, uses the locative oblique হন্তে « hȧntē », beside the base form হন্ত « hȧntȧ » (not found in Bengali), as an ablative affix, either with the noun base, or with the locative in ত « -tȧ » *e.g.*, দুই-হন্তে « dui-hȧntē » *from two*, মন-হন্তে « mȧnȧ-hȧntē » *from the mind*, নগরী-হন্তে « nȧgȧrī-hȧntē » *from the city*, beside মোত-হন্তে « mō-tȧ-hȧntē » *from me*, ললাটত-হন্তে « lȧlāṭȧ-tȧ-hȧntē » *from the forehead*, etc. In later Assamese, however, হন্তে, হন্ত « hȧntē, hȧntȧ » no longer feature for the ablative. But we have a form হঁত « hãta̸ », certainly from this « hȧntȧ », as a plural affix for rational nouns, to indicate only members of a trade, caste or group (Hēma-candra Baruā, 'Asamīyā Vyākaraṇa,' p. 18) : *e.g.*, ছাতরহঁত « chātȧra̸-hãta̸ » *students*, কঁহার-হঁত « kãhāra̸-hãta̸ » *bell-metal workers*, ডোমহঁত « ḍōma̸-hãta̸ » *people of the Ḍōm caste*, etc. (see *supra*, p. 739). The use of হঁত « hãta̸ » for the plural is possibly based on an earlier use of হন্ত « hȧntȧ » as a genitive post-position (as in Sindhī, Rājasthānī, and Kaśmīrī) in addition to an ablative one, in the Eastern languages : which, in that case, would parallel the development of the Bengali রা, এরা « -rā, -erā » as a plural affix from the genitive র, এর « -rȧ, -ērȧ ».

In the form হইতে « hȧitē » there also has been the influence of the present participle of √হো « √hō » (< bhū), as both these substantive roots, « as » and « bhū », have merged into one form in Bengali. The present participle of « √bhū » = « bhavant- > honta », is found to be employed as an ablative elsewhere in IA.—*e.g.*, in Western Rājasthānī and Gujarātī as « hūtau, taü, tu, thaü, thī » (cf. Tessitori, 'Notes on the Grammar of OWR.,' § 72), and in Khas-kurā, where it occurs as « bhandā ». In Western Apabhraṅsa « *bhavantaü, hontaü » (< √bhū) were undoubtedly in use as ablative-forming post-positions, like « ahanta-, asanta- » (< √ as) in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa.

These post-positional present participles of Late MIA. are certainly distinct from the Second MIA. ablative affixes « -hiṃ-tō, -suṃ-tō », which look like compounds formed of the OIA. inflexions (« -hiṃ » = instrumental plural, and locative singular ; or « -suṃ » = locative plural ; *plus* « -tō < OIA.

-taḥ, -āt + -taḥ » ablative affixes), although the suffixes « -himtō, -sumtō » and the Apabhraṅśa present participles « hontaü, *santaü » have been sought to be connected with each other (cf. Hoernle, Gauḍian Grammar, § 376).

(39) হইলে, হ'লে « hàilē > hōlē » *on having been*, conditional conjunctive of the substantive verb, is used with the base or the dative in « -kē » to mean 'in that case,' 'on such-and-such or so-and-so remaining.' The negative form নহিলে, নইলে, ন'লে « nàhilē, nàilē, nōlē » is used also with the base or the dative in « -kē » as a post-position meaning *without*.

A number of *tss.* are also used as post-positions: *e.g.*, « anusāra, anukrama, anuyāyī [onujǝi], bhinna, viṣaya, vyatīta, vyatirēka » etc., which are mostly put in the locative or oblique and used with the genitive or the mere base.

The Perso-Arabic form সেওয়ায়, সওয়ায়, সহায়, সওয়া, সহা « sēwāy, sàwāy, sàhāy, sàwā, sàhā » *besides, other than, over and above*, is used in Bengali with the base or the genitive, generally with the demonstrative pronouns, rather rarely with nouns. It has been borrowed from the Hindōstānī, where it is both a preposition and a post-position (Hind. sawā, siwā, siwā-e, sawā-e, < Persian < Arabic siwā [swy] = *extra, additional*). The word বেগর « bēgàr » *without* (Perso-Arabic ba-ġair) is sometimes found, either as a preposition or as a post-position, exactly like বিনা « binā » (p. 772)

[E] ENCLITIC DEFINITIVES OR NUMERATIVES.

510. Bengali like most NIA. languages possesses some post-positional affixes or words which are added to nouns or numerals to define the nature of the object or article referred to. Pronouns other than those of the first and second persons also take these post-positions, which are attached to the words and practically become a part of them, the case-affixes coming after them. These post-positional words, full or attenuated, are commonly described as *articles*. When a noun (or pronoun) is in the singular, the article or definitive comes after it; when in the plural (and pronouns are not used in the plural here), it must be qualified by a numeral, with which the post-positional is combined: where the number is vague or unknown, the definitive is not used. Where the numeral-*cum*-enclitic

precedes the noun, it becomes an attributive adjective, and does not take the case affixes, which are added to the noun: but where numeral-*cum*-enclitic follows the noun, it is loosely compounded with the latter, and the affixes are attached at the end of the entire group. Thus, মানুষ « mānuṣ𝑎 » *man*: একজন মানুষ « ēk𝑎-jån𝑎 mānuṣ𝑎 » *one-person man=a man*; একটা or একটী মানুষ « ēk𝑎-ṭā, ēk𝑎-ṭī mānuṣ𝑎 » *a* or *one man*; একজন মানুষের « ēk𝑎-jån𝑎 mānuṣēr𝑎 » *of a man*, একজন মানুষকে « ēk𝑎-jån𝑎 mānuṣ𝑎-kē » *to a man*; but মানুষটা, মানুষটী « mānuṣ𝑎-ṭā, mānuṣ𝑎-ṭī » *the man*, মানুষটার, মানুষটীর « mānuṣ𝑎-ṭā-r𝑎, mānuṣ𝑎-ṭī-r𝑎 » *of the man*, মানুষটাকে, মানুষটীকে « mānuṣ𝑎-ṭā-kē, mānuṣ𝑎-ṭī-kē » *to the man*; দুটা, দুটী or দুজন মানুষ « du-ṭā, du-ṭī, du-jån𝑎 mānuṣ𝑎 » *two men*, genitive দুটা, দুটী or দুজন মানুষের « du-ṭā, du-ṭī, du-jån𝑎 mānuṣēr𝑎 », but মানুষ দুজনের « mānuṣ𝑎-du-janēr𝑎 » *of the two men*, মানুষ-দুটীকে, « mānuṣ𝑎-du-ṭī-kē » *to the two men*; etc.,

The definitives are used with nouns in the qualifying genitive, *e.g.*, নীচের টার « nīchēr𝑎-ṭā-r𝑎 » *of the one below*, উপরের খানা থেকে « upårēr𝑎-khānā-thēkē » *from the piece at the top*, পাশের জনকে « pāśēr𝑎-jån𝑎-kē » *to the one beside*, etc. When the definitive is placed *before* the numeral, which qualifies the noun, instead of *after* it, the sense becomes, on the contrary, vague and indefinite as to the number: *e.g.*, জনদুই মানুষ « jån𝑎-dui mānuṣ𝑎 », or মানুষ জনদুই « mānuṣ𝑎-jån𝑎-dui » *about* or *some two men*, gen. জনদুই মানুষের or মানুষ জনদুইয়ের « mānuṣ𝑎-jån𝑎-duiēr𝑎, jån𝑎-dui mānuṣēr𝑎 ». This usage is certainly old in the language: it is found in the Early Maithilī of the 'Varṇa-ratnākara' (*supra*, pp, 102-103). The enclitics টা (টো, টে), টী « -ṭā (-ṭō, -ṭē), -ṭī » are not used in this way to precede the numeral, as it is not an entire word any longer. To emphasise the vagueness, the indefinite forms of the numerals (with এক « -ēk ») are also used: *e.g.*, জন দুই or জনদুইয়েক « jån𝑎-dui, -dui-ẏ-ēk », খান-দশ or দশেক « khān𝑎-dåś𝑎, -dåś-ēk𝑎 ».

The employment of these enclitic words or fragments of words lacks the range and variety of the numerative or qualifying words of many other languages, *e.g.*, Chinese (cf. R. K. Douglas, 'Chinese Manual,' London, 1889, pp. 64-66), and Japanese (*e.g.*, H. J. Weintz, 'Japanese Grammar Self-Taught,' London, 1904, pp. 32-34), although there is some resemblance in the general principle.

Common Numeratives of Bengali, and their Origin:

(1) খান, খানা « khānạ, khānā », diminutive খানী, খানি « khānī, khāni » (originally feminine: see pp. 672-673) = *a piece* (<« khaṇḍa »: see p. 365). In NB., it is used by preference to specialise objects of rectangular or flat form, or objects which have a frame-work. But in the ŚKK., it is used in an expression like নাতিনী খানী « nātinī-khānī » *the* (*little*) *grand-daughter* (p. 11: cf. also note at p. 433 of the ŚKK., where is quoted from Early Assamese কন্যাখানি « kånyā-khāni » *the little daughter*). This numerative was thus established in Bengali by the eMB. period at least. Cf. also বেঢ়িল কুঢ়িআ (=কুঁড়িয়া > কুঁড়ে) খা ন « bēṛhilå kuṛ(h)iā-khāni » *surrounded the cottage* (Kṛttivāsa, 'Uttara-kaṇḍa,' p. 58), সাতারিয়া আনে ভৃগু অর্জ্জুনের শরীর-খান « sãtāriyå ānē Bhṛgu Arjunērạ śårīrạ-khānạ » *B. swims and brings the body of A.* (ibid, p. 65), দুইখান হাত « dui-khānạ hātạ » *the two hands* (ibid, p. 92); etc.

(2) গাছ, গাছা « gāchạ, gāchā », diminutive গাছী, গাছি « gāchī, gāchi » = *a long piece, a 'stick,' a 'tree'* (MIA. « gaccha »: see p. 472): used with reference to thin and long ariticles. This is not found in eMB., and seems to have been established in its numerative function during the lMB. period.

(3) গোটা « gōṭā », diminutive গুটী, গুটি « guṭī, guṭī » = *one piece, one whole, one round object.* It occurs also as গোট « gōṭạ », and is found in Hindōstānī as an independent word meaning *a pebble or stone, a round object, a piece, a man* (*as in a game*). The word is of uncertain origin, but doubtless the Skt. « guṭikā », Bengali গুটী « guṭī » *a small globe or ball, a pill, a pearl, a pustule, the cocoon of the silk-worm* is the same word. The source of it may be the Skt. root « gṛ » *to sprinkle, moisten,* which figures in the 'Dhātu-pāṭhas': a form like « *gṛ-ta » to mean *a drop* could well have given « *gurta », whence « *gutta, *gŏtta », whence the NIA. forms, as well as the Skt. « guṭikā ». The Skt. word has been also sought to be connected with « gōla » *round* and « guḍa » *molasses.* The word গোটা « gōṭā » was derived from « gōṣṭha-ka » by Hoernle (Gauḍian Grammar, p. 275), but that should give an aspirate in NIA., *e.g.*. « *gōṭhā », whereas all the actual NIA. forms—Western and Eastern Hindī, Bihārī, Bengali, Oṛiyā and Assamese,

have « -ṭ- » and not « -ṭh- ». The form « gōṭā » figures as a post-positional numerative in Bihārī ; *e.g.*, in Maithilī « duhū-gōṭā » *the two pieces* ; also in Oṛiyā, in Bengali, and in Assamese ; and consequently it is likely that the numerative employ of this word goes back to Māg. Ap. We have it in Early Maithilī, and it is extremely common in Early Bengali : *e.g.*, ŚKK. বাঁশী গুটি « bā̃śī-guṭi » *the flute*, several times, and Kṛttivāsa, 'Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa,' বাণ গোটা « bāṇa-gōṭā » *the arrow* (p. 28). In NB. গোটা « gōṭā » is quite common as a noun meaning *whole* ; its numerative use, however, has become considerably curtailed.

(4) জন « jana » *person*, which can be either *tbh.* or *ts.*, is used to indicate men and women. The use of this word is found in eMB., and in all likelihood it goes earlier : *e.g.*, Kṛttivāsa, 'Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa,' p. 2, ভাই দুইজনে « bhāi dui-janē » *the two brothers*, lit. *brother(s) two-persons* ; 'Uttara-kaṇḍa,' p. 66, মাতাপিতা দুইজনে « mātā-pitā dui-janē » *the two parents* (or *mother and father both*) ; etc.

(5) টা « -ṭā » (by Vowel Harmony টো « -ṭō » and টে « -ṭē » : p. 401), diminutive টী, টি « -ṭī, -ṭi » : used as the post-positional 'Definite Article,' meaning *an object, a whole*. For derivation and use, see *supra*, p. 686. The dialectal forms « -ḍā, -ḍī » have been noted before. In the Haijong (Maimansing) dialect, apprently it is this « -ṭā > -ḍa > -rā » that figures in forms like রাজারা « rājā-rā » *the king*, মাগুরা « māgu-rā » *the wife*, কথারা « kathā-rā » *the word*, etc. (LSI., V, I, pp. 216 ff).

টা, টী « -ṭā, -ṭī » are the most important definitives of Bengali. The employ of these is already well-established in the Early MB. period : *e.g.*, ŚKK., p. 75 সোনার কটুআ দুটি মাণিকে পুরাঞাঁ « sōnāra kaṭuā du-ṭi māṇikē purāỹā̃ » *causing the two (round) boxes of gold to be filled with gems* ; Kṛttivāsa, 'Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa,' p. 28, চক্ষুটা « cakṣu-ṭā » *the eye* ; ibid., p. 1, দুইটী ব্রাহ্মণ « dui-ṭī Brāhmaṇa » (*the*) *two Brāhmans*, দুটী হাত « duṭī hāta » *the two hands* etc., etc.

The « -ṭā » affix is found as টু « -ṭu » after the numeral এক « ēka » *one* (=-ṭ- + -u < -ū : p. 677) ; and when used post-positionally after a noun, « -ṭu » is extended to টু-ক « -ṭu-ka », and further strengthened to টুকু « -ṭu-k-u » : « -ṭu, -ṭuka, -ṭuku » are all used to denote 'a small quantity

of any thing,' generally of fluids and of substances which are already in small fragments: *e.g.*, একটু জল « ēkǝ-ṭu jȧlǝ » *a little water*, but জলটুক্, টুকু « jȧlǝ-ṭukǝ, jȧlǝ-ṭuku » *the little water*; একটু নুন « ēkǝ-ṭu nunǝ » *a little salt, a pinch of salt*, নুনটুকু « nunǝ-ṭuk(u) » *that pinch of salt*. The « -k- » in « -ṭukǝ, -ṭuku » looks like being the nominal or pleonastic affix (see *ante*, pp. 679 ff), but it may be from « ēkǝ » *one*, as in the dialectal word টুক, টুয়েক « ṭukǝ, ṭuyēkǝ » *a little* (*e.g.*, টুক, টুয়েক বাদে « ṭukǝ or ṭuyēkǝ bȧdē » *a little later*, as in West Rāḍha Bengali: = « -ṭu » diminutive + « ēkǝ »).

(6) থান « thānǝ » *flat piece, round or rectangular piece* (< sthāna): *e.g.*, কাপড় দুথান « kāpȧṛǝ du-thānǝ » *the two pieces of stuff*, etc. Rather restricted in employ.

A few other words are similarly used as definitives. *E.g.*, the Persian words তা « tā » *sheet* (« tah, tāh » *fold, plait*: দুতা কাগজ « du-tā kāgȧjǝ » *two sheets of paper*), and কেতা « kētā » *piece* (Ar. « qitā' » *cutting*: নোট দু-কেতা « nōṭǝ du-kētā » *two bank-notes*). But they partake rather of the nature of English words like *head* ('five head of cattle'), *sail* ('ten sail of ships') than of enclitic definitives like the above.

CHAPTER III

THE NUMERALS

511. The numerals present one of the difficult phonetic problems of NIA. Their forms show a remarkable uniformity all over the NIA. area, a uniformity which is not in keeping with the several phonetic histories of the various NIA. speeches. The names for the cardinals in the different NIA. languages, instead of going through their proper MIA. forms back to OIA. (i.e , with each group showing independent and distinct forms with characteristic dialectal phonetic history, in general agreement with the phonology of the mass of words in the language), appear rather to be based on some standardised MIA. forms. These standardised forms originally belonged to some particular dialect of MIA., but they were early adopted in a standard dialect, a sort of Hindōstānī of ancient times (when they did not originally belong to it), whence they were imposed upon the vernacular speeches in the different tracts of the country ; and the proper native forms in these latter vernaculars were generally superseded, although in some cases they have maintained themselves (*e.g.*, Gujarātī « bē » Sindhī « b'ē » Marāthī « dōn » Bengali দুই « dui » *two*, Panjābī « wīh » *twenty*). From the very close resemblance between the common NIA. cardinals and those of Pali, the latter may be taken to represent the basis or source of the former. Pali is based on the speech of the Midland, with influences from the East as well as the North-West and the South-West: one Pali form for *twelve* is « bārasa », with « b- » for OIA. « dv- », which does not seem to be a proper Midland treatment of this group of consonants : the native Midland form was certainly « d(u)vādasa », also found in Pali, but we do not know when « bārasa » or an earlier « *bāḍasa < dvādaśa » from an outside dialect imposed itself in Pali, side by side with the native form in « d(u)vā- ». (Cf. p. 58, *supra*.) The form « bārasa », however, became established in the standard form of the Midland speech, and thence passed on to the other dialects, Ardha-māgadhī and Māgadhī included ; although these latter continued to use their

proper forms « duvālasa, *duvāḍasa » side by side with « bārasa », at least as a literary survival down to Second MIA. times. Even though the Pali forms give a sufficiently satisfactory ground work for those of NIA., there are certain irregularities in the development of the latter, which cannot be properly explained. Thus, intervocalic « -s- » became « -h- » in all the forms except those of the 9th decade in Western Panjābī and Sindhī: *e.g.*, W. Panjābī « yārā̃(h), bārā̃(h) » =*11, 12*; « wīh, ikkī(h), bāī(h) » =*20, 21, 22*; « trīh, battīh » =*30, 32*; « cāḷī(h), cutāḷī(h) » = *40, 44*; « pañjāh, aṭhwañjā(h) » =*50, 58*; « bāhṭh, chēāhṭh » =*62, 66*; « ihattar, pañjhattar » = *71, 75*; but « assī, ikāsī » =*80, 81*, where the sibilant is retained. In the other NIA. languages, in Marāṭhī, Gujarātī, W. Hindī, E. Hindī, Bihārī and Bengali for instance, we find « -h- » for « -s- » regularly only in the 2nd and 8th decades, but irregularly in other cases (*e.g.*, Hindī « bārah » =*12*, « bāhāttar » =*72* but « pacās » =*50*, « aṭhwan » =*58*); while the « -s- » remains in the third, fourth, fifth and ninth decades (*e.g.*, Hindī « bāïs » =*22*, « arṭīs » =*38*, « byāllis » =*42*, « pacāsī » =*85*): and Oṛiyā and Assamese preserve the « -s- » in the eighth decade as well (the « s » in Assamese has become [x]). The Pali forms cannot explain all these anomalies among the NIA. speeches, because Pali represents an earlier state of things in MIA. when « -s- » remained a sibilant. The later Prakrits show a mix-up of « -s- » and « -h- » forms which it is now impossible to refer to local dialects of the Second MIA. stage. Forms like those that we find in Pali would seem to have been adopted in most MIA. dialects by the Second MIA. stage: then after the « -s- > -h- » change took place in one area (probably in N.-W. India: see *supra*, p. 549), that phonetic development also partially insinuated itself into the forms of the standard speech (some form of Śaurasēnī, in all likelihood), and thence also to the other dialects, but not uniformly.

The origin of the NIA. words for the numerals has been discussed by Bloch (cf. 'Langue Marathe,' pp. 214-223). The question is studied here from the point of view of Bengali.

512. *One* = এক « ēkꞋ » ['æ:k]: from eMB. [ɛ:kɔ], OB. [e:kɒ] < MIA. « ĕkka », a MIA. *ts.* or *sts.* form, occurring side by side with the *tbh*

« ēga, ēa » which occur in Prakrit but which are not so common (Jaina Ardha-māgadhī prefers « ēga », however). The Assamese এ « ē » = *one*, as in এজন « ē-zȧna̸ » *one person*, এটা « ē-ṭā » *one*, এহেজার « ē-hēzāra̸ » *one thousand* (= Bengali একজন, একটা, একহাজার « ēka̸-jȧna̸, ēka̸-ṭā, ēka̸-hājāra̸ »), shows that the *tbh.* « ēa » was as much a living form in Second and Third MIA. as the *sts.* « ĕkka ». A common and exceedingly important word, for the numeral *one*, it could not remain as the colourless « ēa », and hence the *ts.* form could easily come in to meet the necessity of a distinctive vocable.

In composition, « ēka̸ » remains unmodified (*e.g.*, একুশ ekuśa̸ < ēkuiśa̸, ēkȧiśa̸ = *21* ; একত্রিশ, তিরিশ ēka̸-t(i)risa̸, ēkȧttriśa̸ = *31* ; একচাল্লিশ ēka̸-cālliśa̸ = *41* ; একান্ন ēkānnȧ = *51* ; একষট্টি ēka̸-ṣaṭṭi = *61* ; একাত্তর ēkāttȧra̸ = *71* ; একান(ব্ব)ই ekānȧi, ēkānȧbbȧi = *91*), except in এগার « ēgārȧ » = *11*. Here the voicing difficult is to account for. It seems to be NIA., from a Late MIA. « *ēkāraha », a standard form, < earlier « ĕkkārāha » which supplanted the *tbh.* « ēāraha ». The « -k- < MIA. -kk- » is preserved in Marāṭhī « akrā » ; and Panjābī « yārā » represents the normal MIA. *tbh.* « ēāraha- ». The Ardha-māgadhī « ēga » would only be confined to literature, and cannot be regarded as being responsible for the NIA. « ēgārȧ, igārah » etc. The 'Prākṛta-Pāiṅgala' form « ĕggāraha » seems only to be a Prakritisation of the NIA. word. In forms like « ēk-uśa̸, ēka̸-t(i)riśa̸ » etc., an analysis into « ēka̸ + biśa̸ (viśa̸), ēka̸ + t(i)riśa̸ » was easy, and this analysis seems to have helped to bring in or retain the « -k- » ; but there was not much scope for this analysis when « -daśa » became « -raha » in the MIA. « ĕkkāraha, *ēkāraha, ēāraha » in the dialects, which mostly now have « -g- » or zero for the original « -k- ». In Gujarātī « ōga̸ṇīs » = *91*, « ōgaṇtīs » = *29*, « ōgaṇcāḷīs » = *39*, « agṇō-ēśī, ōgaṇyāśī » = *79*, however, it is not a case of voicing : « ōgaṇ- » is not from OIA. « ēkôna- », but is rather from a Skt. « *apaguṇa (-viṅśati) », etc. (Pischel, § 444).

In Chittagong Bengali, there is the voicing of « -k- » which characterises this dialect : « ēga̸ < ēka̸ » ; also « ēkuā, ēkā > ēguā, ēgā, eggā, oggā » ; (this « eguā, eggā » gives in Chittagong Bengali the numerative enclitic « -ggā » or « -gōā » : *e.g.*, « du-ggā » = *two pieces*, « tsāir-gōā » = *four pieces*,

etc., which corresponds to « dui-gō, cār-gō » etc., of the Bihārī dialects); « ēgāiśɔ, ēgōiśɔ = ēkuśɔ, ēkāisɔ »; etc.

In other compound forms in Bengali, « -k- » of « ēkɔ » is preserved: *e.g.*, একুইতি « ēkuiti » (= ēka-putrikā). The « -k- » is lengthened or doubled in Bengali for emphasis, as in the case of the other consonants: *e.g.*, একেকালে, একেবারে « ekkē-kālē, ekkē-bāre » *all at once* or *all at the same time*, etc. (see above, p. 448).

513. *Two* = দুই « dui », from MIA. « duvē », properly the neuter form = « dvē » of OIA., which is already established in the eastern dialect of Aśōka for the masculine as well (*e.g.*, Rock Edict I. Jaugada = « duvē majulā = dvāu mayūrāu »). দুই « dui » is a genuine Prācya and Māgadhī form as preserved in Bengali. It is found in the other Magadhan speeches as well. Other typical NIA. forms, differing from that of the Eastern tracts, are « dō » (W. Hindī and Panjābī), « dōn » (Marāṭhī), « bē » (Gujarātī), « b'ē » (Sindhī) and « dē-ka » (Sinhalese).

In composition with nouns, the equivalent was « dō- » in MIA. In the Caryās, « dō » also occurs (beside « dui ») as an independent or qualifying form: *e.g.*, « dui gharē » (Caryā 2), « dui māra (= mārga: Caryā 26), and « dō bāṭā » (= vartma: Caryā 15). We have also a definitive « duā » as in « phīṭaü duā » *let the two be split* or *destroyed*. In genuine Bengali compounds, the form « dō » becomes « du » when followed by a high vowel (see under 'Vowel Harmony,' *supra*, pp. 397-398): thus, দুমুখো « du-mukhō < dō-mukh-ā » *two-faced*, দুছুট « du-chuṭɔ » < দোছুট « dō-chuṭɔ » (see p. 472), দুপুর « dupurɔ » < দোপহর « dō-pāhārɔ » (dvi-prahara); but দোপাটি « dō-pāṭī » *a flower*, দোআঁশলা « dō-āśɔlā » *of mixed breed* (dvi + aṁśa + la-), দোভাষী « dō-bhāṣī » *interpreter*, etc. A common contraction of the adjectival দুই « dui » is দু' « du »: *e.g.*, দু(ই)টা > দুটো « du(i)-ṭā > du-ṭō » *two pieces*, দু(ই)জন « du(i)-jānɔ » *two persons*. In such forms, দু « du » is regarded as forming compounds, and this fact influences the original « dō- » in many compounds to be changed to « du- »: *e.g.*, দুহাতা > দুহাত্তা « du-hātā > du-hāttā », beside দোহাত্তা « dō-hāttā » *with both hands* (= *to one's best advantage*), দুধারী « du-dhārī » beside দোধারী « dō-dhārī » *two-edged*, etc.

In MB. there is the form দোঁহ « dōhȧ » *two* (as in দোঁহেঁ « dōhē » nominative and oblique, দোঁহার, দোঁহাকার « dōhā-rɇ, dōhā-kāiɇ » genitive, দোঁহাকে « dōhā-kē » dative) which represents an Apabhraṅśa genitive « *doṇhă, dŏṇṇaṁ ». Variants of this form, with the nasal from the genitive plural of the noun, are দুইহুঁ « duihā̃ » (as in the ŚKK.), and দুহান « duhāuȧ » (as in the Early Assamese দুহানো « duhānō »).

In compound numerals, we find the forms বা « bā- » and ব, বি, বে « bȧ-, bi-, bē- » representing the OIA. « dvā-, dvi- »: thus বাইশ « bāisɇ » (dvā-viṅśati), বত্রিশ, বত্তিরিশ « bȧtt(i)risɇ » (dvā-triṅśat), বিয়াল্লিশ, বেয়াল্লিস, ব্যাল্লিশ « biẏāllisɇ, bēẏā-, byā- » (dvi-catvāriṅśat), বিরাশি « birāsi » (dvy-aśīti). The change « dv- > b- », as has been noted before (see *supra*, pp. 508, 782) is non-Māgadhī : native Māgadhī would have shown « *dōā-, *dui ».

Bengali দোকা « dōkā » *twain, with a second* is an analogical formation after একা « ēkā » *alone*.

In the OB. of the Caryās we have the word « bēnī » to mean *two* (Caryās 1, 4, 5). The word in this sense is extremely common in Early Oṛiyā (bēṇi). It is the *ts.* word « vēṇī » *plait, plait of two bands of hair*, and the Sanskrit word itself would seem to be based on a MIA. formation from « dvi », with « v- < b- » from « dv- ».

514. *Three* = তিন « tinɇ », properly তীন « tīnɇ » < OB. « tini, tiṇi = tīni » (cf. Caryā 13, « tiṇi bhuaṇa » *the three worlds*; also Caryās 7 and 16); Oṛiyā, Assamese and Maithilī = « tīni ». This form is found in most NIA., excepting in the Western Languages—Panjābī and Lahndī, Sindhī and Gujarātī—which have forms in « -r- » (Panj. and Lahndī « trai̯ », Sindhī « ṭrē », Gujarātī « traṇ ») through Dardic influence. The NIA. « tīni » comes from the OIA. neuter « trīṇi », which was generalised in the East for all genders (and, it seems, also in the Midland: cf. W. Hindī « tīn(i) »). This can be seen from Aśōkan inscriptions : thus « tiṅni pāṇāni » in Dhaulī and Jaugada I, = « tiṅni, tini pānāni » in Kalsi, for which Girnar has « tī, trī prāṇā » and Shahbazgarhi « tra(yo) praṇa, praṇa-trayo ». OIA. « trīṇi » seems to have passed through a stage « *tīrṇi » to give Early MIA. « tinni, *tiṇṇi ». An expected Māgadhī form from « tīṇi », without the intermediate stage « *tīrṇi » postulated here, would be « *ṭīni », and also

« *ṭi-=tri- »: cf. Hindōstānī « ṭi-kaṭhī »=tri-kāṣṭhikā » *wooden triangular frame to which offenders are tied to be flogged* (=Bengali টিকটিকি « ṭikḍṭiki <*ṭi-kåṭh-ikī » with confusion with the onomatopoetic word টিক্‌টিকি « ṭikṭiki » *house lizard*) in which « tr- > ṭ- » seems to be a Māgadhism which has survived.

In compound numerals we find তে, তি « tē-, ti- » (< traya-, tri-): তের « tērå » (trayōdaśa, *tridaśa), তেইশ « tēiśå » (trayōvinśati), তেত্রিশ « tēttriśå » (trayastrinśat), etc., etc. In compounds generally we have তে « tē- », changed to তি « ti- » by Vowel Harmony : *e.g.*, তেহাই « tēhāi » *third part* (tri-bhāgikā), তেপায়া « tēpāyā » *tripod*, MB. তেওড়ী, তিউড়ী « tēŏṛī, tiuṛī » *oven* (tri-vṛt), etc. OB. however has « ti-śaraṇa » (Caryā 13) and « tia-dhāu » (< tri-ka-+dhātu : Caryās 28, 29).

515. *Four*=চার<চাইর, চাইর, চারি « cār < cāĭr, cāir, cāri ». This is the form which is found in almost all NIA., except Sinhalese, which has « satara, hatara ». The NIA. « cāri, cār » is apparently to be connected with the OIA. neuter form « catvāri ». In the Aśokan Kalsi dialect, « cat(t)āli », occurs already for the masculine; but Aśōkan of Girnar shows for masculine « catpārō » (catvāraḥ). (This, if it had survived, would have given in NIA., Gujarātī, a form « *cāpar », through a Second MIA. « *cappārō »). Pali has « cattāro » (accusative « caturō »), « catassō » and « cattāri » for the masculine, feminine and neuter respectively. From Second MIA. « cattāri », we come to the Apabhraṅśa « cāri » and the Early NIA. « ciāri » : and the apparent loss of « -tt- » in these later forms is not easy to explain (see *supra*, pp. 254-255). The loss of the « -tt- » may have been due to the form taken by this numeral word in compounds —« caü < catuḥ- »; and as Pischel notes (Gramm. der Pkt.-Spr., § 439, p. 313), « cāri » occurs in Apabhraṅśa in compounds (« catuṣpāda > *caüppāa+*cattāri-pāa » giving « cāri-pāa » ?).

The form « ciāri » is attested from Early Oṛiyā, from Marāṭhī, and from other NIA. languages (see *ante*, p. 106). It can also be well assumed that Bengali also possessed this « ciāri », at least side by side with « cāri ». The form « ciāri » appears to be late, and NIA. There is no proper

explanation of the intrusive (?) « -i- », but an Iranian influence here does not seem to be an impossibility (see *supra*, p. 255; also see *infra*, under *Six*).

In compounds, the numeral occurs as চৌ « cåu » = MIA. « caü », OIA. « catuḥ, catus, catur ». The diphthongal form occurs already in OB.: eg. « cau-dīsa » (Caryā 6), « cau-koṭṭi » (Caryā 37). In the numerals, « cau » has become contracted to « cō-, cu- »: thus চোদ্দ « cōddå » (« caturdaśa »: the « sādhu-bhāṣā » form চৌদ্দ « cåuddå » is archaic), চোব্বিশ « cōbbiśạ » (caturviṅśati), চুয়াল্লিশ « cuālliśạ » (catuścatvāriṅśat), চুয়ান্ন « cuānnå » (catuḥpañcāśat), চুয়াত্তর « cuāttårạ » (catussaptati), চুরাশী « curāsī » (caturaśīti), চুরান(ব্ব)ই « curā-nå(bbå)i » (caturnavati). The forms চৌত্রিশ « cåu-triśạ » (catustriṅśat) and চৌষট্টি « cåu-ṣaṭṭi » (OB. « caüṣaṭhi, caüṣaṭṭhi, causaṭhṭhī » as in Caryās 3, 12 and 10 respectively : = « catus-ṣaṣṭi ») preserve « cåu »: but they are not the normal Bengali forms as expected—the first has *ts.* influence, and the second seems to have been influenced by literary Prakrit from the OB. period. In MB. and dialectal NB., through the common change of « åu » to « åi », we have চৈপর, চোপর « cåipårạ, cōpårạ » < চৌপর « cåupårå » (caü-pahara, catuṣprahara), চৈদ্দ « cåiddå » (= Assamese চৈধ্য « cåidhyå ») beside চৌদ্দ « cåuddå », etc. (see *supra*, p. 385). Compounds like চৌকাঠ « cåu-kāṭhạ » *door-frame*, চৌঘুড়ী « cåu-ghuṛī » *four-in-hand*, চৌদোল « cåu-dōla » *litter, palanquin of state*, চৌধুরী, *চৌধরী « Caudhurī < *Caudhårī » *a title or surname* < *chief* (= catur + dhara + -ika), চৌমাথা « cåu-māthā » *carrefour, crossing*, are archaic in type, and « cåu » is an atrophied form; and in MB. and NB., compositions with the Bengali চারি, চার « cār(i) » are more common: *e.g.*, চার-পেয়ে < চারি-পাইয়া « cārạ-pēyē < cāri-pāïyā » *four-footed*, চার-কেলে < চারি-কালিয়া « cārạ-kēlē < cāri-kāliyā » *of the four ages*, etc.

516. *Five* = পাঁচ « pãcạ » (OIA. pañca). All NIA. speeches agree in retaining the nasal, except Sinhalese, which has the form « paha < pasa < *paca ». In compounds with nouns, « pãcạ » remains unchanged in Bengali: *e.g.*, পাঁচমুড়া « pãcạ-muṛā » *five-crested*, পাঁচ-হাতী « pãcạ-hāt-ī » *five cubits long*, etc. In the compound numerals, however, the word occurs in four forms in Bengali, as below :

(1) পঁচ « pāc- » as in পঁচিশ « pāciśa̸ » (pañca-viṅśati), পঁচাত্তর « pācāttåra̸ » (pañca-saptati), পঁচাশী « pācāśī » (pañcåśīti), পঁচান(ব্ব)ই « pācānå(bbå)i » (pañca-navati);

(2) পঞ্চ « pañc- » as in পঞ্চাশ « påñcāśa̸ » (pancāśat), পঞ্চান্ন påñcānnå » (« pañcā-pañcåśat »: there is a dialectal পাঁচপন « påca̸-påna̸ »), and ঊনপঞ্চাশ « unå-pāñcāśa̸ »; also contracted to « -åñc- » as in ‡ ঊনঞ্চাশ « unåñcāśa̸ » *49*;

(3) পঁয় « pāya̸- » as in পঁয়ত্রিশ « pāya̸-triśa̸ » (pañca-triṅśat), পঁয়তাল্লিশ « pāya̸-tālliśa̸ » (pañca-catvāriṅśat), and পঁয়ষট্টি « pāya̸-ṣåṭṭi » (pañca-ṣaṣṭi);

(4) পন, পান্ন, আন্ন « påna̸-, -pānnå -ānnå » as in পনের « pånērå » (pañca-daśa), and in the fifties—একান্ন, বাহান্ন, তিপ্পান্ন, চুয়ান্ন, পঞ্চান্ন, ছাপ্পান্ন, সাতান্ন, আটান্ন, « ekānnå, bāhānnå, tippānnå, cuānnå, pañcānnå, chāppānnå, sātānnå, āṭānnå ».

Of the above, « pāca̸ < påca̸ », with short « -ā- » through absence of stress in the word in the formative period of Bengali, seems to be the native Bengali form: and « pañc- » in পঞ্চাশ « påñcāsa̸ » etc., has a restored « -ñ- », apparently through *ts.* influence: the expected native Bengali form would be « *pācāsa̸ »: cf. Hind. « pacās ». The forms « pāya̸ (=paña) » and « påna̸, pānnå, -ānnå » are respectively from MIA « pañña » and « panna (paṇṇa) », from « *pañja < pañca ». The change « ñj > ññ, ñ » is found in Maithilī in one or two forms (see *supra*, p. 364), but it does not characterise Bengali; and « -ñc->-ñj- > -nn-, -n- » is equally foreign to Bengali. We find the latter change in the Midland and Eastern inscriptions of Aśōka: *e.g.*, « paṅna-ḍasa » (=panna-ḍasa < pañca-daśa) and « paṅna-vīsati » (=panna-vīsati < pañca-viṅśati) in the Delhi-Siwalik pillar, for instance, and « sa-paṅnā » (=*sappannā[h]<ṣaṭ-pañcåśat) at Sahasram: where it can well be an imposition from an « -ñc—>-ñj->nn » (and « -s- > -h- ») dialect, presumably of the North-West (cf. Jules Bloch, JA., 1912, I, pp. 332 ff.).

517. *Six*=ছয়, ছ « chåya̸, chå », Assamese « chåy » [sɔĕ], Oṛiyā « chåå ». MIA. has the form « cha ». The Bengali, Assamese and Oṛiyā forms, as well as the Panjābī « chē », Marāṭhī « sahā », and the forms « chē, chēy-, chiy- » as in the decades (as compared with Hindī and Gujarātī

« cha- ») are apparently based on a fuller form in MIA. than simple « cha ». The word cannot have originated from « ṣaṭ » of OIA.: « ṣ- > ch- » would be an inexplicable change in Early MIA., and we should expect the sibilant to remain either as « s- » or as « ś- », as in « ṣōḍaśa, ṣaṣṭi » > NIA. sōlah, sāṭh »: and as a matter of fact the word for *six* does occur with « s- », in Aśōkan Prakrit.

The Indo-European word for *six* was « *seks, *sweks ». In Indo-Iranian, it became « *saśs, *swaśs », the expected OIA. equivalent of which would be « *sakṣ, *swakṣ > *sak, *swak », which could change only to « *saṭ, *svaṭ » by analogy (Uhlenbeck, 'Manual of Sanskrit Phonetics', p. 88; Wackernagel, I, p 174): normally it could not certainly be « ṣaṭ », such as we actually find in OIA. In the form « ṣaṣ- » (as in « ṣaṣ-ṭha, ṣaṣ-ṭi), the second « -ṣ- » is quite regular (<Indo-Iranian « *s[w]ašṭha, *s[w]ašti » =IE *s[w]eks-tho, *s[w]eks-ti: cf. Wackernagal, I, § 202, d). This « -š- > -ṣ- » in the interior of the word may have influenced the initial « *s- » to « š-, ṣ- » (Indo-Iranian « *s[w]ašṭha, *s[w]ašti > *š[w]ašṭha, *š[w]ašti > OIA. ṣaṣ-, Prim. Iran. *š[w]aš- »: cf. H. Reichelt, 'Awestisches Elementarbuch,' § 160). The Avestan equivalent of Vedic « ṣaṭ, ṣaṣ » is « xšvaš », which represents the Iran. « *šwaš » (with the « -w- » of IE. « *sweks »): the prothetic « x- » in « x-švaš » is regular in Avestan before initial « š- » *plus* consonant (Reichelt, ibid., § 174). The forms « ṣaṣ (šaš), xšvaš » beside « *ṣvaṣ (*šwaš) » occurred in the various ancient dialects of Indo-Iranian, as we can see from Sanskrit, from Avestan, and from the various present-day speeches of the Indo-Iranian borderland—Iranian and Dardic: *e.g.*, Bašgalī « šō », Kalaša « šōh », Vērōn « ušu » and Šiṇā of Jalkot « šva (ṣva) », as well as Paštō « špaž, špēž, špag », would seem to be based on a form « *šwaš » or « *ṣvaṣ »; Šiṇā « šah, ša (ṣah, ṣa) » and Kaśmīrī « šĕh » on « šaš (ṣaṣ) », like the New Persian « šaš », : and the Central Asian Ghalcha forms—Yüdghā « uxšo » and Munjānī « axše » would appear to be based on a form agreeing with the Avestan « xšvaš ». But « ṣaṣ, *ṣvaṣ » cannot explain the MIA. and NIA. « cha- », and the Khō-wār (Dardic) « choi ». Could the typically Iranian « xšvaš » have been borrowed, or blended with the Indian « ṣaṣ », in an old Indo-Aryan frontier dialect, in the

form « *kṣaṣ, *kṣak »? This form in « kṣ- » could well be extended to « *kṣaka », to make it a disyllabic word like « pañca, sapta » etc.: and « *kṣaṣ, *kṣaka » could very well be the source of « cha, chaa », with the North-western or Western MIA. alteration of « kṣ » to « ch » (cf. *supra*, p. 469).

Tokharian of Central Asia (*supra* p. 5) shows some peculiar forms for *six* and *sixth*, which may be noted. In Dialect A, it is « ṣak », ordinal « ṣkaṣt » and in Dialect B the forms are « ṣkas, ṣkaste », cardial and ordinal. The derivation « IE. *seks > *ṣaks > *ṣakas > ṣak, ṣkas » has been proposed (cf. A. Meillet, MSL., XVII, 1912, p. 287). But in this connexion, can an Indo-European « *skes » (or « *skwes »), as occurring side by side with « *seks, *sweks », be postulated? In that case, this « *sk- » of Indo-European can regularly give the « ch- » of Indo-Aryan.

In the Aśōkan inscriptions, the words for *six* are « cha » (Rūpnāth: « cha-vacharē »), « sa- » (Sahasram : « sa-vachalē, sa-paṅnā »), « ṣa- » (North-West and Kalsi), and « saḍu- » (Dehli-Siwalik and-Meerut « saḍu-vīsati »). The occurrence of « cha » and « sa-, ṣa-, saḍ- » side by side is a certain indication that the first is a form independent of the other ones.

The « -h- » in Western Apabhraṅśa « chaha », Marāṭhī « sahā », Sinhalese « saha » is obscure. It may represent the second sibilant in the base form « ṣaṣ », which is seen to occur in Dardic. The forms « chē, chēy-, chiy- » in the compound numerals are easily explained as being from a MIA. « chaa, chaẏa ». The Maithilī « chau », earlier « chaō, chahu » (as in the 'Varṇa-ratnākara,' *supra* pp. 102-103; also in the same work, « āṭhahu = āṭha » *8*, « caubīsaō » = « caubīsa » *24*, etc.), has the affix « -hu » which would seem to be only an emphatic particle.

The words for *16*, and the *sixties*, are based on the OIA. (Sanskrit) forms with « ṣ- ».

518. *Seven* = সাত « sātᵊ »: regularly derived from OIA. « sapta », and found in all the IA. speeches (Hindī etc. « sāt », Panjābī « satt », Sindhī « satᵃ », Sinhalese « hata, sata »).

In the compound numerals, except in সতের « sȧtērȧ » *17*, and সাঁইত্রিশ « sāĩtriśᵊ » *37*, « sātᵊ » is unchanged. In Early Bengali, it is likely that the

compounded form was « *sätå », with weakening of « -ā- » to « -å- » through absence of stress : cf. Oṛiyā « sātāïśa, sātå-cāḷiśå » *27, 47,* Hindī « satāīs, sat-hattar » *27, 77,* etc. The « -ā- » is due to initial stress, no doubt; but curiously enough, we have সাতের « sātērå » and uot « *sātårå » which would be the expected or normal form for Bengali. In সাঁইত্রিশ « sāitriś » (or সাঁয়ত্রিশ « sāyåtriś ») there was certainly the influence of « pāyå <paññā » of পঁয়ত্রিশ « pāyåtriś » *35*: cf. similar nasalisation in Bengali চৌত্রিশ « cāutriś » (beside চৌত্রিশ « cåutriś ») *34*, and Maithilī and Hindī « tētīs, cāutīs, tētālīs ». Other Magadhan speeches have « sāī- » or « sāy- »; *e.g.*, Maithilī « sāītīs, sāītālīs »; except Assamese, which has a borrowed and modified form « sāttric » [xattris]. The analogical « sāī-, sāyå- » we find also in Hindī « sāitīs, sāitālīs », and Panjābī « sāit(r)ī, sāitāḷī » *37, 47.* The form of this numeral as « saṭ > saḍ, saṛ, sar, sāḍ », as in Hindī « sar-saṭh » *66*, Gujarātī « sāḍ-trīs » *37*, which is due to the influence of « aṭh-, aḍ- » *8*, is not found in Bengali.

519. *Eight*=আট « āṭå », আঠ « āṭhå » in eMB. and OB. (< aṣṭa-). This word remains unchanged in compounds as « āṭå », except in আঠার « āṭhārå » *18*, where the old aspiration is preserved. The *ts.* আষ্ট, অষ্ট « āṣṭå, åṣṭå » is also common, by itself and also in the forms অষ্টআশী « åṣṭå-āśī » *88* and অষ্টন(ব্ব)ই « åṣṭå-nå(bbå)i » *98*, beside the regular *tbhs.* আটাশী « āṭāśī » and আটান(ব্ব)ই « āṭā-nå(bbå)i ».

520. *Nine*=নয় « nåyå », from OB. « *naẏa », and ন « nå, nå » = OB. « nawa » mainly in compounds (OIA. nava). Oṛiyā has « nåå ». The numeral নয় « nåyå » does not occur in the decades, the nines being formed, as in OIA., by prefixing « ūna- » (in Bengali ঊন « ŭnå- ». Oṛiyā « uṇå-, åṇå- ») *less* to the next ten : *e.g.*, উনিশ « un-iśå » *19*, উনসত্তর « unå-sāttår » *69*, etc. Cf. « ōgaṇ- » in Gujarātī, p. 784. An exception is নিরান(ব্ব)ই « ni-r-ā-nå(bbå)i » *99*, with altered vowel and intrusive « -r- ». Most NIA. languages agree in having a corresponding compounding of *nine* and *ninety*, Oṛiyā, however, has « ånē-śåtå » (with irregular dental « -n- »).

521. *Ten*=দশ « dåśå ». The sibilant is preserved in most NIA. except in the Western languages—Lahndī « dāh » beside « das », Sindhī « ḍ'ahᵃ », dialectal Gujarātī « dah », and Marāṭhī « dahā »; and Sinhalese

also has « daha(ya) » beside « dasa(ya) ». In the OB. of the Caryās, we find « daśa » side by side with « daha », of which the former alone would seem to be native Māgadhī.

522. *The Tens.*

The phonology is peculiar for Bengali in two ways—by change of OIA. « -ś- » to « -h- » (which is dropped in MB.), and by that of « -d- » to « -r- »: « -daśa > *-ḍaśa, -ḍasa (cf. Aśokan duvāḍasa, paṅnaḍasa) > -ḷasa, -lasa (cf. Jaina Ardha-māgadhī duvālasa), -rasa (as in Pali) > -raha (as in Second MIA.) ». The change of « -d- » to « -ḍ- », which could easily alter to « -ḷ-, -l- » and then « -r- », has not been satisfactorily explained. It certainly occurred in a cerebralising dialect *after* the « ḍ » in « ṣōḍaśa » altered to « ḷ, l », as this « ḍ > l » did not participate in the general change of « d > ḍ > ḷ » to « r » of « ēkādasa » and the rest. (Cf. Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' § 221; see *supra*, p. 488, for the cerebralisation; also p. 549 for « -ś- » > « -h- ».)

The final group « -aha » became « -ȁ » and then « -å » in Bengali, Oṛiyā and Assamese: and this final « -å » is also written and pronounced ও « -ō » in Bengali (*supra*, p. 347); but « -ahã » is retained in Bihārī and in Hindī. In Panjābī, it occurs as « -ā̃ » (yārā̃, bārā̃ etc.) where it is an oblique plural form used absolutely: so in Sindhī « -an » (yārahan, b'ārahan). Marāṭhī has « -ā » (akrā, bārā), which also is apparently a plural form with dropping of intervocal « -h- » (< *ěkkārahā, *bārahā ?). In Gujarātī, the group « -aha », found in Northern India, is dropped (*e.g.*, bār, tēr, caǔd, pandar, sōḷ, satar, aḍhār): this apparent dropping of two syllables of MIA. is strange, but it is possible that the Second MIA. source-forms of the Gujarātī tens were, not « bārasa, tērasa, caüddasa » (or « bāraha, tēraha, caüddaha ») etc., but rather « *bāras (*bārah), *tēras (*tērah), *caüddas (caüddah) » etc., with the final vowel already dropped, through an intermediate stage of « *bārasə, *tērasə, *caüddasə » (or « *bārahə, *tērahə, *caüddahə ») etc. (See *supra*, p. 752, on the probable pronunciation of genitival « -asya > -assa » as « -asə, -as » in the Malwa country in the Transitional MIA. period.) Sinhalese preserves rather archaic forms, « ekoḷosa, doḷosa, teḷesa, pahaḷosa,

solosa, satalosa, atalosa », where the « -ḷ- » occurs in all the numbers, and not in the form for *16* alone, as in Northern India.

In NIA. « cau(d)dah », the « -d- » is preserved by the preceding « -r- »: MIA. « caüddaha » is palpably an uncerebralised, non-Māgadhī form. The MIA. doubling is kept up in NB. চোদ্দ, চোদ্দ « cȧuddȧ, coddȧ », Standard Coll. [cɔoddo], although we find চোদ « cȧudȧ » with one « -d- », (beside চোদ্দ « cȧuddȧ ») in the ŚKK. In Assamese চৈধ্যা « cȧidhyȧ » there has been metathesis of the « -h- », aspirating the « -d- »: the « -y- » indicates only doubling.

523. *The Twenties.*

The common Bengali word for *twenty* is কুড়ি « kuṛi » = Assamese « kuri », Oṛiyā « kōṛiē », meaning *score*. Cf. Bengali এক কুড়ি « ēka̸ kuṛi » *one score*, but never এক বিশ « ēka̸ bisa̸ ». In Western Hindī the word also occurs in the form « kōṛī », which is the earlier form (see *supra*, pp. 395-396). Gujarātī has it as « kōṭī, kuṇṭī ». Computation is, or normally used to be, by twenties in Bengal: at the present day, this is still the old-fashioned way: thus *25* = এক কুড়ি পাঁচ « ēka̸ kuṛi pā̃ca̸ » *one score and five*, *38* = এক কুড়ি আঠারো « ēka̸ kuṛi āṭhārō » *one score and eighteen*, *62* = তিন কুড়ি দুই « tina̸ kuṛi dui », *85* = চার কুড়ি পাঁচ « cāra̸ kuṛi pā̃ca̸ », *100* = পাঁচ কুড়ি « pā̃ca̸ kuṛi », etc. Counting by twenties is also common in Assam: and the fact that the numerals for the third decade in Assamese show in their spelling চ « c » indicating the [s] pronunciation, rather than শ or স « ś, s » which would be the expected form (with normal change in pronunciation of the original sibilant to the guttural spirant [x]: একইচ, বাইচ, তেইচ, চৌবিচ, পঁচিচ, ছাব্বিচ, সাতাইচ আঠাইচ, also উনইচ « ēkȧica̸, [ekois], bāica̸ [bais], tēica̸, cȧubica̸, pācica̸, chābbica̸ [sabbis], sātāica̸, [xatais], unȧica̸ » *21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 19*, rather than *একইশ, *বাইশ « *ēkaiśa̸, *bāiśa̸ » [ekoix, baix] etc.) indicates that the forms in « -ica̸ = -vīsa » were borrowed from some Western dialect, Maithilī or Hindī, into Assamese. In Bengali, the word বিশ « bisa̸ » *20* is by no means common: it occurs only in a few expressions like উনিশ-বিশ « uniśa̸-biśa̸ » *19 and 20 = minute distinction.* Counting by twenties is also found in Bihar, and also further west in Hindustan.

It is to be noted that the highest unit for counting among the Kōls is twenty (Santali « isī », Muṇḍārī « hīsī, īsī », Kurku « īsā » : the IA. « bīs », and « kōṛī » also are used : *hundred* is 5 × 20 = [mɔ̄ṛẽ isi:] in Santali, [mɔ̄ṛẽ hisi] in Muṇḍārī, « mono īsā » in Kurku, « molloi koḍī » in Savara : borrowings of the NIA. word « sai̯, sau̯ < śatam » are also found). Vigesimal counting is found in many languages—*e.g.*, in Dardic (cf. Grierson, 'Piśāca Languages,' p. 37), in French. But it seems that in the case of Bengal, Bihar and the Upper Gangetic plain, probably also in the North-Western frontier (the Dardic tract), Kōl influence was responsible for this habit of computation, rather than that counting by twenties characterised some form of OIA. The word « kōṛī, kuṛi » occurs in Tamil as « kōḍī ». Although any cognate form has not been found in the Kōl speeches, it is still exceedingly likely that « kōṛī, kuṛi » in its origin is a Kōl word, and not Dravidian or Aryan.

The OIA. « vinśati » gave MIA. « vīsati (Aśōkan and Pali), vi(ṅ)saï, vīsaī, vīsaïṁ (Second MIA.) ». The Pali « vīsā, vīsa », IMIA. « vīsa » are from an OIA. « *viṅśát » on the analogy of « triṅśát, catvāriṅśát, pañcāśát » In the compounded forms, the labial « -v- » (where not doubled to « -bb- ») has been vocalised in Bengali and other Magadhan ; and besides, the vowel « -i- » has been dropped wherever suitable in Standard Bengali, but it is preserved in dialectal Bengali (as in Chittagong), in Oṛiyā, in other NIA. generally : *e.g.*, উনিশ « uniśə̯ » < « *unōiśə̯, unȧiśə̯ » *19*, একুশ « ēkuśə̯ » < « ēkȧiśə̯, *ēkavīśa » *21*, সাতাশ « sātāśə̯ » < « sātāïśə̯, *satāvīsa » *27*, etc. চব্বিশ « cȧbbiśə̯ » properly for চৌব্বিশ « cōbbiśə̯ » (caübbīsa, caturviṅśati) and ছাব্বিশ « chābbiśə̯ » (< ṣaḍviṅśati », with « ch- » from the numeral for *six*) are archaic forms, influenced by Prakrit, which retain the group « -bb- » (under normal conditions expected to change to a single « -b- ».)

524. *The Thirties.*

The native *tbh.* form *তীশ *তিশ « *tīśə̯ » has been supplanted in Eastern Magadhan (Bengali, Assamese, Oṛiyā) by the *sts.* ত্রিশ « triśə̯ » or তিরিশ « tiriśə̯ » ; in Assamese, as the spelling in চ, ত্রিচ « tricə̯ » = [tris] shows, this supplanting has been recent. In the compound numerals for the fourth decade, the *tbh.* « *tīśə̯ » is frequently *heard* in

Bengali : *e.g.*, বত্তিস « bȧttīsa̸ » *32*, ছত্তিস « chȧttīsa̸ » *36*, etc. (beside the more common বত্রিশ « bȧtriśa̸ », ছত্রিশ « chȧtriśa̸ » etc.) : cf. OB. « batiśa, batisa » (Caryās 17, 27), MB. চৌতিশা « cȧutiśā » (see *supra*, p. 228); Assamese « bȧtisā » = [bo*t*ixɑ] ; and Oṛiyā preserves in the *tbh.* « -tiśȧ » side by side with the *sts.* « -tiriśȧ » in the fourth decade.

The « -r- » forms of Gujarātī (trīs, trīś) and Panjābī (trī, trīh) may be due to the numeral for *three* (traṇ, traị). Sindhī has « ṭīhᵃ ». Other NIA., *e.g.*, Hindī, Marāṭhī, keep to the *tbh.* « tīs » (Sinhalese « tiha, tisa »).

525. *The Forties.*

Forty is চল্লিশ or চাল্লিশ « cȧlliśa̸, cālliśa̸ », sometimes চালিশ « cāliśa̸ » = « catvāriṁśat ». The last form with one « -l- » is the genuine *tbh.* form : this single « -l- » is found as the cerebral « -ḷ- » in other NIA. The doubling of the « -l- » is quite optional even now, and is apparently recent in Bengali, absent as it is in Assamese, in Oṛiyā, and in other NIA. The change of « -r- » to « -ḷ-, -l- » in this word shows that it is Prācya or eastern in origin (< cattālīsa), but it spread all over the NIA. area. The group « -tvā- » > Early MIA. « -ttā- » has been dropped as in « cāri » *4*, but Sinhalese preserves the dental (« hataḷiha = sataḷisa < MIA. cattālīsa » : there is also « sāḷisa », which is late). The dropping of the « -tt- » is already found in Second MIA., in Jaina Ardha-māgadhī. In the compound forms for the fifth decade, « -c- » remains in একচালিশ or চাল্লিশ or চল্লিশ « ēka̸-cāl(l)iśa̸, -cȧlliśa̸ » *41*, (ছে)ছচল্লিশ « chēcȧlliśa̸, chȧ- » *46*, সাতচল্লিশ « sāta̸-cȧlliśa̸ » *47*, and আটচল্লিশ « āṭa̸-cȧlliśa̸ » *48* ; it is dropped in বিয়াল্লিশ « biyālliśa̸ » *49* (< « *bȧyālīśa̸ » etc. : cf. Oṛiyā « bȧyāḷiśa̸ ») and চুয়াল্লিশ « cuāllisa̸ » *44* (< « *cō-āliśa̸, *cau-ālīśa) ; and it is altered to « -t- » in তেতাল্লিশ « tē-tālliśa̸ » *43* and পঁয়তাল্লিশ « pȧ̃ya̸-tālliśa̸ » *45*. In Māgadhī, we would expect the « -c- » to remain (see *supra*, p. 468). The form « -tālīsa̸ » is found in other NIA., and it is obscure : can it be due to some dialectal shortening of « cattālīsa », through loss of the initial syllable ?

526. *The Fifties.*

For *49* and *50*, we have পঞ্চাশ and উনপঞ্চাশ, ‡ উনঞ্চাশ « pȧñcāśa̸, unȧ(pȧ)ñcāśa̸ », where the full « ñ » is due to *ts.* influence (see p. 789). In the compound forms OIA. « -pañcāśaṭ » occurs as পন্ন পান্ন, অন্ন আন্ন « -pȧnnȧ

> -pānnå, -ånnå, -ānnå », dialectally পন « -pånå », with one « -n- », in Bengali. The forms of dialectal Bengali, of Oṛiyā (*e.g.*, « ēkābånå, bābånå, tēpånå, chåppånå » etc.), of Assamese (*e.g.*, « båŭwån ; cåŭwan ; sātāwån » etc. beside « båŭwānnå, cåŭwānnå, sātānnå »), of Maithilī (ekāwan, bāwan, tirpan, căuwan, pacpan » etc.), of Hindōstānī, and of other NIA. speeches would show that the double « -nn- » is a late development within Standard Bengali itself. OIA. « pañcāśat » in the form « *pannāsa > *pannāha > pannā », already found in the Eastern speech of Aśōkan, became established in some standard form of Early MIA. In Second MIA., it occurs as « paṇṇāsaṁ, paṇṇāsā, pannā, -paṇṇaṁ, -vaṇṇaṁ » (in Jaina Ardha-māgadhī. The contraction of « -āśat » to « -āsa, * āha > -ā, -aṁ » thus occurred already fairly early in Prācya (Western Prācya) : although the change « -ñc- > -nn- » is inexplicable for this dialect. The change seems to have been through « *pañjāśat, pannāha » (see *supra*, p. 789), and not through « *pañcāśåt, *pañcsat, *pañcat », as Pischel suggests ('Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 445, p. 317). The NIA. « -pan, -wan » in composition comes from this contracted MIA. « -pannaṁ, -wannaṁ », Aśōkan « -pannā » : the uncontracted form of MIA., *viz.* « -pannāsa, *-pannāha » would have given NIA. « *panā », in composition « *-wanā », which is not found.

In Bengali বাহান্ন « bāhānnå » *52* we have euphonic « h » (p. 341 ; for « *bāwånå, bāwånå », cf. Oṛiyā « bābånå »). In তিপ্পান্ন « tippānnå » *53* the doubling is due either to the influence of ছাপ্পান্ন « chāppānnå », or to the Hindōstānī *sts.*, with « r » — « tirpan », by assimilation in Bengali of the « -r- » with the following consonant (see *supra*, p. 541) : the native Bengali form, now obsolete, seems to have been like the Oṛiyā « tēpånå ». A form তিয়ান্ন or তেয়ান্ন « tiyānnå, tēyānnå », also native Bengali, occurs. চুয়ান্ন « cuānnå » *54* is for « *cō-ānå, *cåŭ-ānå » : cf. Assamese « cåŭ-wån ». The dialectal পাঁচপন « pā̃cå-pånå » (Central and East Bengal) represents the genuine Bengali form, and not the Standard পঞ্চান্ন « påñcānnå ». The other numerals show no anomaly, except the doubling of the « -n- ».

527. *The Sixties.*

The word for *sixty* is ষাট = « ṣāṭå » in Standard Bengali, ষাইট « ṣāiṭå » ষাইট « ṣāĭṭ » in Eastern and other dialectal Bengali, = Assamese « ṣāṭhi »,

Oṛiyā « ṣāṭhiē », and it is regularly derived from OIA. « ṣaṣṭi ». The form with ঽ, ষাঠ « ṣāṭhạ » is also found. In the compound numerals, in Bengali the ট « -ṭ- » is doubled: একষট্টি « ēkạ-ṣåṭṭi » *61,* বাষট্টি « bā-ṣåṭṭi » *62,* পঁয়ষট্টি « pāyạ-ṣåṭṭi » *65* etc. Oṛiyā has the *tbh.* form « -ṣaṭhi ». The final « -i » in the compound forms, again, is anomalous: contrast ঊনষাট « unå-sāṭạ » *59,* with proper loss of final « -i » (see *supra,* pp. 307 ff).

528. *The Seventies.*

OIA. « saptati » certainly first changed to « *saptaṭi » by spontaneous ceberalisation, and then in MIA. (as the source of the NIA. forms) to « *sattaṭi, *sattaḍi, sattari » quite early. In Pali occur both « sattati » and « sattari ». It is very likely that there was the influence of « sattaraha » = « sapta-daśa » in bringing about the change of the « -t- > -ṭ- > -ḍ- » to « -r- ». The double « -tt- » is anomalous for Bengali; it is found also in Bihārī, in Hindī, in Marāṭhī. It is quite normal in Panjābī, and the double « -tt- » may have been imposed from the Panjab dialects on Hindī and on the rest. Gujarātī has one « -t- » (agṇōtēr=*69,* sitēr=*70,* ikōtēr=*71,* b[ō]hōtēr=*72,* etc.). It would seem from the Oṛiyā and Assamese forms that in East Magadhan at least, the normal NIA. form with one « -t- » was the rule. But Bengali (in common with the Bihārī dialects) seems to have adopted the Western forms in « -tt- ». In compound forms, « sattari » changes to « -hattari » in most NIA. This, again, seems not to have characterised Magadhan, at least East Magadhan: the sibilant is preserved as a sibilant in Oṛiyā (uṇå-stōri, ēkå-stōri, bā-stōri, etc.), and undergoes the normal change to [x] in Assamese, although written স « s » (bā-såtår, tē-såtår, cåu-såtår etc.): cf. also Bengali ঊনসত্তর « unå-såttårạ » *69,* with the sibilant and not « *unå(-h)åttårạ ». Bengali thus in all likelihood agreed with its immediate sisters Assamese and Oṛiyā in having « -s- » and single « -t- » throughout in the eighth decade. The « -h- » (in what may be called the Western, non-Māgadhī or 'new forms' for the eighth decade of Bengali) is preserved in dialectal Bengali, *e.g.,* ‡ « ēkạ-håttårạ, pācạ-håttårạ, sātạ-håttårạ, āṭạ-håttårạ », but in the Standard Colloquial it is dropped as an intervocal sound, except in বাহাত্তর « bāhāttårạ » *72.*

529. *The Eighties.*

The OIA. « aśīti » quite regularly gives আশী « āśī » in Bengali, with change of initial « ă- » to « ā- » (see *supra* p. 314). The doubling of the « -s- » in Panjābī and Hindōstānī « assī » is peculiar, and seems to have originated in the Panjab: it was this doubling which possibly preserved it from changing to « -h- » in the Panjab dialects (cf. OIA. « kṛtá, *ditá, pītá » > « *kitta-, *ditta-, *pitta- » > Panjābī « kītā, dittā, pītā »). The Sinhalese « asū, asūva », with intervocal sibilant preserved, would seem to be based on a MIA. « *ass- » rather than on « as- » (cf. W. Geiger, 'Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen,' § 21, 22). The Sindhī « ăsī » would equally be based on an earlier « *assī ». It seems that a form with doubled « -s- » characterised the IA. speeches of the North-West and the South-West from MIA. times: « *assīi(ṁ) »; and it is also extremely likely that there was a nasalised form of it, « *aṅsīi(ṁ) » (through spontaneous nasalisation: see *supra*, pp. 368 ff.), which gave by epenthesis the Marāṭhī « aiśī, ẽśī » and Gujarātī « ẽśī, hẽśī » (cf. Old Western Rājasthānī « aïsi »: L. P. Tessitori, 'Notes on the Grammar of OWR.,' § 80).

In the compound forms, Panjābī and Hindōstānī show an intrusive « -r- » in « ti-r-āsī », which is apparently due to the analogy of « curāsī », where it is original (= catur-aśiti). Bengali has this « -r- » form, তিরাশী (by Vowel Harmony তিরেশী, ‡ তিরিশি) « tirāśī, tirēśī, ‡ tiriśī »; and the « -r- » has been further extended to বিরাশী, বিরেশী, ‡ বিরিশি, « birāśī> birēśī, ‡ biriśī ». Maithilī also has « bĕrāśī » beside « bĕāsī ». The « -r- » forms for *82, 83* do not seem to be proper for Māgadhī, but rather due to Western influence: cf. Oṛiyā « bȧyāśī, tēyāśī », but চুরাশী « curāṣī » *84* is quite proper (« cōrāśī < *caür-āsī »). For *89*, Bengali has a contracted ঊনাশী « unāśī » beside a fuller ঊনআশী « unȧ-āśī ».

530. *The Nineties.*

The word for *ninety* has two forms: নই « nȧi », and নব্বই, নব্বুই « nȧbbȧi, nȧbbui ». The former is the native Māgadhī form: OIA. « navati > *navaï > *naaï > *nawaï > nȧi > nȧi », Assamese « nȧī ». The second one with geminated « -bb- » is not genuine Bengali: cf. Hindī « nawē, nawwē », Panjābī « nabbē, nawwē », Sindhī « navē <

*navvaï », Marāṭhī « navvad » with MIA. « -d- » preserved (< *navvaddi ?). Bihārī « nabbåi », Oṛiyā « nåbē < *nabbaï » are similar Western forms. In Pali, the form is « navuti »; and the Ardha-māgadhī « naüiṁ » and Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī « naüī » are based on an Early MIA. form with « -u- » like the Pali one. Gujarātī « nēvũ » and Sinhalese « anū(va) » alone represent these attested MIA. forms in « -u- ».

As in the case of the *Eighties,* we find the intrusive « -r- » in বিরান(ব্ব)ই » bi-r-ā-nå(bbå)i » *92,* তিরান(ব্ব)ই « ti-r-ā-nå(bb)åi » *93,* নিরান(ব্ব)ই « ni-r-ā-nå(bbå)i » *99,* on the model apparently of চুরান(ব্ব)ই « curā-nå(bbå)i » *94* (caturnavati). On the analogy of the « -ā- » in the *Eighties* (ēkāśī < ēkāśīti, pācāśī < pañcāśīti, sātāśī < saptāśīti, āṭāśī < aṣṭāśīti), the *Nineties* all over the NIA. area show an intrusive « -ā- »: একান(ব্ব)ই « ēk-ā-nå(bbå)i » Marāṭhī « ekyāṇṇav » *91,* Hindī « nawānawē » Gujarātī « nayāṇũ » *99,* etc.

531. *Hundred* is শ' « śå, sō », in combination generally pronounced « śō » (*e.g.*, একশ [ækʃo], সওয়াশো [ʃoŏaʃo]=*125*, দুশো [duʃo], পাঁচশ [pɑ̃ʃʃo] etc.): a regular development out of OIA. « śata- » (śaa, OB. *śawa, MB. *śå). Oṛiyā is also « śå », and Assamese [xɔ:]. The diphthongal forms « saĭ, saŭ » (< saẏa, saŵa) as in Bihārī, Hindī and Panjābī are now unknown to Bengali, as also the nasalised forms as in Marāṭhī (śẽ) and Gujarātī (sõ), preserving the « anusvāra » of MIA. (pp. 358-359, *supra*). The form শয় « śåya̸ » = « saĭ » of Hindī etc., however, occurred in Early Bengali : thus in the proverbial lines—

নরা গজা বিশে শয়। তার অর্দ্ধেক বাঁচে হয় ॥
বাইশ বলদা, তের ছাগ্‌লা। গুণে গেছে বরা পাগলা ॥

« nårā gåjā biśē śåya̸, tāra̸ årdhēka̸ bā̃cē håya̸ ;
bāïśa̸ båla̸dā, tērå chāga̸lā : guṇē gēchē Bårā pāga̸lā »

A man, and an elephant, hundred and twenty; half of that lives a horse;
An ox twenty-two, a goat thirteen: so has computed the mad-cap Barū (= Varāha-mihira),

where বিশে শয় « biśē śåya̸ » = *hundred with twenty* (« biśē » = either « biś-ā » by Vowel-Harmony, or « biś-iyā », adjective from « biśa̸ » *20,* with « -ā »

affix, p. 658 *supra*, or « -iyā » affix, p. 674), is an idiom corresponding to the Hindōstānī « bīsā sau̯ » (J. T. Platts, 'Hindustani Grammar,' p. 53). The form « sau̯ » also occurred in OB : cf. Mayang (of Manipur) « āk-hau̯-gō » *hundred*, where « hau̯ » < « sau̯ ».

532. The word for *thousand* is a Persian borrowing, হাজার « hājār » (< hazār, Avestan hazaŋra), in Assamese « hēzār », which has superseded the native word (from OIA. « sahasra ») in all NIA. Was it because the native IA. word had fallen into disuse in the spoken forms of Late MIA. and Early NIA. when the Persian language came into India with the Turkī and Tājīk invaders? It is not unlikely that a composition like « daśa-śata » had restricted or made obsolete the single word « sahasra > sahassa, śahaśśa » etc. in IA., making it possible for the Persian « hazār » to meet the want of a single term in the popular language. The Sinhalese « dahasa » *1,000,* which seems to be better explained as a composition of « daśa + śata » rather than as a modification of « sahasa = sahasra » (Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' p. 222), and the use of « das sau̯ » for *1,000,* etc. in Hindōstānī (cf. Platts, 'Hindustani Grammar,' p. 53) and in other NIA. would support this assumption. The native Indian (*tbh.*) word seems to be present in a few compounds, *e.g.*, শাশমল « śāśǝ-mālǝ » *a surname* (= sahasra-malla ?), সাহস রাম « sāhåsǝ-rāmǝ » *a personal name* (= « sahasra-rāma » ? : the *ts.* form is also found as a name).

533. For *100,000,* লাখ « lākhǝ » < « lakṣa » is native Indian. For *10,000,000* the word is কোটী, কোটি « kōṭī, kōṭi », of unknown origin, which occurs also in Sanskrit. The forms ক্রোড়, ক্রোর « krōṛǝ, krōrǝ » (= Anglo-Indian *crore*) are in common use in Bengali : the corresponding form in Hindī is « karōṛ » : « krōṛǝ, karōṛ = krōḍa » seems to be a false Sanskritisation of a vernacular « *kōḍa, kōḍi » agreeing with the *ts.* « kōṭi » : cf. Caryā 2, « koḍi-mājhẽ ēku-hiahī » *among ten millions, in the heart of one only.* In the feeling of Bengali speakers, « krōṛǝ » is the more learned form, a better Sanskrit word than « kōṭi » : we find it in compounds like ক্রোড়পতি, ক্রোড়েশ্বর « krōṛǝ-påti, krōṛêśwårǝ » etc., side by side with কোটিপতি, কোটীশ্বর « kōṭi-påti, kōṭîśwårǝ ».

534. *The Fractional Numbers.*

The following are common to all NIA., and are easily explained. (Cf. S. K. Chatterji ' Prācīn Bāŋgalā "āhuṭha, āuṭa" Ō Sārddha-saŋkhyā-bācak Śabdābalī ' in the VSPdP., 1330, pp. 113-117).

$\frac{1}{4}$: পো, পোআ, পোয়া « pō, pōā » < MIA. « pāwa-, pāa- », OIA. « pāda- » The change of « -āwa- » to « -ō- » is against the general phonetic development of this group in Bengali: see *supra*, pp. 349-350: the form expected should have been « *pā »: cf. Oṛiyā « pā » *quarter*, « pāē » *one quarter* (cf. also Bengali পাই « pāi » *pie, pice*= « pādikā »). This alteration certainly indicates extraneous influence (cf. Hindī « pāw »; cf. also Bengali conjunction তো « tō » =MIA. « tāva », OIA. « tāvat »).

$\frac{1}{2}$: the common Bengali word is আধ্‌. « ādhạ » *half*, আধা « ādhā » *half portion*, Oṛiyā « ådhå » *half*, « ådhē » *one-half*; OB. « adha=ādha »: < OIA. « ardha ». The absence of cerebralisation (we would expect « -rdh- » to change to « -ḍḍh- ») shows that it is a non-Māgadhī form. The native Māgadhī equivalent seems to occur as আড় « āṛạ » in a number of compounds, *e.g.*, আড়-পাগল « āṛạ-pāgålạ » *half-mad*, আড়-বাঁকা « āṛạ-bãkā » *half aslant*, আড়-মাদ্‌লা « āṛạ-mādạlā » *half-drum shaped, not fully oblong*, আড়ে গেলা « āṛē gēlā » *swallow half chewed*; cf. besides দেড় « dēṛạ » $1\frac{1}{2}$, সাড়ে « sāṛē » *plus half*, আড়াই « āṛāi » $2\frac{1}{2}$. The Gujarātī « aṛdhō » $\frac{1}{2}$ is peculiar, and may be a blend of « aḍḍha » and « addha ».

$\frac{1}{3}$: তেহাই « tēhāi » (tri-bhāgika): rather archaic.

$1\frac{1}{2}$: দেড় « dēṛạ », earlier « dēṛhå » as in Oṛiyā, = MIA. (Māgadhī) « diaḍḍha », OIA. « dvyardha ». Colloquially, we find occasionally ডেড় « ḍēṛạ » in Bengali, and there are forms in other NIA. also which show cerebralisation of the initial dental: *e.g.*, Hindī « ḍēṛ(h) » beside ḍauṛhā, ḍōṛhā », Panjābī « dēṛh, ḍēōṛhā, dūṛhā, ḍūṛh » beside « dōṛhā ».

$2\frac{1}{2}$: আড়াই « āṛāi », Oṛiyā « åṛhāi » (with earlier « -ṛh- »),=MIA. « aḍ hatīya » (cf. Aśōkan « aḍhatiya »: Sahasram), a true Māgadhī form showing also haplology of « -t- » < OIA « ardha-tṛtīya ». A MIA. form « *aḍḍha-titīya » gave Gujarātī « aṛī, haṛī »; and the Marāṭhī « aḍīc » represents another (Early) MIA. form like « *aḍḍha-titiyya » (=Second MIA. « *aḍḍha-iijja », whence « *aḍḍhijja > *aḍhīja > aḍīc »).

$3\frac{1}{2}$: Early MB. আহুঠ « āhuṭhā » (as in the ŚKK., pp. 55, 153), Late MB. আউট « āuṭā, āuṭ‌ », : from OIA. « ardha-caturtha », through MIA. « *aḍḍha-catuṭṭha > *aḍḍha-yaduṭṭha > *aḍḍha-aüṭṭha > aḍḍh'uṭṭha »; then by dissimilation of one the cerebral groups, « *ahuṭṭha », and finally « āhuṭha » in OB. (The form « aḍḍhuṭṭha » occurs in Jaina Ardha-Māgadhī, and it has been falsely Sanskritised into « adhyuṣṭa »). This word has now become obsolete in Bengali, but its cognate forms are found in the Bihārī dialects, in Hindī, and in other NIA. (Cf. Hoernle, Gauḍian Grammar, §§ 413-416; Kellogg, Hindī Grammar², pp. 159, 161).

Plus $\frac{1}{4}$: সওয়া « sȧŏā, sȧwā », Oṛiyā « sȧuyā = sȧuā » : <MIA. « savāa- » = OIA. « sapāda- ». It is an adjective, found in all other NIA. (Hindī adjective « sawā » = « sapāda », noun « sawāī » = « sapādikā»).

Plus $\frac{1}{2}$: সাড়ে « sāṛē », also in Oṛiyā; = Hindī « sāṛhē ». From OIA. « sārdha- » > MIA. (Māgadhī) « *saḍḍha- », NIA. « sāḍha- ». The absence of the « -ṛh- » in Oṛiyā shows that it is not a native form of it. « sāṛhē » is an oblique or plural form, < « *saḍḍhahi » : cf. also Gujarātī « sāṛā », the expected singular nominative form of which would have been « *sāṛō ».

A quarter less : পৌনে « pȧu̯nē »; also « pȧu̯nē » in Oṛiyā. The source is OIA. « pādôna- » *a quarter less.* The alteration of « -ādō- » > MIA. » -āō- » to « -ȧu̯- » (cf. p. 351 *supra*), and the presence in the Oṛiyā form of the dental « -n- » instead of the expected cerebral « -ṇ- », indicate that the word is not proper Bengali and Oṛiyā, or Eastern Magadhan. « pȧu̯nē » is an adjective, qualifying the number following it, which is reduced by a quarter: পৌনে দুই « pȧu̯nē dui » = 2 *minus* $\frac{1}{4} = 1\frac{3}{4}$; পৌনে আট « pȧu̯nē āṭ‌ » = $7\frac{3}{4}$; etc. Its use with এক « ēk‌ » is recent, and is found to denote only the hour, *e.g.*, পৌনে একটা « pȧu̯nē ēk‌ṭā » *quarter to one.* The « -ē » in « pȧu̯nē » seems to be the plural « -ahi » (*supra*, p. 724) : cf. also Gujarātī « pōṇō » $\frac{3}{4}$, but « pōṇā bē » $1\frac{3}{4}$, with « -ā » indicating plural. For $\frac{3}{4}$, the native Bengali is তিন পো(য়া) « tin-pō(ā) = Oṛiyā « tini pā ».

535. Adjectives are not declined in Bengali, although in the oldest period we find concord between a subject and its predicate (adjective or verb) in so far as the latter takes up the feminine affix if the former is feminine (see *supra*, p. 721). In the Caryās, however, we find that the numerals

sometimes take case-affixes corresponding to the nouns they qualify: *e.g.*, « tiniẽ pāṭẽ » (see *supra*, p. 743); « ēkē śara-sandhānẽ » *with one aiming of the arrow* (Caryā 28); « daśam-i duāra-ta » *in the tenth door* (Caryā 2).

536. *The Ordinals.*

The use of the *tbh.* ordinal forms has been greatly curtailed in Bengali. They are now restricted, to indicate the days of the months, and besides occur in one or two stereotyped expressions. The *ts.* ordinals have entirely replaced them in the « sādhu-bhāṣā », and these have found a permanent place in the Colloquial also. As there is no native affix in living use to form ordinals, and as *tbh.* ordinals beyond *32* (the largest number of days for a month) are not much used, the language is helpless in expressing ideas like *84th* or *105th*, and must borrow Skt. words—unfamiliar-looking enough for Bengali—like « caturaśīti-tama » and « pañca-viṁśaty-adhika-śata-tama ». It has been sought to naturalise the Skt. affix « -tama » in Bengali, by using it with *tbh.* numerals (*e.g.*, চুরাশী-তম « curāśī-tåmå » *84th*, এক-শ-পঁচিশ-তম « ēkø-śå-pãciśø-tåmå » *105th*), but such hybrids are extremely artificial, and have not succeeded.

In the Colloquial, however, the *genitive of the cardinal* numeral expresses its ordinal: *e.g.*, দশের পাতা « dåsērø pātā » *the tenth page*. Also the word qualified by the cardinal is put in the genitive in a cumbrous construction in some cases, as follows: the cardinal numeral + the word in the genitive + the word itself: *e.g.*, ষাট দিনের দিন « ṣāṭø dinērø dinø » *the sixtieth day*, তিন-শ বারের বার « tin-śåbārērø bārø » *the 300th occasion*; etc.

The Forms for the Ordinals occurring in Bengali are:

First = NB. পয়লা < পহেলা « påyølā < påhēlā », MB. OB. « pahila- » (cf. Caryās 12, 20). The source of this form, which occurs in all NIA., is an OIA. « pra-tha + -ila », becoming in MIA. « *paṭhilla, *pathilla > *paḍhilla, *pahilla ». The Skt. « prathama » is a blend of « pra-tama » (cf. Avestan fratəma) and « pra-tha » (with ordinal « -tha », as in « catur-tha, ṣaṣ-ṭha, sapta-tha »). Equivalents of « prathama », as well as of an elaborate « prathama + ila » occur in the Prakrits. The Bengali form « pahila » is non-Māgadhī in origin, as shown by the absence of cerebralisation.

Second, Third. The Bengali words in use are দোসরা and তেসরা « dōså̸rā, tēså̸rā », which are probably new Magadhan formations with the cardinal bases *plus* an affix « sar-ā » (No. 57, p. 700). The OIA. forms were « dvitīya (dvitya) » and « tṛtīya ». The former apparently gave (i) a MIA. « *dutiyya, *duijja, *du(y)ajja », whence we have the Early Bengali দুঅজ (ŚKK.)> দোয়জ > দোজ « duåjå > dōyåjå̸> dōjå̸ » and Hindī « dūj »; and (ii) a MIA. « biiyya, biijja », whence Marāṭhī and Gujarātī « bīj »; besides (iii) the form « docca, ducca » (< dvitva), which is not represented in NIA. The latter (i.e. the OIA. « tṛtīya ») through MIA. « *titiyya, tiijja, *ti(y)ajja » gave Bengali তিঅজ (ŚKK.) > তেজ « tiåjå, tējå̸ », besides Hindī, Marāṭhī and Gujarātī « tīj ». The change of « -īya » to « ijja, -yajja, -aja « (through a doubling of « -y- », which first took place in Early MIA.), is not Prācya, or Saurasēnī: at least it is certainly non-Magadhan (see *supra*, p. 476). In Bengali দুঅজ, তিঅজ occur in the ŚKK., but they were replaced by *tss.* « dvitīya, tṛtīya », except in the expressions দোজ-ব'রে, < তেজ-ব'রে « dōjå̸-bårē, tējå̸-bårē < bår-iyā » = *a bride-groom for the second and third time.*

Fourth: চৌঠা « cåuṭhā » (by Vowel Harmony চৌঠো « cåuṭhō »), MB. (ŚKK.) চউঠ « cåūṭhå- »; in (Śaurasēnī) Apabhraṅśa as written in Bengal, it occurs as « cauṭhṭha = cauṭṭha » (cf. 'Dōhā-kōṣa' of Saraha, p. 117 of 'Bauddha Gān Ō Dōhā'). In Maithilī also we have « cauṭh ». The cerebral « -ṭh- » indicates that it is derived from a Māgadhī « *caüṭṭha, caduṭṭha » < « catuṭṭha < caturtha ». Other NIA. speeches show the un-cerebralised « cauth », and Bengali has borrowed this form (চৌথ « cåuthå̸ ») from Hindōstānī and Marāṭhī, meaning the *fourth part of a sum of money in a transaction*, and *a fourth of the revenue.*

Upto the ordinal for *4*, NB. shows diverse ordinal affixes, « -tha + ila; -sara; -tha »; *plus* the definitive or adjectival « -ā » affix (No. 6, p. 658). For the ordinals for *5* to *18*, we have a generalised OIA. ordinal affix « -ma » + NIA. « -i > -ī > -ikā, -ika ». Thus *fifth* is পাঁচুই < *পাঁচঈ « pãcui < *pãcåī » < « *pañcamikā, -ikă » for OIA. « pañca-ma »; *sixth* = ছউই < *ছঅঁঈ, *ছবঁঈ « chãui < *chåãī, *chaw̃aī » < MIA. « *chaamia < chaamikā » (« chå + ma » for « ṣaṣ-ṭha » of Skt.); *seventh* = সাতুই < *সাতঈ

« sātui < *sātăī » < MIA. « sattamika », for Skt. « sapta-ma »; so to আঠারুই < *আঠারই « āṭhārui < *āṭhārăī » *eighteenth*, representing a MIA. « *aṭṭhārasamika » (cf. Pali « aṭṭhārasama » = Skt. « aṣṭādaśá »: the Skt. in the ordinals from *11th* to *19th* simply shifts the accent to the last syllable, « -daśá », which takes the masculine, feminine and neuter affixes as an adjective). The ordinal « -ma » (> Late MIA « -ṽa ») has lost its nasalisation in Standard Bengali, except in ছঁউই « chãui » *sixth*: in Hindōstānī the nasal is retained as « -wā̃ (=ṽā) »; and the nasal also is found in other NIA., either as « -m- » or as a mere nasalisation of the vowel.

From *19* onwards, the affix is ইয়া « -iyā », contracted to এ « -ē », an adjectival form (= No. 26, p. 674): thus * উনিশিয়া, উনিশে « *uniśiyā > uniśē », dialectal উনইশ্যা « unăiśyā » *19th*; so পঁচিশে « pāciśē » *25th*, চল্লিশে « călliśē » *40th*. Indication of the ordinals by a definite affix is exceedingly rare beyond the fourth decade.

CHAPTER IV

THE PRONOUN

537. The Pronoun in Bengali takes the same case affixes and post-positions as the Noun, but it has, unlike the Noun, a definite oblique form to which the affixes and post-positions are added. This oblique form is generally the old genitive, as in Late MIA. There has also been an extension of the new genitive in « -ra » to form a new oblique or plural in MB. and NB.

[A] The Pronoun for the First Person.

538. OIA. « aham » *I* was extended to « *aha-ka-m » with the pleonastic « -ka- », and in 'Old Māgadhī' « ahakaṁ » was the word for *I*. Aśvaghōṣa employs it in the 'Old Māgadhī' of his dramas (H. Lüders, 'Bruchstücke,' p. 36). In the Prakrit (Māgadhī) of 'Bhāsa,' the form is « ahakē », with the characteristic Māgadhī affix « -ē » (Sukthankar, 'Studies in Bhāsa,' JAOS., Vol. 40, pp. 248-259); and « ahakē » occurs in the Māgadhī of the Second MIA. period, as in other Skt. dramas, as « hakē, hagē » and « haggē », the last being certainly an emphatic form. The loss of the initial syllable is at least as old as the 3rd century B.C., long before the time of Aśvaghōṣa and Bhāsa. In the eastern inscriptions of Aśōka, we have « hakaṁ »: so that « ahakaṁ, ahakē » in the former writers, and « ahaẏaṁ < ahakaṁ » in Jaina Ardha-māgadhī would appear to be literary and archaic forms. By 300 A.D., it would appear that two forms were to be found in Māgadhī, « hakaṁ (*hagaṁ), hakē (hagē) » for the OIA. « aham ». Against these, New Bengali shows nothing. But in the Old Bengali of the Caryās, there is the form « hāũ » = *I*, apparently for « *hāu, *haũ », which occurs four times: « tu lō ḍōmbī, hāũ kapālī » *thou, oh, (art) a Ḍōm woman, (while) I (am) a Kāpālika* (Caryā 10); « hāũ sutēli » *I slept* (18); « hāũ nirāsī » *I am 'Sans-Esperance'* (20); and « hāũ acchilẽ (= *āchilõ? *āchila ?) »

I was (35). OB. « hāu » can be compared with Gujarātī « hū̃ » and Brajbhākhā « hāu » *I*. Of the two Māgadhī forms « hakaṁ, hakē », the former can only give OB. « hāu » (see *supra*, p. 359); while the latter could be represented in OB. only by a form « *haï, *hai » (< *haē < hagē). It is just possible that in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa, « *hai » was current, side by side with « *haū ». The nasalised form, however, ousted the other one, and in the struggle the former was in all likelihood strengthened by Western Apabhraṅśa which also had « haū ». At the same time « *haï » itself may have influenced the formation of the verb substantive first person — « asmi, *asāmi > *asami > *ahimi > *ahiw̃i > *haïwi > *haī > haï », and of the affix « -i » for the first person present of the verb. By initial stress, however, Māg. Ap. « *hăū » could become « hāu » in OB.

In MB., « hāu » as the old nominative fell out of use, and the old instrumental took its place : but « hāu » seems to have (given or at least influenced) the affix for the first person to the bases for the past and future tenses of the verb in Bengali and Assamese (see *infra*, under Verb : 'Personal Affixes').

539. The OIA. instrumental « mayā » occurs in Second MIA. as « maē, maï », in (Western) Apabhraṅśa as « maī ». The nasalisation in Apabhraṅśa (also preserved in NIA., *e.g.*, Hindī and Panjābī « maī », Gujarātī « mẽ », Sindhī « mũ ») would indicate an influence from the instrumental affix for the noun (-ēna > -ẽ : maī < *may'ēna = mayā). The OB. equivalent is « maï » (= ? « maī » : the nasalisation can well be omitted in Bengali writing, see *supra* p. 362), which is found in Caryās 16, 18, 27, 29, 30, 35 (thrice), 36, 39 ; and a contracted form « ma » also occurs (Caryās 10, 13). This is as yet instrumental in OB., being used in the passive construction with the past or future (in « -il-, -ib- ») of a transitive verb : *e.g.*, Caryā 35—

« ēta-kāla hāu acchilẽ (= āchilō̃ ? āchila ?) sva-mōhẽ :
ēbẽ maï bujhila sadguru-bōhẽ »

For such a long time I was in my own ignorance :
Now by me it has been understood through the good master's instruction.

The nominative « hāu », however, became obsolete, and the instrumental « mai (maĩ) » assumed its function. The confusion between the active and passive constructions, with gradual disuse of the latter, was both a cause and an effect of the interchange of the instrumental and the nominative, or of the use of the former for the latter (see also pp. 166, 742).

The oblique base « mō » (see below, § 541), with the instrumental « -ẽ » from the noun gave a new instrumental « mōẽ, mōē », which is found as early as OB. : cf. Caryā 10, « tōhōra antare mōē ghalili hāḍeri māli » *for thy sake the chaplet of bones has been cast off by me.* This quite early became confused with « mai (maĩ) »; and « mōē, mai » in MB. occur in a bewildering variety of spellings (see § p. 811) as forms of practically one word.

In NB., this instrumental-nominative is found as মুই « mui » (= Assamese « mài », Oṛiyā « mũ »; it occurred in Bihārī as « mẽ », but there it is now obsolete). The Bengali মুই « mui » is almost archaic, and then it is found only among certain lower classes in different parts of Bengal: consequently it is considered as a vulgar form now (cf. the phrase তুই-মুই করা « tui-mui kārā » = *use insulting or inferior language*, which does not have the sense of affectionate intimacy indicated by the French « tutoyer »).

540. The ordinary form for *I* is আমি « āmi » which was originally the plural of « haũ, maĩ ». It comes from a common MIA. « amhē » = OIA. (Vedic) « asmē » for « vayam » : « asmē > *ămhē > *ămhi, *ămbhi > *āmhi, *āmbhi » : the NB. equivalent of which ought to be *আম্ « ām », with loss of final « -i » (see *supra*, § 151 : we have « -ām » no doubt as an affix for the verb, where, however, there was influence of other forms : see *infra*, under Verb: 'Personal Affixes'). In the Caryās, we find « āmhē, āhmē, ăhmē (= ămhē), ămbhē » : thus, Caryā 4 « ahmē bīrā » = Skt. comm. « vīrō' ham » (properly = « vīrāḥ vayam ») ; « āmhē sāṇē diṭhā » = « asmābhiḥ saṁjñayā dṛṣṭam » (Caryā 1) ; « āhmē dēhū » = *I give*, lit. *we give* (Caryā 19) : « ambhē na jāṇāhū » *we know not* (Caryā 22). The form in « -i » is not found in the Caryās, although the MIA. « amhē » is expected

to give « *āmhi » in OB.: and it is seen, the form in « -ē » is used both for the nominative and the instrumental. In the ŚKK., we have both আহ্মী, আহ্মি « āhmī, -i=āmhi » (only 6 times) and আহ্মে, আহ্মেঁ « āhmē, -ē̃= āmhē » (some 30 times): and there is not the least distinction between the two forms. The group « -hm-=mh » represents an aspirated « -m- », an inheritance from MIA. which continued down to Early MB. times, to lose its aspiration by the 16th century. Oṛiyā has only the « -ē » form, « āmbhē ». The « -ē » form would seem to represent the Late MIA. instrumental: « asmābhiḥ > *amhahī > « āmhē, āmbhē »; and the « -i » form, the original nominative (see *supra*, p. 309). But already from before OB. times, there was a confusion between them, with the result that « -ē » practically ousted the « -i » in OB. and MB., (as we can see from OB., and from the preponderance of « -ē » forms in the ŚKK., as well as from Oṛiyā), but later this « -ē » itself seems to have become « -i » or to give place to the latter.

The transference of « āmhi, āmhē » from plural to singular took place in OB., as we can see from the Caryās. It became identical with « mai, mui, mōē » etc. in Early MB. Doubtless, the plural when first used for the singular was characteristic of polite or formal speech: cf. Oṛiyā « mũ » inferior, and « āmbhē » polite, formal, and respectful. The old plural sense of « āmi » is still preserved in Assamese, where « āmi » always = *we*, never=*I*. Cf. also Western Hindī « haũ » (Brajbhākhā), « maĩ » (Hindōstānī and Brajbhākhā), plural « ham »; Gujarātī « hũ », plural « amē »; Panjābī « maĩ », plural « as(s)ī »; Marāṭhī « mī », plural « āmhī »: which still continue faithful to the OIA. in point of number. The Bihārī dialects have now made the original singular obsolete, the plural « ham » being the one used for *I*. The proper plural use of « āmi » however is occasionally found in MB., as late as the 16th century: *e.g.*, in the 'Caitanya-Bhāgavata' of Vṛndāvana-dāsa, we find forms like আমি দুই পাতকীর « āmi dui pātakīra » *of us two sinners*, আমার উদ্ধারে « āmāra uddhārē » *through our salvation*, আমি দ্রোহ কৈলুঁ « āmi drōha kailũ » *we did offence* (p. 258, ed. Atul Kṛṣṇa Gōswāmī).

541. মুই, আমি « mui, āmi » are the nominative forms of Bengali, and their history is given above. There are the oblique forms মো « mō- »

and আমা « āmā- », to which the inflections and post-positions (accusative-dative « -ē », « -rē », « -kē », genitive « -r », locative « -tē », instrumental « dwārā, diyā » etc.) are added to form the various cases. « mō- » is the OIA. genitive « mama », which (through Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa and OB. « *mawa ») occurs already in OB. Another form is « ma- », found in OB. side by side with « mō ». Following the oblique forms of the other pronouns (see *infra*) and the old genitive of the nouns, which optionally preserve the « -ha » (see *supra*, p. 752), « mō- » took up the « -ha » from OB. times, and was thus extended to « mō-ha- ». Inflected forms on the basis of this « mō- (ma-), mō-ha » oblique in the Caryās are: « mō-ē » instrumental (Caryā 10); « mō-ra » (Caryās 20, 33, 49), « mōhō-ra » (Caryā 20) = genitive forms qualifying masculine or neuter, and « mō-ri » = genitive qualifying feminine noun (Caryā 36); and « mōha-kakhu, ma-kū = mō-kū » dative (Caryā 35). In MB., beside মো « mō- », the extended forms of this oblique base are মোহ, মোহো, মহ, মহো « mōhå-, mōhō-, måhå-, måhō- ». The instrumental form « mō-ē̃ » occurs in the spellings মোএ, মোএঁ, মোঞঁ, মোঞে, মোঞ, মোঞি, মুঞি, মুঁই, মুঞি, মোই « mōē, mōē̃, mōñā, mōñē, mōñå, mōñi, muñi, mũhi, muyī, mōi, » etc., which are all used for the instrumental-nominative = মুই, মই « mui, måi » (see *supra*, p. 809). The inflected forms as usual are মোর (মোহর), মোকে, মোতে « mō-rå (mōhå-rå), mō-kē, mō-tē » etc. Besides there is the locative oblique in « -ē < -hi » (মোহি, মোএ mōhi, mōē > মোয় mōyå, মোঞ mōñå etc.), which is used in MB. for the dative-accusative. The original genitive use of « mō » seems to have existed in OB. (cf. « tō < tava » below). In eMB., « mō », although the oblique base, itself came to be used for the nominative, through confusion with « mōē » and « må, mu < måi, mui ».

The form আহ্মা, আমা « āhmā- = āmhā- (as in the ŚKK.), āmā » represents the OIA. base « asma- », in MIA. « amha- ». It was strengthened by an « -ā », apparently through the influence of the « -ā, -āha » of the noun. In Oṛiyā, it occurs as « āmbhå- », as in « āmbhå-rå, āmbhå-ku » etc. That the extension of « ăsmă- > ămhă- > *āmhă, *āmă- » to « āmhā-, āmā- » is due to a genitive « -ā » is seen from the

frequent use of the base « āmhā- », without the genitival « -rå », for the genitive in the ŚKK. and other MB. works; and the fact that post-positions are added direct to the « āmhā- » base, as if to the genitive, is to be noted.

542. With the old plural « āmhē, āmhi > āmi » becoming first honorific and then ordinary singular (the honorific singular sense still obtains in Oṛiyā at the present day), new plurals were formed, as in the case of the noun, from the Early MB. period, either by adding nouns of multitude like « såmhå (såbå), såkålå », or by extending the strong form of the genitive in « -rå »: thus, in the ŚKK., we have আহ্মে সহ্মে « āmhē såmhē », beside আহ্মারা « āmhārā » (see *supra*, p. 735); in the 'Caitanya Bhāgavata,' 16th century, nominative মুই-সকল « mui-såkål», আমি-সব « āmi-såb», oblique, আমা-সব « āmā-såb» ; beside মোরা, আমরা « mōrā, āmrā ». For the genitive, the use of « -dēr » seems to have been established by the end of the 15th century (*vide supra*, p. 731). The « -rā » and « -digå, -dēr » affixes are in common use in NB. at present, but « -såkål, -såb » are also occasionally found in NB. But « -gåṇå, -gulå, såmūhå » and the rest do not occur. The position for Bengali is thus the following:

	Singular Forms.		Plural Forms.	
	Old Singular = vulgar, archaic, dialectal.	Old Plural > Honorific Singular > Ordinary Singular.	Regular Plural from Old Singular = poetic, dialectal.	New Double Plural.
Nominative	মুই mui	আমি āmi	মোরা mō-rā	আমরা ām-rā (+ সব såb etc.)
Oblique	মো mō-	আমা āmā-	মোদিগ mō-digå- মোদের mō-dēr-	আমাদিগ āmā-digå- আমাদের āmā-dēr

Double plural forms are found elsewhere in NIA., retaining the

honorific sense where the original singular is preserved and the original plural continues to be used as a plural: thus—

	Old Singular.	Old Plural.	Double Plural (Honorific).
Bengali	মুই mui (vulgar)	আমি āmi (sg.)	মোরা, আমরা mōrā, āmẚrā
Assamese	mȧi (sg.)	āmi (pl.)	āmā-lōkẚ
Oṛiyā	mu, mũ (vulgar)	āmbhē (sg.)	āmbhē-mānē
Magahī	[lost]	ham (sg.)	ham-anī, ham-ar-nī
Maithilī	mẽ (obsolete)	ham (sg.)	ham-sabh, hamrā-sabh
Bhōjpuriyā	mẽ (obsolete)	ham (sg.)	hamanī-kā, ham-ar-an
[Khaskurā	ma (sg.)	hāmi (pl.)	hāmi-haru]

In Western Hindī, Panjābī, Sindhī, and Marāṭhī, as well as Sinhalese, where the old singular and plural forms are preserved intact, there is no room for the double plural · the Hindōstānī « ham-lōg » *we*, with a frequent enough use of « ham » = Bengali « āmi » for the singular, is due unquestionably to Eastern influence.

543. An oblique form like « majh-, mujh- » (as in Marāṭhī, Rājasthānī-Gujarātī and W. Hindī) is not found in Bengali and in other Magadhan speeches: Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa apparently did not possess a form like « majjhaṁ, majjhu » (as in Prakrit and W. Apabhraṅśa), which is found in the ablative as well as in the genitive, but which originated from the OIA. locative « mahyam ». But in the Brajabuli dialect (s . *supra*, pp. 103-104) we commonly find a genitive form মঝু « mȧjhu » (occasionally also oblique), which is a Western Apabhraṅśa imposition on Bengali, doubtless in the formative period of the language (cf. *supra*, pp. 113-116), at a time when « majh- < majjhu, majjhaṁ » had not altered its vowel to « -u- », as in « mujh » in W. Hindī (on the analogy of « tubhyam > *tuhyam > tujjhaṁ, tujjhu>tujh »). The form মঝু « mȧjhu » now and then appears in Vaiṣṇava poetry written in pure Bengali, and that is due to imitation of the Brajabuli style. The MIA. genitive force of « majjhaṁ » is still retained in the Marāṭhī « mājhā, mājhī, mājhẽ ».

It is a remarkable fact that the genitive of the personal pronoun throughout a great part of the NIA. area should show the adjectival

form with the « -ra (< kēra, kara, kāra) » affix, both in the first and second persons : *e.g.*, in addition to the Magadhan speeches, we have E. Hindī « mōr, hamār (tōr, tohār) », W. Hindī « mērā, mērau̯, mērī ; hamārā, hamārau̯, hamārī », Panjābī « mērā, mērī » Gujarati « mārō, mārī, mārũ ; amārō, amārī, amārũ », Rājasthānī « mhārō, amhārō » etc.; also in the Pahāṛī languages; and in the Gipsy dialects outside India. These are based on Western Apabhraṅśa forms like « mahāra, amhāra » (cf. Pischel. 'Gramm. der Pkt-Sprachen' § 434; Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe' § 210; Beames, Comp. Gramm., II, p. 312).

In the Bengali poetic diction, the form মম « mȧmȧ » for the genitive is quite common. This certainly is to be regarded as a MIA. form preserved by literary tradition and strengthened by the Skt. « mama ».

544. The rage for Sankritising Bengali which was in vogue late in the 18th and early in the 19th centuries when the speech was under the guardianship of the *pandits*, finds its expression in the curious form অস্মদাদি « ȧsmȧdȧdi » *we*, occurring commonly in the genitive অস্মদাদির « ȧsmȧdȧdira̸ » *our*, pronounced [ɔʃʃɔ̃dadir], in which the Skt. base is made to oust the *tbh*. one. In this artificial 'restoration' of the genuine Bengali আমাদের « āmādēra̸ », the source of « -dēra̸ » as « -ādi » has instinctively been hit upon.

545. Typical Dialectal Forms for the First Personal Pronoun in New Bengali (*all* forms cannot be given : only some characteristic ones have been introduced) :

S.W. Bengali.	West Rāḍha.
Nom. মুই mui—মোরমেনে mōra̸-mēnē, মোন্নে mōnnē, আমান্নে āmānnē	Nom. মুই mui—মুইরা « mui-rā »
Gen. মোর mō-ra̸—মোরমনকার mōra̸-mȧna̸-kāra̸, মোরমেনকার mōra̸-mēna̸-kāra̸, মোন্নেকার mōnnē-kāra̸	Gen. মোহর, মহর mōhȧ-ra̸, mȧhȧ-ra̸—মোদের mō-dēra̸
Dat. মোকে mō-kē—আমান্নেকে āmānnēkē	Dat. মোকে mō-kē—মোদের mō-dēra̸
Other Cases—মোদিয়া mō-diyā, মোঠিনু mō-ṭhinu, etc.	Other Cases—মোদিয়া mō-diyā, মোহ'তে mō-hōtē, মোতে mō-tē, মোদেরতে mō-dēra̸-tē, etc.

East Rāḍha (Standard Colloquial), also Varēndra (North Central).	East North Bengali (Dinajpur).
Nom. আমি āmi—আমরা āmɑ̸-rā	No. হামি hāmi—হামরা hāmɑ̸-rā
Gen. আমার āmā-rɑ̸—আমাদের āmā-dērɑ̸	Gen. হামার hāmā-rɑ̸—হামাদের hāmā-dērɑ̸
Dat. আমাকে āmā-kē, আমায় āmā-y < āmā-ē—আমাদের āmā-dērɑ̸, আমাদিকে āmā-di-kē	Dat. হামাক, হামাকে hāmā-kɑ̸, hāmā-kē — (plural, same as genitive).
Loc. আমায় āmā-y, আমাতে āmā-tē, —আমাদিগেতে āmā-digē-tē, আমাদেরতে, āmā-dērɑ̸-tē, etc., etc.	

North Bengali.

Nom. মুই mui, মই mâi, মোঁ mō̃, হামি hāmi	হামা hāmā, হামরা hāmɑ̸rā, হামাগুলা hāmā-gulā
Gen. মোর mō-rɑ̸, হামার hāmā-rɑ̸	হামাগুলার hāmā-gulā-rɑ̸
Dat. মোক mō-kɑ̸, হামাক hāmā-kɑ̸	হামাক hāmā-kɑ̸
Other Oblique : মো mō-, মোর mō-rɑ̸-, হামা hāmā-	—হামাগুলা hāmā-gulā-
(Loc. মোঁৎ mō̃-tɑ̸, হামাৎ hāmā-tɑ̸)	

West and South-West Vaŋga.	South-East Vaŋga (Chittagong).
Nom. মুই, আমি mui, āmi—মোরা mō-rā, আমরা āmɑ̸-rā	Nom. আঁই ā̃i—আঁওরা ā̃ŏ-rā, আঁয়রা ā̃y-rā, আঁরা ā̃-rā
Gen. মোর mō-rɑ̸, মর mâ-rɑ̸, আমার āmā-rɑ̸—আমরার amɑ̸rā-rɑ̸, মোরগো mōrɑ̸-gō, আমাগো āmā-gō	Gen. আঁয়ার ā̃yā-rɑ̸, আঁর ā̃-rɑ̸—আঁওরার ā̃ŏ-rā-rɑ̸, আঁয়রার ā̃y-rā-rɑ̸
Dat. আমারে āmā-r-ē—আমরারে āmɑ̸rā-r-ē	Dat. আঁয়রে ā̃y-r-ē, আঁরে ā̃-r-ē—আঁওরারে ā̃ŏrā-r-ē, আঁয়রারে ā̃yrā-r-ē

The origin of the above dialectal forms is plain in every case. The S. W. Bengali মোন্নে « mōnnē » is contracted from « *mō-mânē », and « *āmā-

mȧnē-kārạ » gives আমানেকার « āmānnēkārạ ». Contiguity with Maithilī is seen plainly in the forms with initial « h- » in North Bengali (« asma- > amha- > *hamma- > hām, ham- », as opposed to the normal development in Bengali « amha- > āmh- > ām- »). The « -m- » has been reduced to a simple nasalisation in Chittagong, through an intermediate « -w̃- » which is also heard as « -ō-, -˜o- ».

[B] The Pronoun for the Second Person.

546. The Forms for the Second Person (in the Standard Speech) are—

	Old Singular (= New Singular, contemptuous or affectionate, for juniors and familiars).	Old Plural (> New Singular, inferior and familiar).	New Plurals.	
			Inferior and contemptuous.	Ordinary and familiar.
Nominative	তুই tui	তুমি tumi	তোরা tō-rā	তোমরা tōmạ-rā (+ সব, সকল sȧbạ, sȧkȧlạ etc.)
Oblique	তো tō-	তোমা tōmā-	তোদিগ tō-digȧ-, তোদের tō-dērạ	তোমাদিগ tōmā-digȧ-, তোমাদের tōmā-dērạ

The above forms present an exact parallel with those for the first person: only the old singular (with its new plural in « -rā ») is used freely, in all its forms, to express familiarity or contempt, by all classes in society: unlike « mui, mō- », it has not become archaic, or confined to the lower classes only.

547. OIA. « tvam » *thou* gave the MIA. « tuṁ », in addition to other forms. This « tuṁ » seems to be the source of the OB. « tu », which occurs also (through contamination with the oblique) as « tō ». Oṛiyā has preserved this as « tu »: Early Maithilī and Eastern and Western Hindī as « tū ». It is quite possible, however, that the OIA. original of the (Magadhan and Śaurasēnī) NIA. « tu, tū », without nasalisation (as opposed to the nasalised forms like the Marāṭhī « tū̃ », Gujarātī « tū̃ », Rājasthānī « tū̃ », Panjābī and Sindhī « tū̃ ») was a form like « *tū »,

as in Avestan (beside « tvəm »), instead of the Vedic and Sanskrit « tvam » (=tū+am).

In OB., « tu, tō » are the nominative forms, and they are found in the Caryās either independently (as *e.g.*, Caryā 18, « Kānhē gāï, tu Kāma-caṇḍālī » *Kṛṣṇa sings, thou art a 'Karma-caṇḍālikā'*; Caryā 6, « suṇa hari[ṇ]ā tō » *hear thou, O Deer;* Caryā 41, « jaï tō mūḍhā acchasi, puccha-tu sadguru pāẁa » *if thou art ignorant, ask thou at the feet of the good master*), or loosely agglutinated with the verb in the imperative (*e.g.*, « puccha-tu » *ask thou*, in Caryās 5, 41; « bāha-tu » *row thou*, Caryā 8; « bujha-tu » *comprehend thou*, Caryā 32).

548. This OB. nominative form « tu » has become obsolete in MB. and NB. The form তুই « tui », from the old instrumental, corresponding to « mui » of the first person, has taken its place. The typical representative of OIA. « tvayā » in MIA. is « taē »; in the Apabhraṁśa the word shows nasalisation, which is due to the influence of the noun (taĩ < *tvay'ēna=tvayā). In the Caryās, we find « tāi = taĩ », which still retains its old case-value: *e.g.*, « tāï binu » (=tvayā vinā: Caryā 4): « tāï biṭāliu » (=tvayā viṭālitam: Caryā 18). There is also in OB. a new instrumental formation on the basis of the oblique « tō » (tō-ē = tō-ẽ), which become confused with the original « taĩ, tuĩ » in Early MB. The OB. « tāi » occurs in Assamese as « tåi »: in the change of the vowel to « u » in Bengali « tui », there was in all likelihood the influence of the oblique « tō- ».

549. The oblique তো « tō- », the nucleus to which the case terminations and post-positions are added, represents the OIA. genitive « tava ». In OB., « tō » is found in its proper genitive sense: « tō muha » *thy face* (Caryā 4); « kin tō mantē, kin tō tantē, kin tō rē jhāṇa-bakhānē » *what is (the good) of thy spells, thy scriptures, and thy meditations and expoundings* (Caryā 34: « kin=kim » is a Sanskritism or Prakritism). It is found as accusative-dative (an extension of the genitive) in « tō puchami » *I ask thee* (Caryā 10). This form is also extended to « tō-ha-, tō-hō- » (cf. « mō-ha », p. 811, *supra*): genitive « tohō-ra » (Caryā 10), « tōhāra » (Caryā 29), genitive feminine « tōhōri » (Caryās 10, 18), « tōhaŭri=tōhōri »

(Caryā 28), « tōhōrẽ dōsē » *with thy fault* (=*tava-karēṇa dōṣēṇa : Caryā 39); dative « tōhōrē » (Caryā 18): beside genitive « tō-rā » (Caryā 41), dative « tōrẽ=tōrē » (Caryā 18). The instrumental based on this oblique is found in Caryā 10 : « ā lō Ḍōmbī, tō-ē sama karibē (=kariba) ma (=maĩ) sāŋga » *O Ḍōm woman, I shall have union with thee.* This instrumental « tōē=tō-ẽ » and the older « taĩ » reacted upon each other, and became merged into one form, and in Early M.B. the vowel in « taĩ » was altered through this process.

In eMB. (ŚKK.), we have a form with nasalised vowel, তোঁ « tõ », of fairly frequent occurrence. This is used as a nominative, singular. It seems it was originally a plural form: the genitive plural in « -na » as an honorific came to be attached to the singular « tō, tō-ha », in formations like « *tō-na, *tō-hā̃ » in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa, for the regular plural « *tumhāṇa(ṁ), *tumhahā̃ » etc. The old honorific sense of it was lost in Early MB. That this was the case for this « tõ » can be seen from the Early Maithilī plural base for the second person—singular « tū », plural « tõ-sabh, tõh-sabh » (= « *tō-na, *tō-hā̃ » *plus* « sabh ») : cf. also the Bhōjpuriyā and Magahī plural « tō-ha-ni=tōha-+-na+ -ī »; this « tõ, tõh, tōh-an-i » are thus quite distinct from the older « tumh- »= MIA. « tumha » < OIA. « yuṣma- ». The instrumental of this « tõ, *tō-hā̃ » would be « *tõ-ẽ, *tō-ẽ, *tōh-ẽ », which would easily merge in the other singular instrumental « tō-ẽ » noted above: and we actually have an instance of a dative তোহাঁক « tōhā̃-kå » in the ŚKK. This was thus an additional strengthening (with the loss of any plural > honorific sense it might have possessed at the beginning) of the recent « tō-ē » (=tō+ẽ). In eMB., « tåĩ, tō-ẽ, tõ-ẽ » were all confused : specially when the nasal was very unstable. Quite a large number of ways of writing these are found in MB. MSS. (*e.g.*, তঁই, তোয়, তো এ, তোঁএ, তোএঁ, তোঞ, তোঁঞ, তোঞে, তোঞেঁ, তোঞি, তুঞি, তূঞি, তুই, « tãi, tōyå, tōē, tõē, tōẽ, tōñå, tõñå, tōñē, tōñẽ, tōñi, tuñi, tūñi, tui »), and all these have finally resulted in the inferior or contemptuous, or extremely familiar form of NB., তুই « tui ».

550. Corresponding to আমি « āmi », NB. has তুমি « tumi » = Early MB. তুহ্মি, তোহ্মে « tumhi, tomhē », OB. « tumhē ». The New

Bengali form represents a combination of the MIA. nominative (=tumhē) and instrumental (=*tumhahi, tumhēhi). The instrumental use occurs in OB.: *e.g.*, « tumhē hōiba » = « yuṣmābhir bhavitavyam « (Caryā 5), « tumhē jāïba » (« jāibẽ » in printed edition) = « yuṣmābhir yātavyam » (Caryā 23). In Oṛiyā the form is « tumbhē », in Assamese « tumi », = plural.

For the oblique, we have the base তোমা « tōmā- » (Early MB. তোহ্মা « tōmhā- »), paralleling আমা « āmā- », which is derived from the OIA. plural base « yuṣma- ». The forms তুমি, তোহ্মে, তুম্হে, তোমা, তোহ্মা « tumi, tōmhē, tumhē, tōmā-, tōmhā- » quite early, in the First MIA. period had taken up the « t- » from the singular « tvam, tvayā, tubhyam » etc., so that we have « tumhē, tumha- » instead of « *yumhē, *yumha ».

The Aśōkan eastern form « tuphē » (=? tupphē ? tumphē) is not represented in NIA., any more than « aphē » (=? amphē ? apphē, =asmē).

551. Through the influence of Śaurasēnī Apabhraṁśa in the OB. and Early MB. periods, and of the Brajabuli dialect, we have some peculiar Western forms in the language of Vaiṣṇava lyrical poetry: *e.g.*, তুহুঁ « tuhũ » *thou* (= Western Apabhraṁśa « tuhũ », derived by Pischel from « *tva-ká-m », 'Gramm. der Pkt.-Sprachen,' p. 296; but it may properly be an emphatic form, « tu » + particle « hũ, hu », cf. Eastern Hindī and Bihārī, as well as Brajabuli, « hama-hũ » *we also*, « saba-hũ » *everybody*); তুয়া « tuā » *thy* (= literary i.e. early Maithilī « tua »: MIA. « tuva », Western Ap. « tuha »: OIA. « tava »); তুঝ « tujhā » *thy* (Western Ap. « tujjhu », Second MIA. « tujjha »: < « *tuhyaṁ » = OIA. « tubhyam », cf. « mahyam »); and besides, the extended base « tō-ha, tu-ha » is also much used through the example of Maithilī or Brajabuli (as well as Brajbhākhā), in Vaiṣṇava lyrics; *e.g.*, তোহে, তুহে, তোয় « tōhē, tuhē, tōy » accusative, locative and dative; তোহারি, তুহারি « tōhāri, tuhāri » genitive.

552. In the Magadhan speeches, we have the following developments of the old forms for the second personal pronoun, paralleling those for the first personal pronoun:

	Old Singular	Old Plural	New Plural
Bengali	তুই tui	তুমি tumi (sg.)	তোরা, তোমরা tōrā, tōmarā
Assamese	tåi	tumi (pl.)	tå-hātē, tōmā-lōkē (hon. pl.)

	Old Singular	Old Plural	New Plural
Oṛiyā	tu	tumbhē (respectful sg.)	tumbhē-mānē (hon. pl.)
Magahī	(obsolete)	tũ, tō̃ (sg.)	tōh-anī tōh-ara-nī,
Maithilī	tū (obsolete)	tō̃, tō̃h (sg.)	tō̃(h)-sabh, tōharā-sabh
Bhōjpuriyā	tē̃ (archaic)	tũ (sg.)	tōha-nī(-kā), tōh-ar-an
[Khaskurā	ta (sg.)	timi (pl.)	timi-haru]
[Hindōstāni	tū, taĭ	tum (pl.)	tum-lōg]

553. Typical Dialectal Forms for the Second Personal Pronoun :

S.-W. Bengali	West Rāḍha	Varendra
Nom. তুই tui, তুমি tumi —তোন্নে tōnnē, তোমান্নে tōmānnē	Nom. তুঁই tũi—তোরা tō-rā, তুমরা tuma̸-rā, তোমরা tōma̸-rā	Nom. তুই tui—তমরাহ tȧma̸-rāh
Gen. তর tȧ-ra̸—তমার tȧmā-ra̸, তদের tȧ-dēra̸, তোন্নের tōnnēra̸	Gen. তোর tō-ra̸—তোমার tōmā-ra̸, তোদের tō-dēra̸, তোরাদের tōrā-dēra̸, তোগোর tō-gō-ra̸	Gen. তোর tō-ra̸—তম্হার tȧmhā-ra̸ তুমাঘর tumā-ghȧra̸

North Bengali	West & S.-W. Vaŋga	East Vaŋga (Chittagong)
Nom. তুই tui—তুমরা tuma̸-rā Gen. তোর tō-ra̸—তম্হার tȧmhā-ra̸, তুমার tumā-ra̸, তুমাঘর tumā-ghȧra̸.	Nom. তয় tȧy, তুমি tumi —তোরা tō-rā, তোমরা tōma̸-rā Gen. তোর tō-ra̸, তর tȧ-ra̸ —তোরার tō-rā-ra̸, তোমার tōmā-ra̸, তোমরার tōma̸rā-ra̸, তোর-গো tō-ra̸-gō	Nom. তুই tui, তুইঁ tuĩ < tumi—তোরা tō-rā, তোঁরা tō̃-rā < tōma̸-rā Gen. তোর tō-ra̸—তোঁয়ার tō̃ā-ra̸ < tōmā-ra̸, etc.

[C] The Pronoun for the Third Person.

The Pronoun for the Third Person (or) 'General Demonstrative': সে, তাহা nominative « sē », oblique « tā(hā)- », etc.

554. The Typical Bengali forms as in the Standard Colloquial and the « sādhu-bhāṣā » are the following:

	Singular		Plural	
	Old Singular.	Old Plural > Honorific Singular	New Plural > Ordinary	Double Plural = Honorific
Nominative	সে sē, [neuter তা(হা) tā(hā)]	তিনি tini; তেহঁ tēhã, তিহঁ tihã (archaic)	ত(হা)রা tā(hā)rā (+সব, সকল såbå såkålå etc.); সে-সব sē+såbå etc.	তাঁ(হা)রা tā̃(hā)rā (+সব, সকল såbå såkålå, etc.)
Oblique	তাহা tahā-, তা tā-	তাঁহা tā̃hā-, তানা tānā-, তেনা tenā-, তা tā̃-	তা(হা)দিগ tā(hā)-digå-, তাহাদের tā(hā)dērå	তা(হা)দিগ tā̃(hā)-digå-, তাঁ(হা)দের tā̃(hā)dērå-

555. The OIA. nominative of the pronoun for the third person (the base of which was « ta- ») was « sa, saḥ ». In Māgadhī Prakrit it became « śē », and the Māgadhī Apabhraṁśa form was in all likelihood « *śi », which seems to be preserved in the Assamese সি « si » (for শি « śi »), pronounced [xi] or [çi]. But in Bengali, and in Oṛiyā, and also in the Bihārī group, the pronoun occurs in the nominative as সে « sē (śē) » instead of the expected « *si (śi) ». The « -ē » vowel may be due to an extended form « *sa-ka-ḥ » (cf. ahakaṁ = aham): which would give in Māgadhī « *śakē > śagē > *śaē > *śaï > śē » (cf. pp. 741-742, *supra*); or it may be due to the influence of the instrumental form « tē̃ » (< tēna). The OIA. feminine « sā » seems to have continued (as « śā ») in Māgadhī down to the Apabhraṁśa period, when it fell into disuse, and the masculine came to be used for the feminine. Already during the Second MIA. stage, the masculine « śē » came to be employed for the neuter (like the neuter affix « -am > -aṁ » of the noun taking up the masculine « -ē < -aḥ » affix: *supra*, p. 622) (Pischel 'Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 423). In Bengali, as in other Magadhan, there is as a consequence no distinction of gender, « sē (śē) » being used for masculine, and feminine and also for neuter. For the neuter nominative, however, the form তা(হা) « tā(hā) » is

more common. It is really the oblique extended to the accusative and then to the nominative; the accusative employ we find in the Caryās: *e.g.*, « tā dēkhi » *having seen that* (7), « tā śuni » *having heard that* (16).

556. The oblique singular তা(হা) « tā(hā)- » is really the genitive in « -ā, -āha » discussed above, § 502 (pp. 751-752). The genitival use « -ā, -āha » occured in OB., as we can see from the Caryās. The oblique « tāh-ā- » is by extension of « tāha » with the definitive « -ā » affix. By adding the usual affixes and post-positions, we have forms like genitive তাহর, তাহার, তাহের, তাক « tāhå-rå, tāhā-rå, tāh·ērå, tā-kå », accusative and locative (or new oblique) তাহে, তায় « tāh-ē > tāyå », locative তাহাতে « tā(hā)-tē », instrumental তাহা-দিয়া, -দ্বারা « tā(hā)-diyā, -dwārā », etc.

557. The OIA. plural forms (masculine « tē », feminine « tāḥ » neuter « tāni ») seem to have continued down to Second MIA. (respectively as « tē; tāo; tāṇi, tāiṁ »). But they have not been inherited in NIA. Already in the Second MIA. stage, the nominative forms « sē, śē » of the singular were extended to the plural, in Ardha-māgadhī and Māgadhī (Pischel, § 423). In OB. we find « tē » in Caryā 22: « jē sacarācara tiasa bhamanti, tē ajarāmara kimpi na honti » *those* (*Yōgīs*) *who wander through all the world and also through heaven, they do not become in the least ageless and deathless*: this « tē » may be a Sanskritism; but it can well be a nominative plural, derived from an instrumental « *tēhi, tēhī ». A similar nominative « tē » occurs in Eastern Hindī and Western Hindī. This « tē » (or « tẽ » ?) nominative of Old Bengali seems to have lingered on till Early Middle Bengali, and then it was dropped from the speech, new forms taking its place: we have one instance in ŚKK., p. 313: গোপীকুলের তোহ্মে কৈলেঁ আপমান........., তে সহ্মে চোরায়িল বাঁশী তোর কাহ্ন « gōpī-kulērå tōmhē kåilẽ āpåmānå, tē såmhē cōrāyilå bā̃śī tōrå Kānhå » *you have insulted the Gōpīs, they have stolen your flute, O Kṛṣṇa.*

The expected form of the OIA. « tē » in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa and in OB. would be « *ti », and in an emphatic position it might remain as « tē ». Side by side with « śē, tē », the instrumental and the genitive plural were undoubtedly used for the nominative in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa

and in OB. (*tēhi, *tāhi, *tēhī; *tāṇa[ṁ], *tāhā̃; *tān-i), paralleling the usage for the noun.

558. MB. and NB. honorific singular forms come from the plural instrumental and genitive of Apabhraṅśa and OB. In MB., the honorific nominative is তেহ্ঁ, তিহ্ঁ « tēhā̃, tihā̃ », which palpably receives its « ē, i » vowel from the instrumental, and its nasalisation may be due to the influence of the genitive. It is not impossible, moreover, that the « -ē- » of the OIA. genitive « tēṣām » should have persisted through some dialectal undercurrent here. The forms তেহ্ঁ, তিহ্ঁ, or তেঁহ (besides তেঁহো) « tēhā̃, tihā̃, tē̃ha, tē̃hō » were continued down to the middle of the 19th century, in the « sādhu-bhāṣā ». The ŚKK. has registered তেহেঁ « tē̃hē̃ » is one place (p. 19), and তেহেঁা « tēhō̃ » in another (p. 67): in the ŚKK., the honorific sense is not strong, and we find that the ordinary সে « sē » is joined to তেহেঁা « tēhō̃ » merely as an emphatic form. (*e.g.*, চোদ চৌ যুগ আয়ু লঙ্কার রাবণ। তেহেঁা সে মজিআঁ গেল শীতার কারণ॥ « cå̆udå cå̆u jugå āyu Låŋkārå Rābåṇå, tēhō̃ sē måjiā̃ gēlå Śītārå kārånå » *fourteen four-yugas his life, Rāvaṇa of Laṅkā: even he went to perdition through the reason of Sītā*). The form now actually in use is তিনি « tini », both in the colloquial and in literature, which is not met with except in Late MB.. this « tini » is from an earlier colloquial form « *tēni » (cf. honorific oblique base তেনা « tēnā- », beside তাঁ « tā̃ », in the Standard Colloquial area: « ē > i » by Vowel Harmony), which looks like a blend of the genitive and instrumental. Assamese has preserved the old « tihā̃, tēhā̃ » in the form of « tē̃o ».

The oblique তাঁহা « tā̃hā- » is easily explained. The persistence of the « -h- » may be due to the influence in singular তাহা « tāhā- ». There has been a great deal of cross influence in the development of these forms. There are in the Standard Colloquial area the dialectal obliques তেনা « tēnā- » and তানা « tānā- » (the latter more of a 'folk' form), which retain the vocalism of the instrumental and genitive, and the full « -n- » of the nominative form « tini » and the genitive-oblique « tānå ». The genitival use of তান « tānå » (< « tāṇa = tēṣām »: see *supra*, p. 306) is found in East Bengali: cf. also Oṛiyā « tāŋ-kå(rå) » (= « tēṣām-kara-, -kṛta »), and Maithilī « tan-i-k »,

Bhōjpuriyā « tinh- kē ». The full « -n », or nasalisation, from the genitive plural, came to be associated with the plural (and honorific) base, and hence we find in MB. the honorific genitive তাহান « tāhā-nȧ » (< tāha-), Early Oṛiyā « tāhā-nȧ ». Bengali তাঁ « tā̃- » can be either from « tāna », or it is merely a new formation by nasalising the singular « tā- = tāha ».

With the Bengali « tēhā-, tēnā-, tini, tā̃(hā)- » etc. are to be compared the Maithilī « tan-ik », Magahī « tinh- », Bhōjpuriyā « tinh » ; and Awadhī ten(h) », Bagheli « tenh », Chattisgaṛh « tin » ; Western Hindī tin(h) » — plural or honorific forms, all with similar genitival « -n- ».

559. The old plural becoming singular honorific, new plurals were formed on the basis of their respective genitives in « -ra ». These came in use during the Early MB. period (see *supra*, pp. 734-736).

560. Early Bengali preserves relics of some of the older case forms. The instrumental « tēna > tē̃ » is preserved in the sense of *therefore, consequently* in the ŚKK., as তেঁ, তে « tē̃, tē » : *e.g.*, p. 38, করলোঁ খণ্ড ব্রত আর জরমত, তেঁ বা দুঃখিনী মোএঁ « kȧrȧlō khȧṇḍȧ-brȧtȧ ārȧ jȧrȧmȧ-tȧ, tē̃ bā duḥkhinī mōē̃ » *in my previous birth I did an unfulfilled penance, may be for that I am miserable* (*now*) ; p. 218, বুলি তেঁ আতি যতনে « buli tē̃ āti jȧtȧnē » *for that I say with great care* ; p. 367, বাপ নন্দঘোষ মাঅ যশোদা, তেঁ তুহ্মী মামী আহ্মারে « bāpȧ Nȧndȧ-ghōṣȧ, māȧ Yȧśōdā, tē̃ tumhī māmī āmhārē » (*my*) *father is N., my mother Y., therefore you are my maternal uncle's wife* ; p. 359, গেআন বাণে ছেদিলোঁ মদন বাণ, তে আর না ভোলোঁ তোহ্মার যৌবন « gēānȧ-bāṇē chēdilō̃ Mȧdȧnȧ-bāṇȧ, tē ārȧ nā bhōlō (=bhōlō̃) tōmhārȧ jȧ̆ubȧnȧ » *with the arrow of wisdom I have shattered the arrow of Love, therefore I do not forget myself through your youth.* There is also the phrase তে কারণে « tē kārȧṇē » = « tēna kāraṇēna » which occurs more than ten times ; and an extension of « tē̃ » occurs as তেঁএ, তেএঁ, « tē̃ē, tēē̃ » *e.g.*; এবেঁ তোকে দেখিএ রুপসে। তেঁএ মোর বাঢ়িল আশে « ēbē̃ tōkē dēkhiē rupȧsē, tē̃ē mōrȧ bāṛhilȧ āśē » *I see thee now to be so beautiful, therefore my hope has increased* (p. 45) ; যেই দধি দুধ ঘৃত ভাণ্ডত আছএ। পসার সাজিতেঁ তেএঁ কাহ্নক জুআএ « jēi dȧdhi dudhȧ ghṛtȧ bhāṇḍȧ-tȧ āchȧē, pȧsārȧ sājitē̃ tēē̃ Kānhu-kȧ juāē » *the curds, milk and ghee that remain in the pots, K. should make a display for sale with that* (p. 179) ; and as তেঁউ « tē̃-ū » (< tēna + MIA.

hu = khalu) (p. 29). In later MB., this instrumental is very common as a conjunction, in the form তেঁই « tẽi » *therefore* (= tēna + hi). The form « tẽi » is archaic and poetic now, and তে কারণে, তে কারণ « tē-kārȧṇē, tē-kārȧṇȧ » also occur in NB. poetry.

The locative in « -hī », « tahī » (see *supra*, pp. 745-746) occurs in OB.: *e.g.*, « tahī caḍi nācaï » *they dance, mounted on that* (Caryā 10). Its use became obsolete as a locative in MB., where it was adopted as noun of place = *there*, to which the case affixes were added. The ŚKK. has যমুনার তীরে কদমতরু তলে তহি বসি কাহ্ন বাএ বাঁশে « Yȧmunārȧ tīrē kȧdȧmȧ-tȧru-tȧlē tȧhi bȧsi Kānhȧ bāē bā̃śē » *by the bank of Yamunā, under the Kadamba tree, sitting there K. plays on the bamboo flute* (p. 306), beside মৃগমদ কুচযুগ গগন মাঝার। তহিত নক্ষত্রগণ গজমুতীহার ॥ « mṛgȧ-mȧdȧ kucȧ-yugȧ gȧgȧnȧ-mājhārȧ, tȧhi-tȧ nȧkṣȧtrȧ-gȧṇȧ gȧjȧ-mutī-hārȧ » *your two breasts* (*smeared*) *with musk-paste is the vault of the sky, the necklace of elephant* (*big*) *pearls is the mass of stars thereon* (p. 154), where « tȧhi-tȧ » has a pleonastic locative « -tȧ ». In ordinary MB., তহির, তহিঁর « tȧhi-rȧ, tȧhī-rȧ » are not rare, meaning both *of that place* and *his, its.* Oṛiyā also possess « tȧhī-rȧ » beside « tā(hā)-rȧ » as genitive of « sē ». In Early MB. and in Late MB., the form তথি, তথী « tȧthi, tȧthī » *there* (< locative of MIA. « tattha » = OIA. « tatra ») is similarly used : তথির « tȧthi-rȧ » *of him*, তথিত « tȧthi-tȧ » *in him*, etc.

561. The distinction of gender is now lost in all Magadhan, but a feminine form for the third personal pronoun has been preserved in Assamese and in South-Eastern Bengali (Chittagong) : and traces might still exist in the other dialects. Thus in Assamese beside the masculine « si », plural « si- hātē », there is a feminine « tāi, tāyē », plural « tāi-hātē »; and Chittagongese shows a feminine তাঁই « tā̃i » (plural « tā̃i-rā »), beside the masculine হিতে, তে « hi-tē (< *si + tē = sē + tē), tē » (plural « hitē-rā, tārā » : Basanta Kumar Chatterji, VSPdP., 1326, p. 112). This feminine « tāi » (the nasalisation in the Chittagong « tā̃i » is irregular, and might be through the infection from honorific forms) seems to be based on the Second MIA. instrumental, dative and genitive « tāē » (< OIA. instrumental « tayā »), occurring in Māgadhī as well as in other dialects (Pischel, § 425).

The absence of distinction of gender for the personal pronoun of the third person is a defect in the language, and there have been unsuccessful attempts to do away with this defect by employing the Sanskrit « sā » for the feminine nominative, and the base « tasyā- », from the Skt. feminine genitive « tasyāḥ », for the feminine oblique: তস্যার « tāsyā-r » *of her*, তস্যাকে « tāsyā-kē » *to her*, etc. In some 18th and 19th century documents the « tasyā- » oblique has been found[1] (Chandra-Śēkhara Kālī, VSPd., Kārya-vivaraṇī for 1316, pp. 45, 46; and 'Hōmiōpyāthik Bhaiṣajyābalīr Siddhi-prada Lakṣaṇa-cay,' Vol. I, 8th edition, Calcutta 1921, pp. 11 ff.)

562. Some Western (Śaurasēnī) forms figure in OB. and in MB., especially in the Vaiṣṇava lyrics. (See *supra*, pp. 103, 115.) সো « sō » instead of the native সে « sē » is found in the Caryās (*e.g.*, 10, 22, 27, 33, 41): it is the nominative, but is found as an accusative also, *e.g.*, Caryā 21, « kariha sō niccala » *make him motionless*; Caryā 45, « chēw̃aha sō taru » *cut down that tree.* This form is fairly common in Vaiṣṇava lyrics and is often demonstrative adjective, as in OB. Thus « sō » is thrice as numerous as « sē » in the Caryās, a fact which is explicable through Śaurasēnī literary influence as well as through the MS. being copied in Nepal. The genitive of « sō » in Western Apabhraṅśa has the forms « tassu, tasu » and « tāsu » (=tassa, tasya), beside « tahō ». In the Caryās we have « tasu » (instead of the native « tā, tāha, tāh-ēra »), as in « tasu aṅga » *its limbs* (27), « maṇa taru, pāñca indi tasu sāhā » *the mind is a tree, the five senses are its branches* (45). Maithilī of literature also possesses this form. In MB., Brajabuli as well as ordinary poetic Bengali, it occurs as তছু « tāchu », with « -ch- » for « -s- » (*ante*, pp. 474, 551).

[1] In Early NB. letters and documents, for feminine forms like দেবী, দাসী, শ্রীমতী 'dēbī, dāsī, Śrī-matī,' the genitive and other cases are on the basis of the Skt. genitive in '-yāḥ': দেব্যার, দাস্যাকে, শ্রীমত্যাকে 'dēbyār, dāsyā-r, śrī-matyā-kē,' besides the regular 'dēbī-r, dāsī-kē, śrī-matī-kē' etc. A curious result of this practice has been that in Bengali epistolary and legal language, these '-yā' oblique forms have become established as nominatives, especially with names of widows, and in this way a distinction is made of widows from unmarried girls or women with husbands living.

563. Typical Dialectal Forms for the Third Personal Pronoun:

South-West Bengali

Nom. সে, তিন sē, tin—তারমেনে tārɒ-mēnē, তানমেনে tānɒ-mēnē, তান্নে tānnē, তাঁন্নে tãnnē.

Gen. তার, তান tārɒ, tānɒ—তারমেনকার tārɒ-menɒ-karɒ, তান্নেকার tānnē-kārɒ, তান্নাকার tānnā-kārɒ.

West Rāḍha

Nom. সে তাই sē, tāi—তাহরা tāhɒ-rā, তাহারা tāhā-rā.

Gen. তাহার tāhā-rɒ—তাহারদের tāhārɒ-dērɒ.

(The Remote Demonstrative is also commonly employed)

North Bengali (Rājbaṅśī)

Nom. সে, তাঁ, তাঁয়, তানি sē, tã, tãy, tāni—তাম(া)রা tām(ā)-rā.

Gen. তার, তাহে, তামার tā-rɒ, tā-r-hē, tāmā-rɒ—তামার tāmā-rɒ, তামরার tāmɒrārɒ.

West Vaŋga (Dacca, Maimansingh)

Nom. সে, তাইন, তিনি sē, tāin, tini—তারা, তানরা, তাহানরা tā-rā, tā(hā)nɒ-rā.

Gen. তার, তান, তাহান tā-rɒ, tānɒ, tāhā-nɒ—তারার tā-rā-rɒ, তাগো tā-gō, তানরার tānɒ-rā-rɒ.

(The Remote Demonstrative is employed in Haijong)

East Vaŋga (Sylhet, Kachar)

Nom. হে, হিনি hē, hini—হেরা, হেনরা hē-rā, hēnɒ-rā.

Gen. হের, হেনার hē-rɒ, hēnā-rɒ—হেরগো hē-rɒ-gō, হেইয়ার hēi-ārɒ, হেনারগো hēnā-rɒ-gō.

South Vaŋga (Bakharganj)

Nom. হে, তাইন, hē, tāin—হেরা, তারা hē-rā, tā-rā.

Gen. হের, তার hē-rɒ, tā-rɒ—হেরার, hē-rā-rɒ, তারার tā-rā-rɒ.

S. E. Vaŋga (Chittagong)

Nom. হিতে, হেতিন, তে hi-tē, hē-tin, tē; (fem.) তাঁই tãi—তারা, হিতেরা tā-rā, hi-tē-rā, তাঁইরা tãi-rā.

Gen. হেতার, তার, তান hē-tā-rɒ, tā-rɒ, tānɒ, তাঁইর tãi-rɒ—তারার tā-rā-rɒ, তানার tānā-rɒ, তাঁইরার tãi-rā-rɒ.

S.-W. Bengali has the characteristic « -mēnḁ̄ » affix for the plural contracted to « -n- ». The West Rāḍha তাই « tāi » may originally have been the feminine form noted in p. 825. North Bengali uses the base তাঁ « tā̃ » (beside a fuller তানি « tāni ») for the nominative; and the form তামার « tāmārḁ̄ », plural তাম(া)রা « tām(ā)rā » are honorific, with « -m- » for « -n- » or « -̃h- » of other forms of Bengali — a phonetic peculiarity which characterises this dialect: as early as c. 1555 A.C., in a letter from the Kōc king Nara-Nārāyaṇa of North Bengal to the Ahom king Su-khām-phā, we find ইমারাক পাঠাইতেছি « imā-rā-kḁ̄ (=ihā̃-digā̊-kē) pāṭhāitē-chi » *I am sending them*, তামরার মুখে « tāmḁ̄-ra-rḁ̄ (=tāhā̃-digērḁ̄) mukhē » *from their mouth* (Report of the Third North Bengal Literary Conference, p. 37; VSP., II, p. 1672).

The use of the « -rā » plural for the oblique as well is noticeable in the North and East Bengali dialects. As the forms « imārā-kḁ̄ » and « tāmārārḁ̄ » mentioned above show, such oblique use was established by the 16th century.

The nominative « sē » becomes « hē » in many of the East Bengali dialects; and in South Vaŋga, « hē » changes « tini » to « *sini > hini », « tēnā-rḁ̄ » to « *sēnārḁ̄ > hēnārḁ̄ »; and « sē > hē » is used for the oblique as well: *e.g.*, East Vaŋga « sē-rḁ̄ > hērḁ̄ » *his*, « sē-rā > hērā » *they*, « sē-rā-rḁ̄ > hērārḁ̄ » *their*. The Assamese accusative « siyē » [xie, çie] shows a similar though restricted use of the nominative base for an oblique case.

The Chittagongese nominative « tē » seems to be due to the influence of the oblique base in « ta- ». A peculiarity of this dialect (and of S.-E. Vaŋga generally) consists in the double forms « hi-tē, hē-tin = sē + tē, sē + tini ».

In the Mayang dialect, the base « tā » is used for the nominative (genitive « tā-rḁ̄ » singular, plural nominative « tānō », plural genitive « tānō-rḁ̄ »).

564. The nominative সে « sē », emphatic সেই < সেহি « sēi < sē-hi », is used as a demonstrative adjective, = *that*, for all genders. A noun

of multitude agglutinated to « sē, sēi » indicates the plural. The qualified word takes the case inflections, *e.g.*, সে লোক, সেই লোক « sē, sēi lōkå » *that man*, সেই-সকল লোকের « sēi-såkålå lōkērå » *of those men*, etc.

[D] The Proximate or Near Demonstrative.

565. The typical Bengali forms in the Standard Literary and Colloquial are :

	Singular		Plural	
	Old Singular	Old Plural = Honorific	New Plural	Double Plural = Honorific
Nominative	এ ē (earlier এহা ēhā), neuter ইহা ihā	এহঁ ēhā̃, ইহঁ ihā̃, ইনি ini	এরা ērā, ইহারা ihārā (এসব, এগুলা ē-såbå, ē-gulā)	এঁরা, এঁয়ারা ẽ(ā)rā, এনারা ēnārā, ইহাঁরা ihā̃rā
Oblique	এ, ইহা ē-, ihā- (earlier এহা ēhā)	এঁ, এঁয়া, এনা ẽ-, ẽā-, ēnā-, ইহঁা ihā̃-	এদিগ ēdigå-, এদের ēdēr-, ইহাদিগ, দের ihādigå-, -dērå	এঁ-, এঁয়া দিগ, দের ẽ(ā)digå-, -dērā, এনাদের ēnādērå, ইহাঁদিগ, -দের ihā̃digå-, -dērå

566. In Vedic and Sanskrit there are two pronouns to indicate the near demonstrative = *this, this here:* [i] the pronoun « ē-ta- », (nom. sg. masculine « ē-ṣah », feminine « ē-ṣā », neuter « ē-tad ») which is a combination of a base « ē- » (= Avestan « aē- », < Indo-Iranian « *ai- » < Indo-European « * ei-, *oi- ») *plus* the third personal bases « *to-, » (« * so- ») ; and [ii] the composite pronoun which is in the nom. sg. masculine « ayam », feminine « iyam », neuter « idam », and which is made up of the four defective pronominal bases : « a- » (as in Sanskrit « a-smāi, a-sya, a-syāi ; ā-bhyaḥ, ā-sām », etc.), « an- » (as in « an-ēna,

an-ayōḥ »), « i- » (« i-y-am, i-d-am »; in *guṇa* forms « *ai-, ē- », as in « ay-am », Vedic « ēnā = *ai-nā, ayā = *ai-ā », ēbhiḥ, ē-ṣām, ē-ṣu= *ai-bhis, * ai-śām, *ai-śu », etc.), and « im- » (as in « im-am, im-ām, im-āḥ, im-ān » etc.). In OIA. dialects other than those which formed the basis of the literary speeches (Vedic and Sanskrit), it is not impossible that each of these bases, namely, « a-, an-, i- (ai- > ē-, ay-), im- » existed in their entire declensions.

The basis or root form of the Bengali proximate demonstrative is « ē- », dialectally « i-, ī- »: the affix « -ha » of the oblique is genitival, and the nasalised forms, or forms in « -n- », were originally plural genitives. The older form for the nominative seems to be « ē ». The Caryās know « ē » (*e.g.*, Caryā 6, « ē bana cchāḍī » *abandoning this forest*; 28, « ē bana hiṇḍaï » *wanders in this forest*; 33 « ē tailōĕ » *in this threefold universe*; 39, « ē jaga » *this world*), beside « ēha » (Caryā 13, « ēha sahāva » *this nature*), and « ēhu » (Caryā 22, « ja ēhu jaati » for « *jē ēhu jugati »: cf. Comm., « ē-ā hi yuktiḥ »). The eMB. of the ŚKK. also shows « ē », in the forms like এ, এআ, এহা, এই, এহি, এসি, এহাএ, এহাক, এহাত, এহার, এহো « ē, ēā, ēhā, ēi, ēhi, ē-si, ēhā-ē, ēhā-kā, ēhā-tā, ēhā-rā, ēhō » occurring some four score of times, while a solitary « i- » form occurs in ইহার « ihārā ». In the NB. Standard Colloquial « ē » also is the word, « ihā » belonging to the literary language and to the dialects.

The source of the Bengali « ē » would thus seem to be the OIA. base « ēta- ». The *guṇa* form of the defective pronoun « i- », as « *ai- > ay-, ē- » can of course be equally the source of a NIA. « ē ». But MIA. remains do not register a fully declined « i- » demonstrative: Aśōkan Prakrits and Pali both show that the base « im- » was the one most widely current in the First MIA. period, with the simple « i- » and « a- » bases considerably restricted in use. The same thing is noticeable in Second MIA. as well. The « i-, im- » bases seem to have continued in the Western Apabhraṁśa of literature, specially in the form « āya- », beside « ēya-, ēa- = « ēta- ». In the Māgadhī Apabhraṁśa, however, it seems that only the base « ēta- > ēa- » (genitive « ētasya > * ēaha ») was current,

which gave the Bengali « ē, (ēhā) ». The base « ima- » of MIA. is not represented in NIA. in which its expected development would be « *iw̃a- ».

Śaurasēnī Apabhraṅśa as written in Eastern India (in the Buddhist Dōhās shows numerous instances of the nominative « ēhu » (=ēṣaḥ). What exactly was the nominative of the « ēta- » base in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa cannot be determined. The Māgadhī Prakrit forms are « ēśē, ēśā, ē(d)aṁ ». The « -ś- » apparently dropped through influence of the neuter and of the oblique. The genitive « ēha » was strengthened to « ēhā » in Early MB. The genitive plural « ētānāṁ (= ētēṣām) > ēāṇa(ṁ) » is the source of oblique honorific bases « ēnå-, ēhā̃-, ē̃- » etc. The NB. honorific nominative ইনি « ini » presents a parallel case with তিনি « tini » (p. 823) : Early Bengali employed ইহঁ, ইহোঁ, এহোঁ « ihā̃, ihō̃, ēhō̃ », which we occasionally find written in MSS. as ঞিহ, ঞিহো, ঞেহো « ñihå, ñihō, ñēhō ».

The alternation of « i, ē » is a commonplace thing in NIA. phonology. The « i » forms developed in Bengali quite early : the solitary ইহার « ihā-rå » in the ŚKK. shows that it goes back to the 14th century at least, and ইহার, ইহারে, ইহাকে « ihā-rå, ihā-rē, ihā-kē » etc. are common enough in MB. The Late MB. prose preferred these « i- » forms, whence the NB. « sādhu-bhāṣā » took them up. Oṛiyā preserves the earlier broader vowel, like Standard Colloquial Bengali : « ē, ēhā, ēhi ». In MB. and dialectal Bengali we find a form ইহান « ihān̊ », honorific genitive singular, = « ihā » + « -na » of the plural. In Assamese we have singular nominative « i », oblique « iyā- », plural « i-hāt- » : the honorific is « ēo » = MB. « ēhā̃ »; and there is a feminine form in Assamese, « ēi », corresponding to « tāi » *she* (*supra*, p. 825), which seems to be based on the MIA. feminine genitive « ētāē, *ēdāē, *ēāē », agreeing with « tāē » for « tasyāḥ ».

The Bihārī dialects show « ī, i » for the nominative, and « ēh-, ē-, ēhi- » for the oblique; and corresponding to « ēhā-, ihā- » of Bengali are to be found in Maithilī « hina-k < *inha-ka » (honorific oblique), and Magahī and Bhōjpuriyā « inh- » (plural base).

567. The OIA. « ēta- » base is found to be represented in most other NIA. Typical forms are given below:

	Nominative		Oblique	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Awadhī	ī, yū (=ēhū)	in, ē	ē-, ēh-, ēhi-, yāhi-	in-
Hindōstānī	yah, yĕh, yih (< *ēaha)	same as Singular	is-	in-, inh-
Brajbhākhā	yah, yih (< *ēaha)	yē, yaũ̯	is-, yā- (= *ēaha)	ini-, in-, inhaũ̯-
Panjābī (Eastern)	ih, ēh	ih, ēh	ēs-, is-, ih-	ēh-, inh-
Lahndī	ē, ēh, ī	ē, ēh, nēh, in, ī, īh	is-, ih-, ī̃-	inhā̃-, inhẽ-
Sindhī	hī, hē, hī^{u}, hī^{a}	hī, hē	hin^{a}-	hin^{e}-, hinan^{e}-
Rājasthānī	yō, yā (ō, ā)	yai̯, yē, (ē, ăĭ̯)	aĭ̯-, iṇ(i)-, ī-, aṇi-	iṇā̃-, aṇā̃-, in-, yā̃-, ā̃-
Gujarātī	ē	ēō	ē-	ēō-
Marāṭhī	hā [m.], hī [f.], hẽ [n.]	hē, hyā, hī	hyā- (yā-), hi-(ī-)	hyā̃- (yā̃-)
Khaskurā	yō	ina, in(i)	yes-, yas-	ina-, in(i)-

Of the above forms, the oblique singular in « -s- », as in Western Hindī (Hindōstānī, Brajbhākhā), Panjābī and Lahndī, as well as in Khaskurā (and the Western Pahāṛī dialects), is based on the OIA. « ētasya » (genitive of the « ēta- » base), which seems to have become « *ētissa » in First MIA. (cf. « ētisa » in Aśōkan the Shahbazgarhi: a similar change of the original vowel to « -i- » we note in the instrumental « *ētina < ētēna », which figures in the Second MIA., Māgadhī and Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī, as

« ēdiṇā » and « ēiṇā » respectively) : « *ētissa < *edissa > *ēissa » would be the development in Later MIA. It is quite likely that like « kissa, kiśśa, kīsa » = OIA. « kasya » which from the Early MIA. period was specialised from its genitive employ, and became almost an indepen dent form (cf. Bengali কিসে, কিসের « kisē, kisē-ra » *by what, of what* : see *infra,* under 'Interrogative'), « *ēissa » also was specialised, first as an ablative, and then as an oblique. This « *ēissa » could easily be the source of the NIA. « is-, ēs-, yes-, yas- » etc. In East Bengali (Dacca) when one is at a loss for a word the expletive ইসে « isē » is frequently used (= *namely, this er, what*) : this « isē » seems to be the equivalent of the W. Hindī « is- » in Bengali (cf. the similar use of « ēthi » in Bhojpuriyā : p. 834). The normal genitive form in « -ha » gave the oblique in the other NIA. dialects, and in many cases this oblique was shifted to the nominative. The nominative plural « yai, ye, ē », as in Western Hindī, in Rājasthāni and in Panjābī, possibly represents the instrumental « *ēēhi = ētēhiṁ = ētāiḥ ». In Gujarātī « ē » has taken up the sense of the remote demonstrative, and « -ō » is its normalised plural affix. The nasal « ṇ » (or nasalisation of the vowel derived from the nasal) in the Rājasthānī oblique singular comes from the OIA. pronominal base « ēna- » *he, she, it,* which was continued in MIA. (Pischel, § 431) ; but it is not preserved elsewhere in NIA. In the Apabhraṅśa source of Rājasthānī-Gujarāti, the « ēta- » and « ēna- » bases were merged into this demonstrative (Tessitori, 'Notes on the Grammar of OWR.,' § 89). The Sindhī oblique *e.g.*, « hina » is probably similarly to be explained. The prothetic « h- » in Sindhī is peculiar, but it may be by metathesis, from the genitive oblique « *ēaha > * ēha > hē, hī » : « u, a » are recent masculine and feminine affixes. The Marāṭhī forms present some obscurities (cf. Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' pp. 162, 208) : but can it be that in the formation of Marāṭhī « hā » etc. there was a blending in Mahārāṣṭrī Apabhraṅśa of forms like « ēha- » (= ēṣaḥ, ētasya) and « āa-, āya- » (= ayam), such as we find in the Western Apabhraṅśa ? Gujarātī also has « ā » *this,* which is derived from « āya-, āa- » as found in Jaina Apabhraṅśa of the West, = Second MIA. « aya- » < OIA. nom. masc. « ayam ».

Sinhalese has the bases « ū, ē (ĕ) » for the third personal pronoun : of these, « ū » corresponds to the Remote Demonstrative of Bengali, and is cognate with it (see *infra*), and « ē (ĕ) » is traced by Geiger to « ayaṃ » of MIA. The proper demonstrative bases of Sinhalese are « ma- » *this*, which is derived ultimately from the OIA. and MIA. « ima- », and « ara » *that*, representing the OIA. stem « āra- » *far* ('Litteratur und Sprache der Sinhalesen,' pp. 66, 67).

568. The differences in gender have not been inherited in NIA. In Bengali and other Magadhan, a possible instrumental « *ēẽ, *ẽ » (=ētēna) seems to have merged into the nominative and oblique, and also a possible plural instrumental > nominative, such as we find, for instance, in the Brajbhākhā « yai, ē, yā ». An expected locative in OB. and MB. would be « ēhĩ, ēhi » : this seems to occur in NB. as এই « ēi », as in এই যে « ēi jē » *here it is*, এইখানে « ēi khānē » *here*, এই হেথায় « ēi hēthāy » *here at this place*, etc.

Corresponding to the form তথি « tȧthi », OB. seemed to have possessed « *ēthi ». We have « ēthi » in Oṛiyā, in the oblique, as an equivalent of « ēhā »; and « ēthi » occurs in Bhōjpuriyā as an expletive like ইসে « isē » of dialectal Bengali. Connected with this possible OB. « *ēthi » we have the form ইথে « ithē » *in this* in MB. (from the ŚKK. downwards).

569. Dialectal Forms for this pronoun agree in general with those for the Third Personal pronoun.

S.-W. Bengali has nominative এউ « ēu », really an emphatic form, = « ē+hu ». The expected plural forms of the type of « ē(u)nē, ē(u)mēnȧ-kārȧ, ē(u)nnē-kārȧ » do not feature in the LSI.

West Rāḍha agrees with the Standard Colloquial in having এ « ē », but the vulgar dialect has a preference for ই, ঈ, « i, ī », owing to contiguity with Bihārī ; and the full forms ইহার, ইহাকে, ইহারদের, ইহাদিগে « ihā-rȧ, ihā-kē, ihārȧ-dērȧ, ihādigē » etc. occur in it.

In North Bengali, ই « i » as well as এই, এও « ēi, ēo » figure for the singular, and ইমরা, ইমরাক, ইমরার « imȧrā, imȧrā-kȧ, imȧrā-rȧ » etc. for the plural, corresponding to তামরা « tāmȧrā » etc. (p. 828).

In East Bengali, we have এ « ē » in the singular, plural এরা « ē-rā », genitive plural এরার এরগো « ērārȧ, ērȧ-gō », and ইনি « ini » is singular, with plural এয়ানরা, এনারার « ēānȧ-rā, ēnā-rā-rȧ » etc. for the honorific. The full « -n- » rather than the nasalisation is preferred.

570. Like সে, সেই « sē, sēi », এ « ē », with its emphatic এই « ēi < ēhi » is used as a demonstrative adjective.

[E] THE REMOTE OR FAR DEMONSTRATIVE ও, উহা « ō, uhā ».

571. The forms in Bengali are—

	Singular		Plural	
	Old Singular	Old Plural	New Plural from Singular	Double Plural from Old Plural
Nominative	ও ō (earlier ওহা ōhā)[neuter উহা uhā]	উনি uni (earlier উহঁ uhā̃, ওহঁ ōhā̃)	ওরা ōrā, উহারা uhārā (ওসব, ওগুলা ō-sȧbȧ, ō-gulā >	ওঁরা ōrā, ওনারা ōnārā, উহাঁরা uhā̃rā
Oblique	ও ō-, ওহা ōhā- উহা uhā-	ওঁ ō̃- (ওহা ōhā̃-), ওনা ōnā-, উহাঁ uhā̃-	ওদিগ ōdigȧ-, ওদের ōdērȧ, উহাদিগ uhādigȧ, etc.	ওঁদিগ, -দের ō-digȧ, -dērȧ, ওনাদের ōnādērȧ, উহাঁদিগ uhā̃digȧ, etc.

572. In Indo-Iranian, there were the following demonstrative bases which gave the remote demonstrative in the Indic and Iranic languages : [i] a base « *ava- » (= Indo-European « * owo- » : Old Church Slav « ovŭ »), giving the Iranian pronoun « ava » *that* as in Old Persian and Avestan (which has become « ō, ū » in New Persian = *he, that*, as opposed to « ē-, ī- » *this* < Old Pers. « ai-ta- » = Skt. « ē-ta- », and « īn » *this* = Skt. « ē-na- »). In Indo-Aryan, this base seems to have been current dialectally, although in the Rig-Veda alone it is preserved only in the genitive and locative dual form « avōḥ » ; [ii] a base « am-ū (am-ŭ), am-ī » which is characteristic of Vedic and Sanskrit. It is obscure in origin, and seems to be an extension of « a-m », the accusative of the simple pronominal base « ă- » (= Indo-European «* ĕ, *ŏ »), with « u » and « ī » particles,

into « am-u-, am-ɪ- » which was established as a pronoun (cf. Vedic « tam-u, idam-u; also cf. « imam » < « im », accusative of a pronoun « i », *plus* particle « -am ».) This base « amu, amɪ » is not found outside India. [iii] For the nominative masculine and feminine, Indo-Iranian had the forms « * sǎ-u, * sā-u », a combination of the third personal nominative pronouns « sǎ, sā » *plus* the particle « -u », beside a neuter « tad- u ». (These are found in the Old Greek as « ho-u-, *hā-u-, * tod-u- < tou- » as in « hou-tos, hau-tē, tou-to ».) The masculine « * sǎ-u » and the feminine « *sā-u » apparently were used one for the other. In Iranian these became « *hǎ-u, *hā-u », and Old Persian generalised the masculine (as « hauv ») for both genders, and Avestan the feminine « hāu ». In Indo-Aryan also, the feminine form was taken up for both the genders; and there was prothesis of the pronominal base « ǎ- », giving « ǎ-sā-u ». (The proper masculine form from Indo-Iranian « * (ǎ-)sǎ-u » would have been « * asō » in Sanskrit.) For the neuter, a new formation « ad-as » (= neuter pronominal « a-d », cf. « ta-d, ya-d » etc., and a suffix « -as ») was created in OIA.

Leaving aside the nominative « asāu̯, adas », it is clear that in OIA. « amū-, amŭ-, amī- » formed the base for demonstrative, with a possible « ava- » base which is not noticed in Vedic and Skt. except in the dual form « avōḥ ».

The base of this pronoun in Bengali is « ō, ōhā », and not « u », which is later, and dialectal (cf. the case of « ē, ēha » and « ɪ » of the near demonstrative). The ŚKK., however, shows « ō » only in the genitive ওহার « ōhā-rå » (twice), and it is « ū, u » in the nominative (thrice). The West Rāḍha dialect even now prefers « u » to « ō ». There is no instance of this pronoun in the Caryās. The ordinary demonstrative « sē, tāhā » seems to have been more popular than the « ō (u) » demonstrative in OB. and MB. This was certainly the case in some other forms of Magadhan, *e.g.*, Assamese and Oṛiyā, which use « sē, sēi » (in Assamese = [xi, xei]) and « sēhi », and do not possess the « ō » form. In the case of some of the pronominal derivatives, Bengali, too, prefers the bases « sē-, tå- » to « ō, ō > å »: thus, সেখান « sē-khānå̸ » beside ওখান » ō-khānå̸ » *there*, NB. তবে

« tåbē » rather than MB. অবে « åbē » *then*. In the Śaurasēnī Apabhraṅśa, however, as well as in the Avahaṭṭha of the 'Prākṛta-Paiṅgala' and of Vidyāpati and others (cf. p. 91), « ō » is found: *e.g.*, Hēma-candra (verse 45, under Apabhraṅśa) « jaï pucchahu ghara vaḍḍāī, tō vaḍḍā ghara ōi » *if thou askest about big houses, then big houses are there* (« ōi » = « *avē », locative of « *ava »: Pischel, 'Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 432); verse 97, « ō gōrī-muha-nijjiaü baddali lukku miaṅku » *that moon, more beautiful then even Gaurī's face, is hid in the cloud;* 'Prākṛta Paiṅgala' (ed. Bib. Ind.), p. 139, « ō bakkala, ō pasu, ō pāsāṇa »; p. 348, « sasī ō » (=śaśī saḥ); Vidyāpati (Kīrtti-latā) — « bāla-canda, Vijjāvaï-bhāsā, duhū nahī laggaï dujjaṇa-hāsā: ō Paramēsara-Hara-sira sōhaï, ī niccaya nāara-maṇa mōhaï » *the scorn of bad men cannot touch these two —the young moon and Vidyāpati's language: that adorns the crest of the Supreme Deity Hara, this certainly pleases the mind of gallants;* etc. In the Apabhraṅśa which is connected with Gujarātī, as in the Jaina writers, the « ō » demonstrative does not occur: neither is it found in Marāṭhī.

The source of NIA. « ō » (and its variants in the different languages, as below) would seem to be the OIA. base « *ava », which looks like having been current in the spoken dialects, although ignored by the literary speeches—Vedic, Sanskrit, Pali and the various Prakrits—and came to its own only in Late MIA. literature through occurrence in the popular poetry in Apabhraṅśa. The base « amu- » is quite popular in Pali, it is common enough in Second MIA.: its development in Late MIA. and NIA. would have been « *aw̃u-, *aū- »: this may have existed in Late MIA., but it gave place to the colloquial « * ava- > ō- ». The « ava, ō » pronoun has always been a living one in Iranian, and it occurs in Dardic (*e.g.*, Šiṇā): it can well have been a living one in some OIA. and MIA. dialects.

The oblique, honorific and secondary plural forms run parallel to those for « ē », and there is the alteration between « ō, ū (u) » similar to that between « ē, ī (i) ». In the Bihārī dialects, « ū, ŭ » are the nominative, and « ōh-, ō-, uh- » are found for the oblique: and corresponding to the honorific « uni, uhā̃- » etc. of Bengali, Maithilī has « huna-k < *unha-ka », and Magahī and Bhōjpuriyā have « unh- ».

573. The « ava- » base is thus represented in some of the otner NIA. speeches :

	Nominative		Oblique	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Awadhī	ū, wai̯	on, un, ō	ō-, obi-, ōh-, wahi-	on-, un-
Hindōstānī	wah, wŏh, wuh	wē	us-	un-
Brajbhākhā	wah, wuh, wō	wē, wai̯	wis-, wāhi-, wā-	un(i)-, win(i)-, unhaũ-(winhaũ-)
Panjābī	uh, ōh	uh, ōh	us-, uh-, ōs-	ōh-, unh-
Lahndī	ō, ū, ūh	ŭ, ū, ō, ōh, ūhē	us-, uh-, ũ-	unhā̃-, unhē̃-
Sindhī	hū, hō, huā	hū, hō, hōē	huna-	hune-, hunane-
Rājasthānī	wō, u, wōh, wā	wăĭ̯, vī, wai	waī̯-, ũ,- uṇ(ī)-, waṇī-	uṇ-, uṇā̃-, waṇā̃-, wā̃-
Khaskurā	u	una, uni, un	us-	una-, uni-, un-

The oblique singular « -s- » forms of Western Hindī, Panjābī and Lahndī, and Pahāṛī (Khaskurā), are apparently based on the old genitive « *avasya » > MIA. « *avussa », paralleling « ētasya > ētissa », « kasya > kissa ». The plural nominatives, Western Hindī « wē », Lahndī « uhē », Rājasthānī « wai̯, wăĭ̯, vī », would be from an instrumental nominative plural, « *avahi, hī- > *avēbhiḥ ». The « -ṇ-, -n- » in the Rājasthānī and Sindhī singular oblique would appear to be by the analogy of the Near Demonstrative. Gujarātī and Marāṭhī do not possess a form corresponding to this « *ava- > ō, ū ». Sinhalese has « u », equally derived from « ava » (Geiger : see *supra*, p. 834).

574. There is a NB. locative adverb ওই « ōi » *there*, which represents either a Māgādhī Apabhraṅśa « *ōi » < « *avē » as in Hēma-candra, *supra*, p. 837), or the locative in « -hi » (*ōhi = OIA. ava + -dhi). ওই « ōi » is

commonly written অই « ȧi », but that does not alter its « ō » pronunciation. There is no « -thi » form in Bengali as a substitute for the oblique (cf. তথি, ইথে « tȧthi, ithē », *supra*, pp. 825, 834), which we see in the Bihārī dialects (*e.g.*, Bhōjpuriyā « ŏtthu, ōthuā » *that*, Maithilī « uthī, uthi »).

575. Dialectal forms for « ō, u » run parallel to those for « ē, i », with only substitution of the back vowels proper to this pronoun, and it is unnecessary to describe them. In many of the dialects, for instance in parts of West Rāḍha as well as E. Bengal, as a characteristic phonetic habit, অ « ȧ » is substituted for ও « ō ».

576. The emphatic ওই « ōi » < ওহি « ōhi » (frequently written অই « ȧi ») = *that, that there*, is used as a demonstrative adjective.

577. There is a superficial resemblance between the NIA. demonstrative bases and those of Dravidian, which has the bases « i- » for the proximate, « a- » for the remote and a less common « u- » for the intermediate demonstrative (or « iv-, av-, uv- »: C. P. Venkatarama Ayyar, 'Madras University Dravidic Studies,' I, 1919). But that resemblance is only accidental: the NIA. forms can be easily traced back to OIA., and Dravidian influence here is extremely problematic. The Kōl demonstrative pronouns are more complicated in their construction and employment (cf. Santali, in LSI., IV, pp. 43-44), and here the question of influence is even more unlikely. The question of Tibeto-Burman influence seems to be still more remote.

[D] The Relative Pronoun.

578. The forms are—

	Singular		Plural	
	Old Singular	Old Plural Honorific	New Plural	Double Plural = Honorific
Nominative	যে jē [neuter যা(হা) jā(hā)]	জেহঁ jēhā̃, জিহঁ jihā̃, যিনি jini	যা(হা)রা jā(hā)rā	যাঁ(হা)রা jā̃(hā)rā
Oblique	যা(হা) jā(hā)-	যাঁ(হা) jā̃(hā)-, যেনা jēnā-	যা(হা) দিগ jā(hā)-digȧ-, যা(হা)দের jā(hā)dērȧ-	যাঁ(হা)দিগ jā̃(hā)-digȧ-, যাঁ(হা)দের jā̃(hā)dērȧ-

The pronoun is written with য « y=j » in NB., but in OB. and MB. জ « j » was preferred, although য was also used in MB. through Skt. influence (the OIA. source of the word in Skt. « ya- » being well-known).

579. The source of this pronoun is the OIA. relative « ya- ». The nominative যে « jē » = Māgadhī « yē », OIA. « yaḥ », has developed like « sē » from « sa, saḥ » : Assamese has « ji » [zi]. A plural nominative « jē » (« * yahi=*yēhi », MIA. instrumental plural : cf. W. Hindī « jē » plural of « jō ») may have merged into the singular. The honorific is based on the plural genitive « yāna(ṁ), yāṇa(ṁ) » = « yēṣām » : the « ē, i » vocalism in জেহ্ঁ, জিহ্ঁ, যিনি « jēhã, jihã, jini » may be due to the nominative. The oblique is the strengthened form of a genitive « jāha ». In Assamese, the neuter oblique has the « i » vowel, being based on the nominative (masc. nom. « ji », oblique « jā- » : neuter nom. « ji », oblique « ji-hā »).

Oṛiyā and Bihārī in the main agree with Bengali : thus—

	Old Singular	Old Plural = Honorific	New Plural
Oṛiyā	jē, jāhā-	jēũ, jāhā̃-	jē-mānē
Maithilī	jē, jāhi, ja-	jani-k (genitive)	jē-sabh
Magahī	jē (jau̯n), jēh-	jinh- (oblique pl.)	jinh-ak-an-ī
Bhōjpuriyā	jē (jawan, jau̯n), jēh-	jinh-(oblique pl.)	jinh-kā

Eastern Hindī (*e.g.*, Awadhī, Chattis-gaṛhī) shows « jē » in the nominative, representing the vocalism of Ardha-Māgadhī. The form « jau̯n » (cf. « tau̯n » for the 3rd personal pronoun) agrees with « kau̯n » (see *infra*, under 'Interrogative'). The OIA. « ya- » is preserved in other NIA., exceptingSinhalese, which has adopted the Dravidian device of employing adjectival relative participles instead of the relative pronoun, and this pronoun has consequently dropped off.

580. OB. forms :

Nominative : « jē jē āïlā tē tē gēlā » *those who came went away* (Caryā 7) ; « jē jē gēla » *he who* (or *those who*) *went* (Caryā 15) ; « ja ēhu jaati » (= « *jē ēhu jugati », following the Commentary : Caryā 26) : « jē bhamanti » (plural, < « *jahi, *yēbhiḥ » : Caryā 22) ;

Accusative: « jā ēthu cāhāma » (the printed text has « vāhāma »: cf. Commentary, « yam paśyāmy atra »: Caryā 21): « jā laï acchama » (Comm. = « gṛhītvā tiṣṭhāmi »: Caryā 29);

Instrumental: « jẽ ajarāmara hōi » (Caryā 3); « jẽna (archaic) tuṭaī avaṇā-gavaṇā » (Comm. = « tēna yātāyātaṃ truṭyati »: Caryā 21);

Genitive: « jā, jāhēra » (see *supra*, p. 752);

Locative: « jahi » (Caryā 31).

Besides, there are numerous (some dozen) instances of the Western Ap. nominative « jō » in the Caryās, and one or two instances of the corresponding Western genitive « jāsu » (in one case, as « jasu » in Caryā 40, it is used for the locative). This « jō » figures in Brajabuli poetry, and « jāsu, jasu » occur there as যছু « jåchu » (see *supra*, pp. 473-474).

The locative « jahi » is used as the oblique base in MB., esp. in the genitive, *e.g.*, যহির « jåhirå »: cf. Oṛiyā neuter « jåhī » = masculine and feminine « jā(hā) ». Corresponding to « tåthi » (see p. 825), MB. has যথি « jåthi », as in locative যথিত « jåthi-tå », genitive যথির « jåthi-rå » (see *supra*, p. 297).

581. The dialectal forms correspond to those for the demonstratives. The relative, with its emphatic form যেই « jēi (< jēhi) », is used as an adjective.

[G] THE INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN.

582. The following are the forms for the masculine and feminine:

	Old Singular	Old Plural > Honorific	Old Plural	Double Plural = Honorific
Nominative	কে kē [adj. কোন্ kōnå]	কেহ kehā, কিনি kini	কা(হা)রা kā(hā)-rā	কাঁ(হা)রা kā̃(hā)-rā
Oblique	কা(হা) kā(hā)-	কাঁ(হা) kā̃(hā)-	কা(হা)দিগ kā(hā)digå-, কা(হা)দের kā(hā)dērå	কাঁ(হা)দিগ kā̃(hā)-digå-, কাঁ(হা)দের kā̃(hā)dērå- (কেনাদের kēnādērå)

The neuter has a separate form:

Singular Nominative কি, কী ki, kī (adj. = কোন্ kōnᵅ);

Oblique কি ki, কিসে kisē (from base « kīsa- ») ;

Genitive কিসের kisērᵅ;

Plural: কি-সব, কি-সকল, কোন্-গুলা ki-sȧbᵅ, ki-sȧkȧlᵅ, kōnᵅ-gulā, etc.

583. The nominative কে « kē » is the form which characterises all Eastern speeches, Eastern Hindī included. Assamese also shows « kē » instead of the expected « *ki » < Māgadhī « kē », and Oṛiyā also has « kē ». The neuter « ki », from common OIA. « kim » (not « kad », corresponding to « tad, ētad, yad »), is a characteristic form, and this apparently brought about the introduction of « kē » for the masculine.

কোন্ « kōnᵅ » was originally indefinite, and in its emphatic form কোন, কোনো, কোনও « kōnȧ, kōnō, kōnȧō < kōnȧ-hō » the indefinite sense still survives. The pronoun is found as « kaụn, kōn, kaụn, kōn » in most NIA., and has its parallel in the other bases, like « taụn, jaụn ». It occurs is Western Apabhraṅśa as « kavaṇu, kavaṇa- ». Hoernle derives « kavaṇu » from an Apabhraṅśa quantitative pronoun « kēvaḍu » ('Gaudian Grammar,' p. 291): but this is inadmissible. Pischel traces it to an OIA. diminutive or pejorative base « kava- » (from the old pronoun « ka- », and from « ku- » *bad* as well) which we find in Skt. forms like « kava-patha » *bad way*, « kavōṣṇa » *slightly warm* ('Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 428). The « -ṇ- » remains obscure still. But « kaụn, jaụn, taụn » apparently form one group: and there is no pejorative sense in this indefinite form. It seems likely that the source of the « -vaṇa, *-vuṇa, -un » forms is the OIA. indeclinable « punaḥ »: «kaḥ punaḥ», apparently regarded as one group from Early MIA. times, « *ka-puna- » > Second and Late MIA. « *kavuṇa- > kavaṇa ». It is a noteworthy fact that « kaụn, kōn » is found only in the nominative in the Northern Indian languages, although the oblique use is found in Gujarātī and Marāṭhī: thus the genitive of কোন্ « kōnᵅ » in Bengali is কার « kārᵅ », in Hindōstānī « kis-kā », but in Gujarātī it is « kōṇ-nō » and in Mārāṭhī « kōṇā-cā »). In the ŚKK., the forms are কৌণ, কোণ « kȧuṇȧ, kōṇȧ », beside কোমণ « kōmȧṇȧ = kōw̃ȧṇȧ », and emphatic কোণোহো, কোহ্নো

« kōṇō-hō, kōnhō ». It seems that in the Early MB. of the ŚKK. there was a confusion between the uncontracted কমণ, কমন « kåmåṇå, kåmånå = kåw̃åṇå » and the interrogative pronominal adjective কেমন, কেমন্ত, কেমত « kē-månå, kē-måntå, kē-måtå » (see *infra*). Early Middle Bengali কোণ « kåuṇå » has its counterpart in Oṛiyā « kåuṇå-si » *only*, *some*; and the equivalent of « *kåw̃åṇå » of MB. (in MB. it is always an adjective) in Oṛiyā is « kååṇå, kåṇå » = *what*.

584. The oblique « kā(hā)- » is based on the « -ā(ha) » genitive; and the honorific is the genitive plural, MIA. « kāṇa(m) » for OIA. « kēṣām », with vocalism from the nominative.

The neuter base কিস « kisa- » goes back to the Early MIA. genitive « kissa » (which is already present in Pali) or « kiśśa » (as in Māgadhī) (= OIA. kasya). The « -i- » vowel seems to have been due to the influence of the neuter base « ki- » (« *kisya > kissa, kiśśa »: cf. Pali locative « ki-smiṁ, ki-mhi », beside « ka-smiṁ, ka-mhi »). During the Early MIA. period, this form extended its sense to the ablative (in addition to the dative), and became stereotyped into the neuter nominative as well, in the sense of *what*: and « kissa, kiśśa > kīsa, kīśa » was loosely compounded with a following noun (especially in the ablative), in Second MIA. (cf. Pischel, § 428). It seems that on the analogy of « kissa », other forms like « *tissa, *ētissa, *yissa » etc. were built up, which ultimately gave the oblique singular forms of the pronouns in Western Hindī and Panjābī. Of these, the base « kīsa- » alone occurs in Standard Bengali: it is found in OB. independently, without an affix: *e.g.*, Caryā 6, « acchahũ kīsa » *in what am I*; Caryā 29, « kāhērē kiṣa (= kīsa) bhaṇi maï dibi piricchā » = « kasya kim uktvā mayā siddhāntaḥ pradātavyaḥ » as the Commentary explains; ibid., « Luï bhaṇaï, bhāïba (= bhāw̃iba) kīṣ (= kīsa) » = « Lūyī-pādaḥ siddhâcaryō hi vadati, mayā... kiṁ bhāvyaṁ ». In the ŚKK., we have post-positional forms, like কিসক, কিসকে, কিসে (also কীষে), কিসের, কিসেরে « kiså-kå, kiså-kē, kisē (kīṣē), kisērå, kisērē ». The base form occurs in Oṛiyā as « kiså »; Assamese has it as « kihå » (< kiså), neuter pronoun (beside a neuter « jihå » < « jiså = yasya »). The Bihārī dialects do not, however, show the « kīsa » base. The oblique of « ki » is « kiså- » in NB.

but in eMB. we have also the oblique use of « ki » (*e.g.*, কিকে « ki-kē » in the ŚKK).

585. The honorific is based on MIA. « kāṇa(ṁ) = kēṣām »: the genitive কাহান « kāhā-nā » is found in MB. In Maithilī, it is the honorific base, « kan-ikā ». The « -n- » oblique occurs as usual in other NIA. as well.

586. The locative কহিँ, কহি « kahī, kahi » of OB., and MB., is found in NB. in the form কই « kåi » *where*: in the Standard Coll., কই « kåi » is used in response to a statement or question, but in E. Bengali, it is a general word for *where*. The use of « kåhi » as the oblique base is found in MB.: *e.g.*, কহির « kåhi-rå » *of where* = *whose*; also in Oṛiyā, *e.g.*, « kåhī-rå ». The other locative adverb কথি « kåthi » is found in MB., also as an oblique base: *e.g.*, (ŚKK). কথির « kåthi-rå » *whose*. As « kathi », it also forms the locative base of the neuter in the Bihārī dialects (especially Maithilī).

In NB. there is the form কয় « kåy » (in the standard language also as ক' « kå ») *how many*, which is from OIA. « kati ».

587. The forms in OB.:

Nominative indefinite masculine « kē-hō » (Caryā 18); neuter « kāhi kariaï » *what is done* (Caryā 1: locative-oblique used for nominative, < « kāha »);

Accusative: neuter « kiṣa, kiṣ = kīsa » (Caryās 6, 29); « kāh-ē » (Caryā 6): « kā » (Caryā 39):

Genitive: fem. « kāhari » (Caryā 10);

Dative: « kāhērē » (Caryā 29);

Locative: « kahī » (Caryās 7, 31, 49); « kāhi » (= « kāha » + locative affix: Caryā 43).

As an interrogative particle, « ki » occurs in OB. in some instances, *e.g.*, Caryā 33 « duhila dudhu ki bēṇṭē ṣāmāī » (see *supra*, p. 263); « bhāga (= bhāŋga) taraŋga ki sōsaī sāara » *can broken breakers suck up the sea?* (Caryā 42). An archaic « kiṃ » is found in some instances (22, 34, 41). Besides there are the common Western forms—nominative « kō » (16, 29), indefinite « kōē, kōi » (as in 42, 43), genitive « kāsu » (23).

The dialectal forms do not call for any special comment.

[H] The Indefinite Pronoun.

588. কেহো, কেহ, কেউ « kēhō, kēhå, kēu » occurs only in the singular. It is a nominative Māgadhī form, coming from OIA. « kaḥ api » > Māgadhī « *kē' pi » > *kē' vi > *kē-va > « *kē-ẇa, kē-o » > « kēha, kēhō » (with influence from the emphatic particle « hu, hō »): cf. Oṛiyā « kēi » (= *kēvi). Assamese has « kēo, kē̃o », Magahī « kēū », Maithilī « kēo », Bhōjpuriyā « kēhū, kēū »; Eastern Hindī as a Prācya speech shows the « ē » vowel: « kēū, kēhū ». Western Hindī has the proper Śaurasēnī « kōī (< kō'vi, kō'pi »). The word « kēhō » occurs in Caryā 18 : « kēhō kēhō tōhōrē biruā bōlaï » *some call thee deformed.*

The oblique form of « kēhō, kēu » is « kā(ha)- » or « kā(hā)- » + case-affix or post-position + « hō, ō », or « kā(ha)-, kā(hā)- » + « hō, ō » + case-affix or post-position : *e.g.*, « kāhā- + -rå + ō » > MB. (ŚKK.) কাহ্রো « kārhō, kāhrō », NB. কারো, কারু « kārō, kāru » *whose*; « kāhā- + ō + -kē » > MB. কাহোকে « kāhōkē » > NB. কাউকে « kāukē », beside literary কাহাকেও « kāhā- + -kē + ō » > colloquial কাকেও « kākēō » (and ŚKK. কাখো « kākhō » < « kāhā- + -kå + hō ») *whom*. For the plural forms, the « -ō, -hō » comes at the end of the inflected word : কারাও « kārā-ō », কাদেরও « kādērå-rō », etc. The NB. genitive has a peculiar form in the colloquial, কারুর « kārurå » (either = « kā-r-u » + additional genitive « -rå » ; or = « kā(hā)- + ō + -rå » > কাউর « kā-u-rå », with euphonic « -r- » : « kā-r-u-rå »).

589. The neuter indefinite is কিছু « kichu » which is found in other Magadhan (in Oṛiyā, however, as « kichi »). The OIA. « kim + -cid » occurs as « kiṁchi, kichi » (= kicchi) in the Central and Eastern inscriptions of Aśōka, with the aspirate « ch », as opposed to stop « kiṁci » of the South-West (Girnar). This aspiration, so old, is peculiar : was it due to the influence of a possible masculine indefinite « *kacchi < kaścid » ? The NIA. « kichu » also has the emphatic particle « hu » : « kiñchi-hu » (or « kiñci-hu » ?) > « kichu ». (cf. Hoernle, 'Gauḍian Grammar,' § 465). The Oṛiyā « kichi » may represent the emphatic « hi » (< *kiñchi = kiñci + hi). The loss of nasalisation is very ancient. In Western Hindī, the form is

« kachu, kuch » (= « *kaṁ » used as neuter, +- « -cid, +hu=khu, khalu » ?), also « kichū ».

590. The relative যে « jē », যা « jā » is combined with কেহ কেউ, « kēhå, kēu » and কিছু « kichu » respectively to mean *whosoever, whatsoever*. This combination would seem to be recent in Bengali. The earlier way would be by periphrasis: *e.g.*, যে হোউক সে হোউক « jē hōukå sē hōukå » = NB. যে কেউ হোক্ « jē-kēu hōkå » *whoever it may be*; or by adding the emphatic particle: *e.g.*, যেউ « jē-u », যেহো « jē-hō », as in the ŚKK.

[I] THE REFLEXIVE AND HONORIFIC PRONOUN.

591. OIA. « ātman » *self* changed to « atta- » in Early MIA. (Udīcya, Madhya-dēśa, Prācya). From « atta- » we would expect a neo-Māgadhī « *āta » : but this « atta », in Māgadhī as well as Ardha-māgadhī and Śaurasēnī, appears to have been overlaid by a cognate form « appa- » from South-Western MIA. (cf. « atpā » in Aśōkan Girnar: *ante*, p. 508). Pali shows only the basic Midland « atta- »; and « atta- » is continued in the Second MIA. in Māgadhī and the rest, but by the Second MIA. period, the South-Western form established itself in the North and the East. The Second MIA. forms were: singular nominative « appā », instrumental « appaṇā », genitives « appaṇō », pl. « appāṇa », besides other ones (cf. Pischel, § 401). The nasal of MIA. has been preserved in NIA. in most cases, owing no doubt, to the base being regarded as being, in a vague way, « appaṇa- ».

In the Caryās, we have the following instances of the reflexive use of « ātman > apā, ăpaṇa, āpaṇa »:

3: « āila garāhaka apaṇē bahiā »
The customer came, journeying all by himself;

6: « apaṇā māṅsē hariṇā bairī »
Because of its own flesh, the deer is a foe;

22: « apaṇē raci raci bhava-nirvāṇā,
michē lōa bandhāvaē apaṇā »
Creating again and again being and extinction by himself,
For naught man binds himself;

31 : « na jāṇami apā kahī gaï paiṭhā »
I know not where the self having gone has entered;

32 : « apanē apā bujha tu nia-maṇa »
By thyself understand thou in thy own mind ;

39 : « disaï para-apyaṇā (= appaṇā) »
Other and self are seen.

In the Caryās, as can be seen from the above instances, « apā (= āpā) » is the nominative, « apaṇē » instrumental, « apaṇā » genitive and accusative. The OB. nominative « apā (= āpā) » is an extended form of « *āpa » = 1MIA. « *ăppă », Second and Early MIA. « ăppā » = OIA. « ātmā ». The oblique forms are regular OB. derivations of the MIA. « appaṇa » stem. The OB. nominative « āpā, apā (= *āpă) » is now rather obsolete in NB., the « -n- » oblique having encroached upon the realm of the nominative: « āpə̸ », without « -n- », meaning *self*, is preserved in the nominative in Oṛiyā (āpē). Instances of the old form আপ « āpə̸ » *self*, however, are found in Bengali: *e.g.*, আপ ভালো তো জগত ভালো « āpə̸ bhālō tō jågåtə̸ bhålō » *if self is good, the world also is good* (cf. Hindī. « āp bhalā tō jag bhalā »); আপ চাইতে পরের উপর দরদ « āpə̸ cāitē pårērə̸ upårə̸ dåråd » *anxiety for another more than for oneself*; cf. also আপি আপি « āpi-āpi » *all by oneself*, in baby language (cf. Oṛiyā « āpē-āpē »). But in Eastern and Western Hindī, it has been extended to mean the honorific pronoun as well : *e.g.*, Awadhī, both nominative and oblique, singular « āpu » plural « āp » = *your honour*, beside nominative « āpu », genitive « āpan », oblique « apanē » = *self, of self*; Hindōstānī nominative and oblique singular « āp » *your honour, his honour*, plural « āp-lōg, āp-lōgȫ- », beside reflexive « āp », oblique « apnē », genitive « apnā, apnē, apnī ».

592. The extension of the sense from the Reflexive to the Honorific (Second) Personal Pronoun is a recent thing in NIA. It is absent in MIA. It is not found in OB. and eMB., nor in the older literatures in the other NIA. tongues. In Early Bengali documents (*e.g.*, in the letter of c. 1555 A.C. from the Kōc king of North Bengal to the Ahom king of Assam, *supra*, p. 828), তুমি, তোমার « tumi, tōmārə̸ » are used as respectful or honorific forms, not আপনি « āpåni » as in NB. or « āpuni » as in Assamese.

The Bihārī dialects employed, and even now employ, words like « āhā̃, ahā̃, ahaĩ; ais; raur; rauwā » (see *infra*), and Eastern Hindī also employed « raur », for the honorific of the 2nd person: these words correspond to the NB. মোশাই, মশায়, মহাশয় « mōśāi, mȧśāyɖ, mȧhâśȧyɖ » and the Urdū « janāb, ḥuẓūr ». The use of the reflexive for the honorific second person is not an Eastern NIA. innovation: nor is it characteristic of the North-Western, South-Western, and Southern NIA.: *e.g.*, Panjābī (Eastern and Western) uses « tus(s)ī », the ordinary plural, for the honorific, and « āp » is an imposition from Hindōstānī; so Sindhī has « tavhī » (? = *tusī < *tussa- < *tuṣma-, yuṣma-), and the reflexive « pāṇa » (= appaṇa < ātman-) is used as an honorific, as in the genitive « pā̃ha-jō », to mean *yours* as well as *yours and mine*; and in some of the dialects of Rājasthānī, and in Gujarātī, the reflexive base « āpā̃, āpan- » is used, not to mean *you*, but *you and we* (Gujarātī, however, has « āp » as an honorific second person = *your honour*, declined like a regular noun, but in the plural and in the second person: this use of « āp » is possibly the result of Brajbhākhā or Hindōstānī influence through the Rājasthānī dialects: to denote *self*, New Gujarātī has the base « pōta- » < « *pōpa » < OWR. « apōpa » < Apabhraṅśa « *appahu-appa- »: cf. Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 92); and Marāṭhī employs the base « āpaṇ » as an honorific for all the three persons, as well as to denote the inclusive personal pronoun (1st and 2nd persons), like Rājasthānī and Gujarātī. Sinhalese partly agrees with the South-Western speeches in using the form « api, apa » (appa-) for the plural of the 1st personal pronoun, only it does not include the 2nd person. (The reflexive in Sinhalese is « tamā », a *sts.* form from « ātman »: Geiger, 'Litteratur und Sprache der Sinhalesen,' pp. 67, 69). Honorific use of the reflexive seems to be absent in the Himalayan (Pahāṛī) speeches; and it is not found in Gipsy dialects outside India.

The Eastern, Northern, Western, South-Western, and Southern NIA. speeches thus do not seem to have developed in themselves the extension of the Reflexive for the Honorific of a special pronoun: in the last two groups, the reflexive was used as an inclusive 1st personal pronoun. On the other hand, we find that the Midland speech, Western Hindī, uses the reflexive

base for the honorific of both the 2nd and 3rd persons. It is exceedingly likely that the Eastern and other speeches borrowed this use of the reflexive from the Midland dialects, and the Magadhan speeches especially restricted it to the 2nd person only, as they possessed an honorific form for the third. Probably this borrowing is not older than two centuries from now.

593. The forms for the base আপন « āpån- » in Bengali are:

	OB.	Early MB. (ŚKK.)	NB. (Standard Coll.)
Nom.	apā (āpā), apaṇā, appaṇā	আপনে, আপুণী, আপুণি āpånē, āpuṇi, -ī	আপনি āpøni, আপুনি āpuni
Acc.	apaṇā	আপনে, আপনাক, আপনা, আপন āpånē, āpånā-kå, āpånā, āpånå	... ...
Ins.	apaṇē	(as Nominative)	আপনি āpøni
Gen.	apaṇā	আপন, আপনা, আপনার āpånå, āpånā, āpånā-rå	আপন, আপনার, আপন-কার āpånø, āpønā-rø, āpånø-kārø
Dative	...	(as Accusative)	... ...
Oblique base	...	আপনা āpånā-	আপনা āpønā-.

The nominative « āpåni » as an honorific has its final vowel through analogy of « tini, ini, uni, jini » etc.: otherwise we would expect « āpånē », and this form does occur dialectally The plural is made in NB. by adding « -rā, -digå, -dērø » etc. to the oblique, as in the other pronouns. There is a base form, *e.g.*, আপন পর « āpånø-pårø » *self and others.* The genitive আপনা « āpånā » (beside « āpånø ») has the definitive « -ā ».

594. There is the form আপস « āpåsø » used in the plural, = *among themselves, mutually*, which is found also in W. Hindī and other NIA. The form is obscure, but it can be from a MIA. genitive « *appassa » (< *ātma-sya = ātmanaḥ), as Beames suggested (Comp. Grammar, II, pp. 330-331). It is used in Bengali in the locative as well as the genitive, but in a locative expression only: *e.g.*, আপসে « āpåsē », আপসের মধ্যে « āpåsērø mådhyē » *among themselves* (*ourselves, yourselves*). Can it be affiliated to a MIA. locative plural « appasu = ātmasu », as a solitary survival of a loc. pl. form in NIA. ?

595. A blend of « āpa » and the Skt. « ātma- », pronounced [ātto], has given the MB. and NB. আপ্ত « āptå » *of self*, which has quite a currency in some compounds, *e.g.*, আপ্ত-জন « āptå-jånå » *relations*, আপ্ত-সুখী « āptå-sukhī » *seeing to one's own happiness*, আপ্ত-নারী « āptå-nārī » *one's own wife*, আপ্ত-গরজে < গরজিয়া « āptå-gōrjē < -gåråj-iyā » *selfish* (Perso-Arabic garz, cf. Pers. xᵛud-garzī), etc.

596. Among dialectal forms for this pronoun may be noted only the S.E. Vaŋga (Chittagong) আঁওনে, আঁওনা « ā̃ŏnē, ā̃ŏnā », or আঁনে, আঁনা « ā̃nē, ā̃nā », with rather long « ā̃ », which show the nasalisation of the NIA. « -p- » : « -p- > « -w- » > « w̃ ».

597. The *ts.* word নিজ « nijå, nijǝ » is used in NB. to denote *self*. It is found as a *tbh.* « nia » in the Caryās in some 3 places, but the *ts.* « nijå » is established in the ŚKK. (over a dozen times).

598. The Bihārī forms « rāur-, raur; rǎuwā; āis-, ais-; āhā-, ahā- » may be noted. These are used as honorific terms of address, and also as equivalents of *your honour*. « rāur » is found in Eastern Hindī, and is very common in Bhōjpuriyā: it is from a MIA. « lāüla », occurring, *e.g.*, in the 'Prabōdha-candrôdaya'; the source is an OIA. « rāja-kula- » or « rāja-kulya- » *royal* (cf. Hoernle, 'Gauḍian Grammar,' § 447): the Western equivalent of this word is « rāwal ». The word « rǎuwā » is only an extended form of « rāū », which is from « rāja- ». The form « āis-, ais- » occurs in dialectal Maithilī; the source may be a form like « ati-śa » *pre-eminent*, or « atîśa » *supreme lord* (cf. « Atiśa », or « Atîśa », the title of Dīpaŋkara Śrī-jñāna, the Buddhist scholar and saint of Bengal, c. 1000 A. C., whose original name was Candra-garbha: Śarat Chandra Dās, 'Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow,' Calcutta, 1893, pp. 50, 51, 60): this can be compared with the use of « mahāśaya » in Bengali. The source of « āhā, ahā » is obscure: « ahā- » is found in Early or literary Maithilī, as nominative or vocative, and « ahā-, ahaĭ » are the oblique bases, « -ā̃, -aĭ » of which are the genitive and instrumental plural forms. Connexion with the OIA. « bhavān », MIA. « bhavaṁ » presents some phonetic difficulties. The form « ahā, ahā-, ahaĭ- » is used in Maithilī not for superiors

in age or status, but among equals: and it is very likely that the OIA. « āyuṣmān » > MIA. « āyasmā » (as in Pali) is the source: this would give an Apabhraṅśa « *āamha, *āmha, āhā̃ ». There is no form corresponding to « āhā̃, āhai-, āhā̃- ; ahā̃, ahai-, ahā̃- » in Bengali, but it is possible that the personal affix « -ēhē̃, -ē » for the second person of the verb is connected with it (see *infra*, under Verb: 'Personal Affixes').

[J] Pronominal Derivatives, Adjective and Adverb.

[I] Adjectives of Quality or Manner in মত- « -måtǒ », মন « -månǒ ».

599. These are: তেমত, তেমন « tē-måtǒ, tē-månǒ » *in that way, like that*; এমত, এমন « ē-måtǒ, ē-månǒ » *in this way, like this*; ওমত, অমত, অমন « ō-måtǒ, å-måtǒ, å-månǒ » *like that, in that way*; যেমত, যেমন « jē-måtǒ, jē-månǒ » *like that, in the way that*; কেমত, কেমন « kē-måtǒ, kē-månǒ » *like what? in what way?*. The affix is added apparently to the nominative bases of the various pronouns: for the 3rd personal pronoun the oblique base has influenced the form, though we have সেমত « sē-måtǒ » which is rather rare. For the remote demonstrative the form ও- « ō- » has been broadened to « å ». The « -m- » in this affix is often pronounced as [w̃].

The source of « -måtǒ » in NB. and MB. is OB. « -manta » < OIA. « -mant-, -vant- »: cf. Vedic forms implying likeness or size, like « ētā-vant-, tā-vant- » *so great*, « yā-vant- » *as*, « ī-vant- » *so great*, « kī-vant » *how far*, and Vedic and Sanskrit quantitatives like « i-yat, ki-yat » *so much, how much*. The « -manta » affix in this employ seems to be peculiar to the eastern Magadhan speeches only. Oṛiyā, as being more archaic than Bengali-Assamese, preserves the full form in the adjectives « tē-måntå, ē-måntå, jē-måntå, kē-måntå ». The group « -nt- » changed to « -t- » in Bengali (see *supra*, p. 502). The Oṛiyā adverbs « ti-måti, ē-måti, ji-måti, ki-måti » also show the « -t- < -nt- ».

The « -månǒ » forms of Bengali and Assamese are irregular. It seems that quite early in the OB. period, when the full form « -manta » was current, through contamination with the pronominal adjectives of quality in « -hana » (see *infra*, p. 853), « -manta » came to have a variant « *-mana, *-maṇa ». It is already well-established in the ŚKK., so much

so that the proper « -mȧtȧ » affix is much restricted, কেমণে, কেমনে, কেমণ, কিমনে « kē-mȧṇē, kē-mȧnē, kē-mȧṇȧ, ki-mȧṇē », for instance, occurring some 20 times, and কেমতেঁ « kē-mȧtẽ » only twice. In NB., the « -t- » forms are archaic, even for the « sādhu-bhāṣā », and the colloquial knows only the « -n- » forms.

Bengali has also a form মতন « mȧtȧnȧ » *like, similar to* (see next para), which is a blend of « -mȧtȧ » and « -mȧnȧ ».

This affix « -mȧtȧ, -mȧnȧ, mȧtȧnȧ » quite early came to be regarded as a separate word in Bengali and Assamese, through confusion with the Skt. « mata, manas < √man » : *e.g.*, আমার মত(ন) « āmārȧ mȧtȧ(nȧ) » *like me*, তোমার মত(ন) « tōmārȧ mȧtȧ(nȧ) » *like you*, পুরানো মত(ন) « purānō mȧtȧ(nȧ) » *like old, oldish*. As a separate word, মত « mȧtȧ » is now frequently written মতো « mȧtō » (< « *-mantawa, manta + ka »), following the pronunciation. The independent use of « mȧtȧ, mȧnȧ » is fairly common in the ŚKK., where it generally occurs after and strengthens the pronominal adjective of quality in « -hȧnȧ, -hnȧ, -nȧ » : *e.g.*, কেন মণে, মনে, মতেঁ « kēnȧ + mȧṇē, mȧnē, mȧtẽ » *in what way*; এহি মতেঁ « ēhi mȧtẽ » *in this way*; যেহ্ন মনে « jēnhȧ mȧnē » *in such a way that*; NB. poetic হেন মতে « hēnȧ mȧtē » *in this way*.

Early Assamese had the « mȧtȧ, mȧnȧ » forms : *e.g.*, Śaŋkara-dēva, « hṛdi-sthitȧ huā tumi jēnȧ kȧrābāhā swāmi, Hṛṣīkēśȧ, kȧribȧ tēmȧnȧ » *remaining in my heart, just as you will make me do, Lord Hṛṣīkēśa, so shall I do* (Dēvēśwar Chalihā, 'Asamīyā Sāhityar Burañji,' Jorhat, Saka 1833, p. 123); « cāri dinȧ sēhi mȧtē thākiyā Iśwȧrȧ » *in that way, the Lord, staying for four days* (ibid., p. 133). Early Assamese also has forms like « jēntē, tēntē » etc. = « jēw̃ȧntē, tēw̃ȧntē < jēmȧntē, tēmȧntē ». In Modern Assamese, the full « -m- » or the altered « -w̃- » forms no longer occur, but contracted ones, « ēnē, jēnē » < « *ēmȧnē, jēmȧnē », pronominal adverbs, which seem to have merged into the « -hȧnȧ, -hēnȧ » forms (see *infra*).

With addition of the instrumental « -ē » we have corresponding adverbs : এমতে, এমনে « ēmȧtē, ēmȧnē » [æmote, æmone] *in this way*, কেমনে « kēmȧnē » [kæmone] *how?* etc.; but the adverbial use of the simple « mȧtȧ, mȧnȧ », without the « -ē » affix, is also found. There is in NB. also a locative use of the « -mȧn-ē » forms, in which the « -ē » is certainly the locative affix :

কম্‌নে « kåm∂nē » *where?*, যম্‌নে, যেমনে « jåm∂nē, jēm∂nē » *in the direction that*, এম্‌নে « ēm∂nē » *in this direction*, etc. (the forms « kå- » etc., rather than « kē- » etc., are probably due to the analogy of কই « kåi » etc., for which see *supra*. Contracted forms of these adverbs of direction are found in dialectal Bengali: *e.g.*, EB. কনে « kånē » (< kåõnē, kåw̃nē, kåm∂nē); এনে, এয়ানে « ēnē, ēãnē » (< ēmånē) etc. Oṛiyā also has similar forms—« ēṇē, tēṇē » etc.

[II] Adjectives and Adverbs of Quality in হন, হেন, হ্ন, ন « -hånå > -hēnå > -hnå > -nå ».

600. NB. has the following: হেন, যেন, কেন « hēnå, jēnå, kēnå », dialectally যেনে, কেনে « jēnē, kēnē » (with instrumental « -ē » affix). Besides there is a rare তেন « tēnå ». Of these, হেন « hēnå » alone is used as an adjective: *e.g.*, হেন কাজ « hēnå kāj∂ » *such work*; cf. also যেন তেন উপায়ে « jēnå tēnå upāyē » *in any way possible, by some means or other*. কেন, কেনে « kēnå, kēnē » simply means *why* < *in what way*, and যেন, যেনে jēnå, jēnē » is also a conjunction = *so that, in order that*.

In eMB. (ŚKK.), the corresponding forms were (এ)হেন, তেহেন or তেহ্ন, যেহেন or যেহ্ন, কেহেন or কেহ্ন « (ē-)hēnå; tē-hēnå, tēnhå; jē-hēnå, jēnhå; kē-hēnå, kēnhå », and these were adjectives as well as adverbs—the instrumental « -ē » affix being commonly used for the adverb: *e.g.*, কি নাম তাহার, কেহেন তার রূপ « ki nāmå tāhārå, kēhēnå tārå rūpå » *what is her name, what is her beauty like* (ŚKK., p. 11). In NB., the adjectives in « -måtå, -mån∂ » have practically ousted the « -hēnå, -hnå, -nå » forms from adjectival use.

The eMB. « -hēnå » forms correspond to the Maithilī « ē-han, tē-han, kē-han » (< « *-hana »: the Bengali change of « *-hå- » to « -hē- » is due to the influence of the preceding bases « ē-, jē-, kē-, tē- »).

The Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa source of the Maithili and Bengali forms would be « *aïhaṇa- (or ēïhaṇa-?), *taïhaṇa-, *jaïhaṇa-, *kaïhaṇa- »; which would represent Second MIA. (Māgadhī) « *ēaïśaṇa-, *taïśaṇa-, *jaïśaṇa-, *kaïśaṇa- » (see *supra*, pp. 95, 555). OIA. has pronominal adjectives in « -dṛśa »—« tādṛśa-, ētādṛśa-, yādṛśa-, kīdṛśa- »

etc. This « -dṛśa- » affix became « -disa-, -diśa- », and then « -isa-, -iśa- » through loss of interior « -d- » in MIA. With a pleonastic adjectival affix « -na » (cf. Whitney, 'Sanskrit Grammar,' §§ 1223 g, 1245 f), this affix was extended, either in dialectal OIA. or in MIA., to give « yaïśaṇa (jaïsaṇa), taïśaṇa (taïsaṇa) » etc., beside « jaïsa-, taïsa- » etc. The OIA. vocalism of the pronominal bases has been regularised in MIA., through what process we do not know. The change of the sibilant to « -h- » in Maithilī and Bengali is peculiar and unexplained. Early Oṛiyā shows forms like « jē-sånå », and Old Bengali like « aïsana ». The « -s- » forms occur in Magahī and Bhōjpuriyā, and in E. Hindī and W. Hindī, and in most forms of NIA. besides. The presence in OB. of the sibilant in these adjectives (as in « aïsana, kaïsē, jaïsō, taïsō, aïsa, kaïsē » in the Caryās) is certainly due to Western Apabhraṅśa influence (see *supra*, p. 115). Similarly in Early Maithilī we have the Western « -s- » forms side by side with the native « -h- » ones. Through the Brajabuli dialect the « -s- » forms were once more introduced into Bengal through W. Hindī influence, and from the 16th century onwards, the « -s- » was written ছ « ch »: *e.g.*, যৈছন « yåïchånå = jåisåna », অইছন ঐছন « åichånå = åisånå », কৈছে « kåichē » = Hind. « kåisē », কৈছন « kåïchånå = kåisånå ». The forms without « -n- », corresponding to the Western Hindī « aisā, aisī ; aĭsē » etc., do not seem to occur in East Magadhan.

In the ŚKK. occurs the correlatives জৈসাণে, তেসাণে « jåisāṇē, tēsāṇē », as in জৈসাণে রতি জাণবোঁ, তেসাণে কাহ্ন আণিবোঁ « jåisāṇē råti jāṇåbō̃, tēsāṇē Kānhå āṇibō̃ » *when I shall understand love's sport, then I shall bring Kṛṣṇa* (p. 21). These correspond with Early Asamese « jåisāni » (ŚKK., Comm., p. 447) : and they are Śaurasēnī « -s- » forms borrowed in OB. which persisted with the earlier literary tradition in MB. and Early Assamese: probably some sort of confusion with a word like সময় « samaya = saw̃aya » also existed here.

[III] Nouns and Adjectives of Quantity in ত « -tå » or তো « -tō ».

601. They are তত (তেত), এত, অত, যত (যেত), কত < *কেত « tåtå, (tētå [tæto]) ; ẹtå ; åtå ; jåtå (jētå = [ɟʒæto]) ; kåtå < *kētå », also ততেক,

এতেক, [অতেক], যতেক, কতেক « tàtēkǿ, ētēkǿ, àtēkǿ, jàtēkǿ, kàtēkǿ », with pleonastic « -ēkǿ » affix, as in Maithilī. These agree with Oṛiyā « tētē, ētē, sētē, jētē, kētē », and Assamese « tētē(k), ētē(k), kētē(k) » etc. Early Assamese also had forms in « -tà, -tō » like Bengali. Corresponding forms occurs in other NIA. speeches : *e.g.*, Hindōstānī « titnā, tittā ; itnā, ittā ; utnā, uttā ; jitnā, jittā ; kitnā, kittā ».

As sources of these in MIA., we have in Western Apabhraṅśa « tĕttiu, ĕttiu, jĕttiu, kĕttiu », Second MIA. « tĕttia, ĕttia, jĕttia, kĕttia », and First MIA. (Pali) « tattaka, ĕttaka, kittaka ». These MIA. forms are derived from, or are connected with, Vedic quantitatives in « -yant- », like « i-yant- » *so much*, « ki-yant- » *how much*. It seems that formations made up of the pronominal base + the affix « -yant- (-yat-) » + an adjectival « -tya, -tiya » (cf. Pischel, 'Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 153) gave in Early MIA. forms[1] like « i-yatta-, *a-yatta- (*i-yat-tiya, *a-yat-tiya-) ; *ki-yat-ta- (* ki-yat-tiya-) ; *ya-yatta- (* ya-yat-tiya-) » etc., which were regularly altered into the Pali (with a pleonastic « -ka » as in « ĕtta-ka, kitta-ka »), Prakrit and Apabhraṅśa forms. The source-forms of Bengali would seem not to have had the « -ia » ending as in Western Apabhraṅśa (« ĕttia, kĕttia » etc. should give « *ētī, *kētī » in NIA.), but rather « -a-ka » ending, as in Pali (ĕttaka > ĕttaa > OB., MB., ētawa, ētà > NB. ētà, ētō [a'to]). In Caryā 35 we have « ēta-kāla » (see *supra*, p. 808).

The above forms are also used as nouns in Bengali, as in other NIA., and as such for the genitive they take not the simple র « -rà- » affix, but the affix কার « -kārǿ », or the archaic form কের « -kērǿ ».

In Bengali, the form কতক, কতোক « kàtàkǿ, kàtōkǿ » has an indefinite sense (= kàtà + ō, hō + -kà pleonastic : cf. kēu, p. 845). MB. has the emphatic কথো « kàthō » (= kàtà + hō, hu), which corresponds in formation to the Maithilī « kathū ».

[1] OIA. '-(t)tya' would be expected to become 'cc' in MIA. ; but a *sts.* 'tt' treatment is not unknown, cf. 'āditya-vāra > MIA. āïtta-vāra > NIA. (Hindī) āit-wār, it-wār' *Sunday*. In the present case, the form with intrusive '-i-' (*e.g.*, '*ya-yat-tiya > yettia, jettia') certainly helped to prevent palatalisation of a corresponding '*ya-yat-tya-.'

[IV] Adverbs of Time in বে « -bē ».

602. These are তবে, এবে, যবে, কবে « tåbē, ēbē, jåbē, kåbē » ; « ēbē » is archaic and poetic for NB., and it is also found as ইবে « ibē », অবে « åbē », dialectally in NB. and occasionally in MB. In OB., they were respectively « tabẽ, ēbẽ, jabẽ, *kabẽ, *abẽ (?) »—the first three actually occurring in Caryās 46, 35 and 21 respectively. Equivalents in Oṛiyā are « tēbē, ēbē, jēbē, kēbē », while « åbē » is not found. The difference in the vowel of the pronominal base between Oṛiyā (tē-, jē-, kē-) and Bengali (tå-, jå-, kå-) is to be noted. Modern Assamese does not possess these forms, but Early Assamese did, and the Early Assamese forms agree with the Oṛiyā ones. In Early and Modern Maithilī « taba, tabē, tabĕ; aba, abē, abĕ, ābē; jaba, jabē, jabĕ; kaba, kabē, kabĕ » are found. In Western Hindī, the same forms are found as « tab, ab, jab, kab » (Hindōstānī), and as « tabai̯; abai̯, abē ; jabai̯; kabai̯ » (Brajbhākhā).

The forms in « -ē, -ai̯ » are palpably locatives, with the locative affix « -ē, -ai̯ < -ahi, ahī ». The source of the forms in Western Hindī and in the Magadhan speeches would be Śaurasēnī and Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa forms like « *tabba- (*tĕbba-), *ĕbba-, *jabba- (*jĕbba-), *kabba- (*kĕbba) », locative « *tabbahi, (*tĕbbahi), *ĕbbahi », etc.

In Vedic the indeclinable « ēvá, ēvā́ » originally meant *thus*; in later Indo-Aryan it became merely an emphasising particle. In the sense of *thus*, however, in later Vedic, the form « ēvám » came in, and this « ēvám » in all likelihood is but an extension of « ēvá, ēvā́ ». In Second MIA., « ēvám » became « ĕvvaṁ », in the sense of *thus*. In MIA., « ĕvvaṁ » seems to have occurred also as « ĕbbaṃ, *ĕbbā̃ » which further seems to have developed a temporal sense from a modal one, and this temporal meaning was strengthened by putting it in the locative (*ĕbbahī, *ĕbbahi). Corresponding to « ēvá, ēvám > *ĕbbaṁ » which in the Apabhraṅśa stage easily affiliated itself to the pronominal base « ē- < ēta- », it is exceedingly likely that other analogous pronominal adverbs were evolved, like « *tēvá(ṁ), *yēvá(ṁ), *kēvá(ṁ) », in Early MIA., which would become « *tĕvvaṁ > *tĕbbaṁ » etc.; or « *tavvaṁ > *tabbaṁ »

etc. through substitution of the pronominal bases in « -a- », namely « ta-, ya-, ka- ». Thus all these are on the basis of « ēvá, evám > ĕvvaṁ ». The form « ab-ē, ab » would seem to be merely a weakening of « ēbai, ēbē ».

Western Apabhraṅśa as in Hēma-candra actually has forms which would presuppose the new formations « *tēva, *yēva, *kēva » on the model of « ēva » : and these forms show MIA. nasalisation of « -v- » : « eṁva = ēw̃a ; teṁva = tēw̃a, tiw̃a » ; jeṁva = jĕw̃a, jiw̃a ; keṁva = kēw̃a, kiw̃a » (cf. Pischel, 'Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 261). NIA. representatives of these adverbs of manner are now found (see *infra*, p. 860). Locative forms of these occurred as adverbs of time in Western Apabhraṅśa: Hēma-candra actually cites « ēw̃ahī = idānīṁ » (Pischel, § 261). This « ēw̃ahī » of course cannot give the Bengali « ēbẽ > ēbē », or the Maithilī « abē », and Western Hindī « abai » ; but a parallel MIA. formation « *ĕvva- > ĕbba-, ĕbbahī » alone can.

[V] Adverbs of Time in খন « khànà ».

603. These are তখন, এখন, যখন, কখন « tà-khànà, ē-khànà, jà-khànà, kà-khànà » = *then, now, when, when ?*, besides an অখন < ওখন « à-khànà < ō-khànà » *then, at that time* which is used as a sort of indefinite addition after future verbs (*e.g.*, দেবোঅখন দেবো-খন, দেবে-খুন « dēbō-àkhànà, dēbō-khànà, dēbō-khunà » *I shall give at some future time*, দেবে-অখন, দেবে-খন, দেবে-খুন « dēbē-àkhànà, dēbē-khànà, dēbē-khunà » *he will give:* this influenced the past formations in the Standard Colloquial like দিলুম-খুন « dilumà-khunà » = *I gave then, and I gave*: see *infra*, Verb, 'Pleonastic Affixes'). The « khànà » is from the OIA. « kṣaṇa », which occurs in Bengali as a *sts.* ক্ষণ « [khæ:n, (k)khɔn] : « tat-kṣaṇam > takkhaṇa, tàkhànà » etc., with irregular absence of lengthening. This form of temporal adverb occurs in all the Magadhan languages. Cf. 'Prākṛta Pāiṅgala' (Bib. Ind. ed.), p. 304, « jakkhaṇa vīra Hamīra calē » *when Hamīr the warrior marches*; p. 318, « Kāsī-rāa jakkhaṇa calē » *when the king of Kāsī marches.*

[VI] Adverbs of Place in থা « -thā ».

604. We have তথা (সেথা), হেথা, হোথা, যেথা (যথা), কোথা « tåthā (sēthā) ; hēthā; hōthā; jēthā (jåthā) ; kōthā », which have also locative forms তথায় (সেথায়), হেথায়, হোথায়, যেথায় (যথায়), কোথায় « tåthāy (sēthāy), hēthāy, hōthāy, jēthāy (jåthāy), kōthāy ». The Bengali সেথা « sēthā » is a new formation with a generalised « -thā » base added to the nominative form « sē », and « hētha, hōthā » are for « ēthā, ōthā » with prothetic « h- » (see *ante*, p. 556). OB. gives « ēthu », a form influenced by W. Apabhraṅśa, in Caryā 15.

These « -thā » forms are based on MIA. « tattha, ĕttha (*ŏttha), yattha > jattha, kuttha (*kŏttha) » which already occur in Pali, and thus date from the First MIA. period. The corresponding OIA. forms are « ta-tra, *i-tra = a-tra, *ava-tra, ya-tra, ku-tra ». The aspiration in the MIA. forms presents a difficulty. This may be due to the « -r- » (see *supra*, p. 438). Pischel refers « ĕttha » to the Vedic « itthā» (in Skt. « ittham ») = *thus* ('Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 107), and the rest apparently would follow analogically. But W. Geiger derives these from the « -tra » forms ('Pali Litteratur und Sprache,' §§ 9, 62), and cites cases from Pali where we have « -tth- < -tr- », like « sŏtthiya, sŏttiya = śrōtriya », and « ubhayattha = ubhaya-tra ». Can it be that we have the OIA. « $\sqrt{}$ sthā » here, in original forms like « *tat-stha, *yat-stha » etc. ?

Old locatives of these « -tha » forms like তথি « tåthi », যথি « jåthi » are used as oblique bases for their corresponding pronouns : see *supra*.

The MIA. forms were strengthened with the definitive « -ā » in OB. The « -thā » forms do not occur in Assamese and in Oṛiyā : the latter has « sēṭhi, ēṭhi, jēṭhi, kēṭhi »; and corresponding « -ṭh- » forms occur also in the Bihārī dialects (see *infra*, § 607).

Assamese has as adverbs of place « tåt (tåtē), jåt (jåtē), kåt (kåtē) », which correspond to the Maithilī « tatay (tatē), jatay (jatē), katay (katē) », besides « ĕtay (ĕtē) » and « ŏtay (ŏtē) » ; and W. Hindī (Brajbhākhā) has « tita, kita (kata), jita » and « ita, itai̯, ītai̯ » and

« uta ». The Maithilī forms occur in Brajabuli also. They are connected with the Western Ap. locatives like « tĕttahĕ, ĕttahĕ (tĕttahī, ĕttahī) » etc., noted by Hēma-candra : « tĕtta, ĕtta » etc. are apparently the OIA. « tatra, *itra = atra » etc., altered in MIA. in some Western dialect, without the aspiration which we find preserved in Pali « tattha » etc. and Bengali হেথা « hēthā » etc.

[VII] Adverbs of Place in খানে « khānē », etc.

605. Like সেখানে, এখানে « sē-khānē, ē-khānē » etc. These are late formations, being compoundings of « sē, ē, ō, jē, kōnǝ » and the noun খান « khānǝ » *place* (< « khaṇḍa », see *supra*, pp. 365, 779 : there seems to have occurred some contamination with the Skt. « sthāna » as well as Pers. « xānah », both meaning *place*).

606. There are similar compounds with ধার, ধারে « -dhārǝ, -dhārē » = *side, edge, bank, limit, line* (*e.g.*, এধারে « ē-dhārē », ওধারে « ō-dhārē »), agreeing with the Hindōstānī « i-dhar, u-dhar » etc., and with Bhōjpuriyā « ihar, uhar » with weaking of « -dh- » to « -h- ». (Hoernle derives these latter differently : cf. p. 315 of 'Gauḍian Grammar'). The Maithilī « em-har, jem-har » etc. are connected.

607. Dialectal Bengali (W. Raḍha) shows ইন্ধে, উন্ধে « indhē, undhē » *here, there*, etc. which agree with the Bihārī (Maithilī) « indē » undē » or « inda, unda » etc. They seem to be connected with the Hindōstānī « yahā̃, wahā̃ » etc., which are old MIA. ablatives, from Western Apabhraṅśa « *ēahā̃, *ōhā̃ » < Second MIA. « *ēamhā, *ōamhā » < OIA. « ētasmāt, *avasmāt » etc. From Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa forms similar to those of Western Apabhraṅśa, the new Magadhan dialects could easily have « ihā̃, uhā̃, inha, unha » and then « indha, undha », locative « indhē, undhē » etc.

608. Dialectal Bengali preserves also some locative forms in « ṭhi, -ṭi », *e.g.*, সেঠি, এঠি, জেঠি « sēṭhi, ēṭhi, jēṭhi » as in South-West Bengali ; ইটি, সেটি « iṭi, sēṭi » in North Bengali. This « ṭhi » seems to come from an OIA. « sthāman » place (see *supra*, under ঠাই « ṭhā̃i », p. 762).

Oṛiyā also has it, both as « ṭhi » and as an extended « ṭhā-ra- » with the genitive affix.

609. The New Bengali correlatives যাই—তাই « jāi, tāi » *when—then, as soon as—immediately* are from the OIA. « yadā-hi, tadā-hi ».

610. OB. as in the Caryās shows some adverbs of manner in « -ma », unquestionably pronounced « -w̃a » : *e.g.*, jima » (Caryās 13, 19, 29, 30, 31, 41, 43) and « tima » (Caryās 9, 43), and also probably « kima » (Caryā 39). These are Western Apabhraṅśa forms borrowed in OB. Cognate forms in other NIA. speeches are—Eastern Hindī « jimi, timi » etc. ;Western Hindī « jyaũ̯, tyaũ̯ ; jyõ, tyõ ; jyũ, tyũ ; jũ, tũ » etc. ; Gujarātī « jēm, tem » etc. These are derived from Western Apabhraṅśa « jeṁva, teṁva, keṁva = jēw̃a, tēw̃a, kēw̃a » etc., which are nasalised modifications of OIA. « *yēva, *tēva, *kēva », formed on the analogy of « ēva » (see *supra*, p. 857. Cf. Pischel, 'Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 261 ; Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.', § 98 [3]).

CHAPTER V

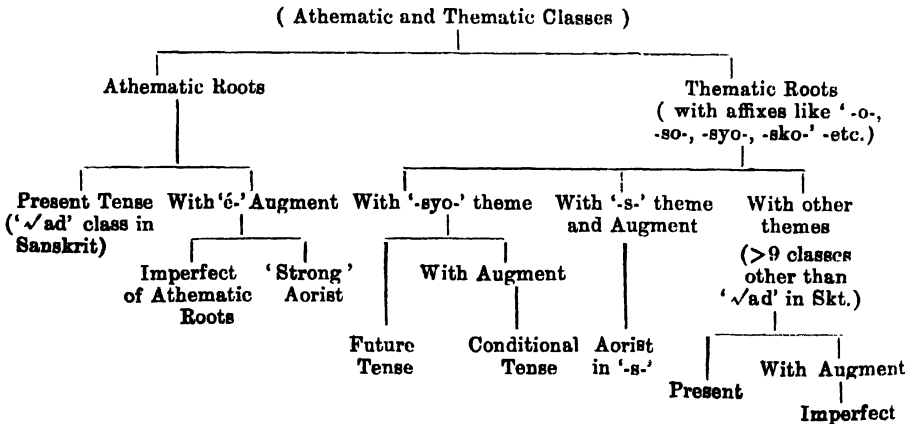
THE VERB

[A] CONJUGATION OF THE VERB IN INDO-EUROPEAN, IN OIA., AND IN NIA.

611. The ebaborate conjugation of the verb such as we find in Vedic and in Greek did not obtain in Primitive Indo-European. The conjugational system was exceedingly simple in the oldest period. There was no distinction of tenses as such, and the subjunctive and optative moods were just evolving out of the indicative. The verb root (in simple, extended, or reduplicated form), in the active voice, took up certain personal affixes, either added direct to the root, or with certain *themes*, or syllables like « -*o-, *-nu-, -*so-, -*to-, -*sko-, -*dho- » etc. which were added as links joining the root and the personal termination ; and sometimes there was a nasal infix, « -*ne-, -n- » which came in and modified the form of the root. The force of the affixed themes was to indicate the *aspect* or nature of the action, whether it was progressive or transitory, iterative or intensive, or indefinite. To express a state attained, as the result of a completed or perfected action, the verb root underwent a special modification in itself and further took up certain other personal terminations, slightly different and curtailed forms of the ones mentioned above. The conjugation of the verb in Primitive Indo-European thus fell into two parts, taking in view the kind of action (whether it was completed or not) and the kind of pronominal affixes it adopted accordingly. The paradigm of a root thus falls into two divisions—or *systems*—which have been named (i) the *Present-Aorist*, and (ii) the *Perfect*. These systems did not indicate time relation, but only the action in the present time, incomplete or perfected. If past time were to be emphasised, an adverbial particle « é », called the *augment*, which was always stressed, was placed before the verb form. In course of time this particle became loosely attached to the verb, and the combined

« *é » (> Indo-Aryan = « á ») and verb form resulted in the imperfect and aorist (as well as the 'plu-perfect') tenses of Vedic and Sanskrit.

The themes or affixes which were added in between the root and the personal terminations (*e.g.*, Skt. « kar-ō-ti, krī-ṇā-ti, div-ya-ti, sah-a-tē, ga-ccha-ti < IE. *gʷ m̥-sko-ti », etc.) had in Prim. IE. each its special meaning or force, but in the later phase of IE., the earlier *nuances* were to a great extent lost, and in several cases they took up distinct and well-defined values not known before. Thus the « -s- » theme came to denote the past tense in Italic, Celtic and Slav, and developed into the aorist tense of Greek and Sanskrit; the « -so- » and « -syo- » themes developed into the future tense respectively in Greek and in Sanskrit and Baltic. The *Perfect System* gradually evolved into the perfect tense in most IE. languages: thus IE. « *√dr̥k » *to see*, with a strong grade (*dórk), reduplicated (*de-dórk) and with the personal affix « -a », gave a form « *de-dórk-a », which was a present form, = *I am after completing the act of seeing*, form which easily developed the perfect or past sense of *I saw*, and the form became the perfect tense, as in Sanskrit (dadárśa) and in Greek (dédorka). The tense and mood forms of OIA. were developed in this way out of the simple *aspects* of IE. The tables below give the relation borne by OIA. tenses to the Prim. IE. forms :

(i) Indo-European Present-Aorist System.

Originally in IE. there were two moods, the indicative and the imperative. From the indicative developed the conjunctive and the optative. The thematic vowels « *-ĕ-, *-ē-, *-ŏ-, *-ō- » which at first denoted some particular aspect of the action in the indicative, came to acquire the sense of a special mode, that of the conjunctive or subjunctive : and in some of the IE. languages they became well-established as modal affixes, deviating from their original aspect-indicating function. Similarly the affixes « *-yē-, *-yə-, *-ī-, *-oi- » came to be associated with the optative mood : originally (like the « *-ĕ-, *-ē-, *-ŏ-, *-ō- » above, and the « -s- » of what later became the aorist, as well as « *-sye-, *-syo- » of what was later changed to the future), « *-yē-, *-yə- » etc. indicated some aspect of the action, as much as « -nu-, -nā- » and the other *themes* which have not become specialised for a mood or tense and of which the proper force is no longer understood. And themes of the groups « *-yé-, *-yó- » and « *-éye-, *-éyo- » became respectively the affixes of the denominative and causative forms. The germs of these later modal and other developments in all cases existed in these aspect-indicating themes of Primitive IE.

612. Below is given a conspectus of all the conjugational forms of Vedic, from its own stand-point, and not in historical relationship to Prim. IE. :—the development and systematisation of the former from the latter has been of an intricate character.

This will indicate the extent of the losses sustained by Bengali, which is typical for all NIA.

A Conspectus of OIA. (Vedic) Verb-Forms.

Root: « car », or « cal » *to move, to walk*. (Finite forms given are of the 3rd person singular, unless otherwise stated).

I. The Present System.

A. Indicative Mood:

(i) With Primary Personal Affixes = Present Tense:

(a) Active Voice. cár-a-ti (cár-a-si, cár-ā-mi, etc).

(b) Middle Voice: (1) Reflexive: cár-a-tē; (2) Passive: car-yá-tē.

(ii) With Secondary Personal Affixes, preceded by the Augment = Imperfect Tense:

(a) Active: á-car-a-t.

(b) Middle: (1) Reflexive: á-car-a-ta; (2) Passive: cf. á-hū-ya-ta.

(iii) With Secondary Personal Affixes, without Augment = Injunctive:

(a) Active: cár-a-t.

(b) Middle: (1) Reflexive: cár-a-ta; (2) Passive: cf. sū-yá-ta.

B. Subjunctive Mood:

With Primary Personal Affixes = Present Subjunctive:

(a) Active: cár-ā-ti, cár-ā-t.

(b) Middle: (1) Reflexive: cár-ā-tāi̯, cár-ā-tē; (2) Passive: cf. bhri-y-á-tē, uh-y-á-tē.

C. Optative Mood:

With Secondary Personal Affixes = Present Optative:

(a) Active: cár-ē-t.

(b) Middle or Reflexive: cár-ī-ta.

D. Imperative Mood:

(a) Active: 2 sg. cár-a, 2 pl. cár-a-ta.

(b) Middle: (1) Reflexive: 2 sg., cár-a-sva; (2) Passive: cf. 2 sg., hū-yá-sva.

E. Participles of the Present System:

(a) Active: cár-ant-.

(b) Middle: (1) Reflexive: cár-a-māṇa; (2) Passive: car-yá-māṇa.

II. The Aorist System, in Simple or Non-Sigmatic, Sigmatic (with « -s-, -sa-, -iṣ-, -siṣ- »), and Reduplicating forms of Roots.

A. Indicative Mood:

(i) With Secondary Personal Affixes *plus* Augment = Aorist (past).

(a) Active: á-cār-ṣ-ī-t, á-cār-ī-t, á-cī-car-a-t; cf. á-ruk-ṣa-t, á-vid-a-t.

(b) Middle: á-cār-ṣīṣ-a-ta, á-cār-a-ta, á-cī-car-a-ta; cf. á-vid-a-ta, á-bud-dha, á-stō-ṣ-ṭa, á-sthi-ta;

Passive: 3 sg. only: á-cār-i.

(ii) With Secondary Personal Endings, without Augment = Injunctive Aorist.

(a) Active: cár-ī-t; cf. dvik-ṣá-t, kār-ṣ-ī-t, bhū-t, dī-dhar-a-t, etc.

(b) Middle: cár-ṣīṣ-a-ta, cár-a-ta, cī-car-a-ta: cf. 1 sg. sthē-ṣ-am; páv-iṣ-ṭa; 3 pl. hā-siṣ-ur; vid-á-ta; vṛ-ta, 3 pl. sī-ṣap-a-nta etc.

B. Subjunctive Mood:

Subjunctive Endings added to Aorist Base, without Augment = Subjunctive Aorist.

(a) Active: cf. stṓ-ṣ-a-ti, stṓ-ṣ-a-t; kár-iṣ-a-t; yá-siṣ-a-t; vid-á-ti, vid-á-t; kár-a-ti; sī-ṣadh-ā-ti.

(b) Middle: cf. stṓ-ṣ-a-tē; 3 pl. sán-iṣ-a-ntē; vid-á-tē; kár-a-tē.

C. Optative Mood:

(i) Optative Endings added to Aorist Base = Optative Aorist.

(a) Active: cf. vid-ḗ-t; bhū-yá-t; vōc-ḗ-t.

(b) Middle: cf. bhak-ṣ-ī-ta, maṁ-sīṣ-ṭa; jan-i-ṣīṣ-ṭá; ar-ī-tá.

(ii) Aorist « -s- » added after Optative Base « -yā-, -ī- » = Benedictive or Precative:

(a) Active: car-yá-s: cf. gam-yá-s, bhū-yá-s.

(b) Middle: car-ī-ṣ-ṭa: cf. pad-ī-ṣ-ṭa.

D. Imperative Mood:

(a) Active: cf. 2 dual, mṛk-ṣá-tam; 2 sg. nē-ṣ-a, av-iḍ-ḍhi, sad-á, kṛ-dhí, bōdh-í.

(b) Middle: 2 sg. dhuk-ṣá-sva; 2 sg. sák-ṣva; 2 dual, yā-siṣ-ṭám; 2 pl. sad-a-dhvam; 2 sg. kṛ-ṣvá, yuk-ṣvá.

E. Participles of the Aorist System:

(a) -Active: cár-ṣ-ant-; cf. sák-ṣ-ant-, śuc-ánt-, gm-ánt-, kr-ánt-, sthá-nt-, etc.

(b) Middle: cf. śuc-á-māna, kr-āṇá, budh-āná, yam-a-s-āná, mand-a-s-āná, etc.

III. The Future System.

A. Indicative Mood.

(i) With Future «-syá-» Base and Primary Personal Endings = Future Tense.

(a) Active: car-i-ṣyá-ti.

(b) Middle: car-i-ṣyá-tē.

(ii) Augment Preterit of the Future, with Secondary Personal Endings = Conditional.

(a) Active: á-car-i-ṣya-t; cf. á-bhar-i-ṣya-t.

(b) Middle: á-car-i-ṣya-ta.

E. Participles of the Future System:

(a) Active: car-i-ṣyá-nt-

(b) Middle: car-i-ṣyá-māna: cf. stav-i-ṣyá-māna.

IV. The Perfect System.

A. Indicative Mood:

(i) Primitive Indo-European Present of the Perfect System = Perfect in Sanskrit.

(a) Active: ca-cár-a.

(b) Middle: cēr-é, cf. tēp-é, da-dh-é,

(ii) Augmented Perfect = Imperfect of the Perfect System = Vedic Pluperfect:

(a) Active: cf. á-ca-cakṣ-a-t.

(b) Middle: cf. 3 pl. á-ca-kri-ran.

(iii) Injunctive Perfect, without Augment:

(a) Active: cf. ta-stambh-a-t.

(b) Middle: cf. di-diṣ-ṭa.

B. Subjunctive Mood:

Subjunctive Inflexions added to Perfect Base = Subjunc. Perfect.

(a) Active: cf. mú-mōc-a-ti, mu-muc-a-t.

(b) Middle: cf. ta-táp-a-tē, jú-jōṣ-a-tē.

C. Optative Mood:

(a) Active: cf. ja-gam-yá-t.

(b) Middle: cf. va-vṛt-ī-tá.

D. Imperative Mood:

(a) Active: cf. ci-kid-dhí.

(b) Middle: cf. va-vṛt-svá.

E. Participles of the Perfect System:

(a) Active: cf. ca-kṛ-váṁs, ja-gm-i-váṁs.

(b) Middle: cf. tēp-āná, ja-gm-āná.

V. Participles.

A. Active and Middle, as under the various Tense Systems above.

B. Past or Passive Participle: car-i-tá; cf. lī-ná, kṛ-tá.

C. Perfect Participle: car-itá-vant (a late formation).

D. Future Passive Participles and Adjectives: cár-ya, car-áyya, car-ēṇya, *cár-tva, car-tavyà, car-i-tavyà, car-aṇ-íya.

E. Indeclinable Participle or Conjunctive: car-i-tvá, car-i-tví; -cár-ya; cf. kṛ-tvā, kṛ'-tya.

VI. Verbal Nouns and Infinitives:

cáras, car-ásē; cár-i-tu-m, car-i-tav-ăí, cár-i-tav-ē, cár-i-tō-s; car-í, car-áy-ē; car-i-ty-ăi; car-ádhy-ăi; c̆ár-am; -cár-a-m; car-áṇ-i; car-í-tra; car-á-tha; cf. ălso bhár-maṇ-ĕ, dā-ván-ē, dhúr-van-ē, sā-táy-ē.

VII. Periphrastic Forms.

A. Perfect Active : car-ay-ām + ása, -babhū́va, -cakā́ra.
B. Future : caritā́, 1 sg. caritā́smi.

VIII. Secondary Conjugations.

A. Passive : car-yá-tē (Present), á-cār-i (Aorist 3 sg.).
B. Causative : inflected forms like cār-áya-ti, cār-áya-tē, á-cār-aya-t, cār-ay-iṣyá-ti, cār-áy-ē-t, cār-áya-tu, á-cār-ay-i-ṣy-a-t, cār-yá-tē; etc.; Active Present Participle cār-áy-ant-, Passive cār-yá-māṇa, etc.
C. Denominative : cār-āyá-tē, că̄r-āyá-tē, etc.
D. Desiderative : cí-car-iṣ-a-ti, cí-car-ṣ-a-ti; á-ci-car-ṣ-īt; ci-car-i-ṣyá-ti; Causative-Desiderative—ci-car-iṣ-áya-ti; etc.
E. Intensive : Indicative cár-car-ī-ti; also Optative, Imperative, Imperfect Indicative, etc. Present Active Participle, cár-i-car-ant-; Passive Participle—cár-car-āṇa (cf. kán-i-krad-ant-, jár-bhur-āṇa), car-cūr-yá-māṇa.

613. Compared with the above elaborate system, that of the NIA. speeches shows a very great simplification. And Bengali (with Assamese) is perhaps more simplified than any of its sisters and cousins—the distinction in number for verb forms, which obtains in almost all NIA. speeches, the inflected passive, the « karmaṇi » and « bhāvē prayōgas » of W. Hindī, Panjābī, Rājasthānī etc., the negative conjugation of Khaskurā, etc., are all absent. The curtailment of the OIA. system has been carried out along the lines indicated below, to give that of Bengali :

I. The Present System : the OIA. *themes* have been in a few instances retained in the root in NB.

A. Indicative Mood :

(i) The forms for the Present Tense alone have been retained :

OIA. calati > NB. cȧlē : OIA. calanti > NB. cȧlēn̐;
calasi > cȧli-s : calatha > cȧlȧ, cȧlō.
calāmi > cȧli : (calāmaḥ > cȧlȫ).

D. Imperative Mood :

3 pers. calatu > cålåu > cålu, cålu-kø ; calantu > cålunø;
2 pers. cala > cålø ; calata > cålå, cålō.

E. Participles :

(a) Active : calant- > calanta > cålåntå, cålit- (=the base of the Conditional or Habitual Past).

(b) Passive or Middle : calamāna > cålānå (with Causative influence).

II. The Aorist System : entirely lost.

III. The Future System :

A. The Indicative future in « -ṣyá- » was inherited in OB., but NB. retains only the forms for the 2 person as a Future Precative, or Imperative with Future implication : « caliṣyasi > cålis, caliṣyatha > cålihå > cåliō̃ > cōlō ».

IV. The Perfect System : entirely lost.

V. Participles :

The Past Passive Participle in « -tá, -itá », fortified in Late MIA. by the pleonastic « -illa » affix, gave the Past as well as Adjectival Base of Bengali, in « -ila », and also the Conditional Gerund in « -il-ē » ; without the « -ila », this OIA. « -(i)tá » participle in the source of the Bengali Verbal Voun in « -ā ».

The Future Passive Participle in « -(i)tavya » was altered into the Bengali Future Base in « -ibå », and of the Verbal Noun in « -ibā ».

The Conjunctive Participle affix « -ya » of OIA. lives in the Bengali Conjunctive affix « -i-y̭ā ».

VI. Verbal Nouns :

Some have been preserved : « cålø, cālø, cål-ånø » etc.

VII. Periphrastic Forms—not preserved.

VIII. Secondary Conjugations :

The Causative, in the MIA. form of « -āpa- », and the Denominative, are partially represented in the Bengali affix « -ā- ». The original ablaut grade of the Causative has occasionally been maintained.

The above are thus the comparatively few forms inherited by Bengali as a NIA. language. In MB. and OB. a few other relics of OIA. forms are found which are already tending to became obsolete. The losses have been to a great extent made good by newer formations (*e.g.*, by the development of compounded verbs, and the use of particles and help-words). The syntax too has altered, to help in fixing the language in its new and altered environment.

[B] Bengali Verb-Roots.

[I] Historical Classification.

614. The number of Sanskrit verb-roots, according to the grammarians, comes up to some 2,000 (1961, according to N. L. Westergaard's lists in O. Böhtlingk's 'Pāṇini,' Leipzig, 1887, pp. 62*-84*). Of these, only slightly over 800 have been found in literature (Vēdas, Brāhmaṇas, the Epics, and Early Sanskrit works), employed their conjugated forms. Of this number, again, some 200 belong to the Vēdas and the Brāhmaṇas alone, about 500 occur in both Vedic and Sanskrit, and less than 150 are found in the later literature alone (W. D. Whitney. 'The Roots, Verb-forms and Primary Derivatives of the Sanskrit Language,' German ed., Leipzig, 1886, p. 244). OIA. as in the Vēdas and the Brāhmaṇas has consequently registered less than 700 roots which were in living use as verbs, apart from those occurring only in nominal and other derivatives. This number, 700, can by no means be said to exhaust all the verb-roots in the speech of the OIA. period, but considering the extent of the Vedic and Brāhmaṇic literature, and fact that this literature touches upon almost all the aspects of the life of the times, the number of roots not represented cannot be very many.

Many of the 800 roots actually used in OIA. literature (Vedic and Early Sanskrit) are merely extensions of primitive roots, and in some cases, as we advance into the MIA. stage, are but Prakritic modifications of OIA. roots. The number of primitive roots inherited from IE. by OIA. will necessarily be rather small. Be it as it may, the absence of some 200 Vedic roots in Sanskrit shows that this inheritance was not retained

intact by the Aryan speech in India. Old roots changed their meaning, and went out of fashion; and the losses were made good by building up anew with the old materials, and in a few rare instances by possible borrowings from the non-Aryan speeches. The MIA. vernaculars employed a large number of derived forms as new roots. The spoken language reacted on the literary speech, Sanskrit, and numerous MIA. forms were adopted into Sanskrit in a slightly altered form, and were gradually accepted by the Sanskrit grammarians, and given an equal place with the primitives. There could be no rule to guide the caprice why some Prakrit roots were taken up and others rejected by Sanskrit: thus « bruḍ < buḍḍa, hiṇḍ, hikk, khēl, kaṭṭ, lag, piṭṭ » and a number of others have found a place in both the « dhātu-kōṣa » and the literature of Sanskrit, but other equally good Prakrit roots like « kaḍḍha < kṛṣṭa, lukka, cukka, phiṭṭa, cagh, bhar <smṛ, ghūl < ghūrṇa » were rejected. The grammarians of later ages (from the Second MIA. period) seen to have encouraged this practice to some extent. Sanskrit the language the Gods and the *Rishis* was the mother of all language, and this was apparent from the vernaculars of Northern India; consequently, vernacular words and roots must necessarily originate from those of Sanskrit: when the grammarians were agreed on this principle, at a time when the historic development of forms by phonetic and other changes was not fully understood, the Sanskrit « dhātu-kōṣa » began to grow in extent by the accession of new roots foisted on it by grammarians. Of the roots in the current « dhātu-kōṣas » a small number may even have been the creations of grammarians to explain words of doubtful etymology; but the bulk of them may legitimately be regarded as having been in actual use in IA., though not in its oldest period. Thus in addition to the aristocratic roots of direct IE. origin like « as, bhū, sthā, gam, yā, ad, mṛ, dṛś, dram, cal, pat, dhā, div, mṛj, snih, duh » etc., the « dhātu-kōṣas » give as good Sanskrit humbler roots of late and obscure origin, like « 'gu(ṇ)ḍi' vēṣṭanē, cūrṇīkaraṇē'pi; 'ḍipa' kṣēpē|; 'bha(n)ḍi' parihāsē; 'kha(ṇ)ḍi' manthē; 'capa' kalkanē; 'juḍa' prēraṇē; 'caha' pari-kalkanē; 'khiṭa' uttrāsanē; 'lōḍṛ' unmādanē; 'jimu' adanē; 'huḍṛ, hōḍṛ' gatău; 'ḍīṇa' vihāyasa-gāmanē; 'muṭa'

samcūrṇanē; 'dhakka' nāśanē; 'bukka' bhāṣaṇē; 'kaṇa' nimīlanē; 'kaḍḍa' kārkkaśyē; 'laḍa' vilāsē; 'aḍḍa' abhiyōgē; 'aḍa' udyamē; 'ṭuṭa' alpa-bhāvē », etc., etc., which have in almost all cases NIA. equivalents, and can in the majority of cases be explained easily as secondary formations from words derived from primitive Aryan roots; the origin of quite a number of them, however, remains obscure.

615. The number of verb-roots in Bengali is 1,056, according to the excellent grammar of Paṇḍit Nakuleśwar Vidyābhūṣaṇa (4th ed., Calcutta, Bengali year 1315). This includes original or primitive roots, causatives, and a number of denominatives used chiefly in literature, and excludes onomatopoetics. A Bengali « dhātu-kōṣa » of about 1,500 roots has been easily compiled by me on the basis of Jñānêndra-Mōhan Dās's dictionary (see *supra*, p. 218): this includes onomatopoetics, and a number of obsolete roots not used in NB., beside a large number of Sanskrit denominatives used in high literature. The number will be much larger if proper *tbh.* roots in early Bengali literature and in the present-day dialects are all brought together.

Roots in Bengali, as in other cognate IA. speeches, can be classified on the lines indicated below, taking into consideration their origin, and partly also their function:

(1) Primary Roots.

616. Primary Roots in Bengali, at a rough computation, number about 300. Strictly speaking, denominatives derived from MIA., which number about 100, may be classed under primary roots, since they have been inherited as roots by Bengali and behave exactly like primitive roots derived from OIA. (*e.g.*, a root like কাড় « kāṛ » *snatch away* < « kaḍḍha = kṛṣṭa ») : these might have been denominatives in MIA., but the nouns or adjectives which were their sources are in many cases obsolete in Bengali.

617. There are a little less than 200 roots in Bengali which can mostly be traced right up to primary roots of OIA. (Vedic and Sanskrit, and in some cases only to the early Prakrits). Examples are, of unprefixed roots : « আছ āch (MIA. acchati, IE. *es-sko-ti) ; ইছ ich (icchati) ; কষ kȧṣ *tighten* (kṛṣ) ; কর kȧr (kṛ) ; কাঁদ kā̃d *weep* (krand) ; কাঁপ kā̃p (kamp) ; কাট kāṭ (kṛt) ; কিন kin (krīṇāti) ; কুঁদ kū̃d (kūrdati) ; খন khȧn (khan) ; খা khā (khād) ; খুঁজ khũj *seek* (? kṣudyatē) ; খেল khēl (khēlati) ; গণ, গুণ gȧṇ, guṇ (gaṇ) ; গিল gil (gil, gir) ; চর cȧr *graze* (car) ; চল cȧl (cal) ; চি ci *awaken* (cit, cf. cētayati) ; চু cu (cyav) ; চুন (cinōti) ; চুম cum (cumb) ; ছা chā (chād) ; ছাড় chāṛ (chard) ; ছিঁড় chĩṛ (chinḍ, chindati) ; ছেঁচ chē̃c (sic, siñc) ; জপ jȧp *persuade* (jalp) ; জাগ jāg (jāgṛ) ; জি ji (jīv) ; জিন jin (jināti) ; জ্বল jwȧl = জল jȧl (jval) ; টান ṭān (tan) ; টুট ṭuṭ (truṭ) ; †ডহ ḍȧh (dah) ; ঢাক ḍhāk (MIA. ḍhakk) ; তর tȧr (tṛ) ; তাজ tāj (tarj) ; তুল tul (tul) ; †ডংশ ḍȧś (daṁś) ; দল dȧl (dal) ; দুল dul (cf. dōla) ; দুহ duh (duh) ; দুষ duṣ (duṣ) ; দে dē (dā) ; দেখ dēkh (MIA. dekkh < dṛkṣ) ; ধর dhȧr (dhṛ) ; ধ্বস dhwȧs = ধস dhȧs (dhvas) ; ধা dhā (dhāv) ; ধো dhō (dhāv) ; †ধুন dhun (dhvan) ; নাহ nāh (snā) ; নে nē (nī) ; নু, নো nu, no (nam) ; পচ pȧc *to get rotten* (pac) ; †পি pi (pibati) ; পিঁজ pĩj (piñj) ; পুছ puch (pṛcchati) ; পূজ pūj (pūj) ; ফাট phāṭ *split* (OIA. sphāṭ < *sphḷt) ; ফুট phuṭ (ibid) ; বাঁট bā̃ṭ *distribute* (vaṇṭ) ; বট bȧṭ *remain, be* (vṛt) ; বর bȧr (vṛṣ ?) ; বাঁচ bā̃c *live* (vañc) ; বোল bōl (brū) ; বস bȧs (vas) ; বহ bȧh (vah) ; বাঁধ bā̃dh (bandh) ; বিঁধ bĩdh (vyadh) ; বুঝ bujh (budh) ; বুল bul *wander about* (val) ; ভজ bhȧj (bhaj) ; ভর bhȧr (bhṛ) ; ভাজ bhāj *fry, roast* (bhṛjj) ; ভাঁজ bhā̃j *fold*

(bhañj); ভূষ bhūṣ (bhūṣ); মহ m&h *churn* (math); মজ m&j *sink, get juicy* (majj); মিশ miś (miśr); মিল mil (mil); মাড় māṛ (mṛd, mard); মাখ mākh (mrakṣ); মল m&l (mard); যা jā (yā); যাচ jāc (yāc); যুঝ jujh (yudh); রাখ rākh (rakṣ); লহ l&h (labh); লখ l&kh (lakṣ); লাগ lāg (lag); লাজ āj (lajj); লাল lāl (lal); লুঠ luṭh (lunṭh); শুষ śuṣ (śuṣ); শুন śun (śṛṇōti); শুঁক śũk (śuṅgh); শো, সো śō, *lie down* sō (svap); সহ sah (sah); সর s&r (sṛ); †সি si (sīv); সিঝ sijh *be boiled* (sidh); শোহ, সোহ sōh (śubh); হের hēr *scrutinise, gaze* (cf. ākheṭa *hunting*) », etc., etc.

Of prefixed roots, examples are « আ ā (ā-yā); আস, আইস ās, āïs (ā-viś); আওজ āoj *make half-shut* (ā-vṛj); আঁচা ā̃cā (ā-cam); আন ān (ā-nī); আছাড় « āchāṛ » *dash, throw down with force* (ā-chard); উছল uch&l *overflow* (ut-śal); উঠ uṭh (ut-sthā); উতর ut&r *reach* (ut-tṛ); উপেখ upēkh (ut-pra-īkṣ); †উই ui *rise, as the sun* (ud-i); উজা ujā *flow up, as a river* (ud-yā); উপচ upāc *flow over* (ut-patyatē); উপজ up&j (ut-padyatē); উলহ, উল, উর ul&h, ul, ur *descend* (ut-labh); নিবা, নিভা nib(h)ā (nir-vā); নিখর nir&kh (nir-īkṣ); নিসর nis&r (niḥ-sṛ); নিহাল, নিহার nihāl, nihār (ni-bhāl); †নিবড় nib&ṛ *finish* (nir-vṛt); †নেউট nēuṭ *return* (ni-vṛt); পাখাল pākhāl (pra-kṣāl); পরখ p&r&kh (pari-īkṣ); †পরশ p&r&ś *serve food* (pari-viś + sparśa); পর < পহির p&r < p&hir (pari-dhā); পরিহর p&rih&r (pari-hṛ); পস, পইস p&s, p&ïs (pra-viś); পোঁছ pō̃ch *wipe* (pra-uñch); পোহা pohā *dawn* (pra-bhā); বস, বইস b&s, b&ïs (upa-viś); ভিজ bhij *get wet* (abhi-añj); বিক bik *sell* (vi-krī); †সাঁতর sā̃t&r *swim* (saṁ-tṛ); সামাল sāmāl *gather up, save* (sam-bhāl); সঁপ, সোঁপ s&̃p, sō̃p (sam-arp) »; etc., etc.

618. The primary roots have all come to Bengali through the MIA., and as such they bear the stamp of the phonetic modifications of the various periods. The ten classes (gaṇas) into which the Sanskrit grammarians have arranged OIA. verb-roots, taking into consideration their *themes*, became levelled down to one in Apabhraṅśa, and all original thematic affixes which were added to the root in the present system were lost in MIA., being either dropped or incorporated with the root. In some instances, however, a characteristic theme could not be dropped; and the presence of the « -ya- » theme is indicated by the result of its assimilation with the consonant of the root. Bengal

primary roots inherited from OIA. have preserved only a few traces of these themes : thus—

1. « -ya- » theme : *e.g.*, « সিঝে sijhē (sidh-ya-ti) ; নাচে nācē (naccaï, nṛt-ya-ti) ; যুঝে, জুঝে jujhē (yudh-ya-ti) ; শুষে śuṣē (śuṣ-ya-ti) ; বুঝে bujhē (budh-ya-ti) ; সমুঝে samujhē (sam + budh-ya-ti) ; টুটে ṭuṭē (truṭ-ya-ti) ; মানে mānē *honours* (man-ya-tē) » ; etc.

2. « -nō- » theme : « চুনে cune *culls, selects* (ci-nō-ti) ; শুনে śunē (śṛ-ṇō-ti) ; ধুনে dhunē (dhu-nō-ti) » ;

3. « -nā- » theme : « কিনে kinē (krī-ṇā-ti) ; জিনে jinē (ji-nā-ti) » ; (cf. জানে jānē = jānāti) ;

4. The « -cch- » theme (= IE. *-sko-), not recognised by Sanskrit grammarians, occurs in the roots « আছে āchē (acchati, *es-sko-ti) ; †ইছে ichē (icchati) ; †পুছে puchē (pṛcchati) ; পহুঁছে pȧhũchē (pahuñcaï, pahucchaï, *prabhucchati, *pro-bheu-sko-ti) ».

Original Passive forms, with « -yá- » affix of the Passive, *e.g.*, « উপচয় upȧcȧy *overflows* (utpatyátē) ; †উপজয় upȧjȧy (utpadyátē) ; OB. dīśaï (dṛś-yá-tē) ; রোচে, রুচে rōcē, rucē *is pleasing* (rucyátē) », etc., may be noted here.

The « -n- » infix of OIA. remains as a nasalisation of the root vowel in Bengali forms like « ছিঁড়ে chĩṛē (chinḍ-a-ti, chi-n-d-a-ti) ; ভাঁজে bhȧ̃jē (bha-ñ-j-a-ti) », etc. Cf. « বাঁধে bȧ̃dhē (*bandh-a-ti) ; রাঁধে rȧ̃dhē (randh-aya-ti) ».

619. Apart from phonetic modification and decay, and the analogical tendency which brought about a general uniformity in the stem seeking to marshal the roots under one head, primary roots underwent certain modifications in MIA which would appear erratic and inexplicable. These have been described by Hoernle in his paper on Hindī Roots (JASB., 1880, Part I, p. 35ff.). Phonetic changes which altered « samarpayati » to « sāpē », « vismarati » to « bichurē », « upaviśati » to « bȧsē », « svapiti » to « sōy », « abhyajyatē » to « bhijē » « prōñchati » to « pōchē, mōchē » are sufficiently clear : and the analogical tendency levelling down the diversities in the forms of roots is plain enough. The striking thing is that in MIA., the bases

of active roots are frequently derived, not from the active form in OIA., but rather from the passive one, and in some cases apparently from the future base rather than that of the present. Causative bases of OIA. also supplied the simple root forms of MIA. and NIA. The deponent forms in MIA. can be explained as taking up a reflexive character, from which the active sense easily evolved, and this was sometimes accompanied by slight semantic changes: *e.g.*, « abhyajyatē » *is anointed* > *anoints oneself* > ভিজে « bhijē » = *gets wet*; « tapyatē » > MIA. « tappaï » *is heated* > *heats oneself*, > তাপে « tāpē » *gets hot*; « namyatē » *is bent, gets bent, bends* > নামে « nāmē » *descends*; « brūyatē » *is said* > « *buryati > bŏllaï » > বোলে, বলে « bōle, bålē » *says*; etc. A number of derivatives from passive participles are similarly used actively. Certain roots in OIA., ending in « ś, ṣ » (also other consonants —« c, j, h »), change the final consonant to « k » before the « -sya- » in the future, resulting in « -k-ṣya- » for the future base. The MIA. change of « -k-ṣya » was « -kkh- » or « -cch- ». In some instances, it seems that on the model of MIA. bases like « puccha = OIA. pṛcch, gaccha, pĕccha = pra + īkṣ, accha, yaccha, *pahuccha, *pahuñca = NIA. pahũch- », certain roots employed for the present their future bases in « -ccha- < -k-ṣya- ». (Hoernle, *op. cit.*). Thus OIA. « ā + krak-ṣya-ti », from « √kṛṣ », would give « ā + kacchaï > ā-acchaï, *aẏacchaï, * āyañcaï » in MIA., which apparently was the source of Hindī « aĭñcai, aĭcai » *draws*, Bengali হেঁচড়ায় « h-ē̃c-ṛ-ā-y » *drags* (with prothetic « h- », and « -ṛ- > -ḍ- » extension). Such future > present bases do not, however, seem to have been as numerous in MIA. and NIA. as Hoernle makes them out to be (*op. cit.*).

620. There are slightly over 50 roots in Bengali which were originally causatives in OIA. The old ablaut modification (guṇa) of the root vowel is preserved in Bengali, and the meaning has in many cases been slightly modified. These old causatives have become primary roots in Bengali, and a regular causative form with the « -ā- » affix has been built up both from this causative-primary and its basic root: *e.g.*, « patati » > পড়ে « påṛē » *falls*, « pātayati » > পাড়ে

« pāṛē » *causes to fall, fells, gets a thing down* ; whence new formations in « -ā- »—পড়ায় « påṛāy » *causes to fall*, and পাড়ায় « pāṛāy » *causes to fell, causes to get something down from high.* The root পাড় « pāṛ » has become, so far as NB. is concerned, an independent form, with the sense of *taking down a thing.* Examples of these causatival formations: †উঘারে « ughārē » (udghāṭayati); †উপাড়ে, উপড়ায় « upāṛē > upṛåy » (utpāṭayati) ; গালে « gālē » *strains, causes to flow off* (gālayati), beside গলে « gålē » *melts, slips through like water* (galati); MB. গোঙাএ « gōw̃āē » *passes time* (gamayati); চাবায়, চিবায় « cābāy, cibāy » *chews* (carvayati); চালে « cālē » *causes to move* (cālayati), beside চলে « cålē » *walks* (calati); ছোঁাড়ে « chõṛē » *casts, throws from a distance as a ball,* beside ছুটে « chuṭē » *runs* (Dhātupāṭha = √chuṭ—chōṭayati *splits, cuts*); টানে « ṭānē » *pulls* (caus. < √tan); তারে « tārē » *saves* (tārayati), beside তরে « tårē » *crosses, is saved* (tarati); †তাএ, তাওয়ে « tāē, tāw̃ē » (tāpayati); ধারে « dhārē » from earlier উধারে « udhārē » *borrows, remains a debtor* (uddhārayati), besides ধরে « dhårē » *holds* ; থোয় « thōy » *places* (sthāpayati) ; MB. নোঙে « nōw̃ē », NB. নোয় « nōy » *bends* (« nāmayati », confused with « namati ») ; পায় « pāy » (« prāpayati », in the sense of « prāpnōti ») ; পসারে « påsārē » *extends, spreads out* (prasārayati); পারে « pārē » *is able, succeeds* (pārayati) ; পূরে « pūrē » (pūrayati) ; ফাড়ে « phāṛē » *splits* (sphāṭayati) ; বাহে, বায় « bāhē, bāy » (vāhayati); বাটে « bāṭē » *pounds (spices) with a stone roller* (vartayati) ; বারে « bārē » *shields, stops* (vārayati) ; MB. ভায়ে « bhāẏē » *appears* (bhāvayati), beside MB. হোএ « hōē » (bhavati); মারে « mārē » *kills, strikes* (mārayati), beside মরে « mårē » (*marati = mriyatē) ; মাপে « māpē » *measures* (old *sts.* = *măppeï < māpayati: cf. Hindī nāpe *measures* = năppēi = jñāpyatē); মোহে « mōhē » (mōhayati); রাঁধে « rā̃dhē » *cooks* (randhayati) ; টালে « ṭālē (ṭālayati), beside টলে « ṭålē » (ṭalati); সারে « sārē » *repairs* (sārayati *arranges, nourishes*) besides সরে « sårē » *moves, goes to* (sarati) ; হারে « hārē » *is defeated* (hārayati) beside হরে « hårē » *takes away, steals* (harati); cf. *dēśī* ঢালে « ḍhālē » *pours* beside ঢলে « ḍhålē » *reels* ; etc., etc.

621. A number of roots, which do not at all look like secondary formations, cannot be traced to any OIA. (Sanskrit) form;

although it is extremely likely that they are in most cases *tbhs.* Analogous forms occur in the « dhātu-kōṣas » in some cases, but that is no help in determining the origin. A few resemble Dravidian roots of similar meaning, and these may be of Dravidian origin : *e.g.*, এড় « ēṛ = ēḍ » *give up*; নড় « nȧṛ = naḍ » *move, walk* (< OIA. nṛt *dance* > MIA. naṭ, naḍ ?); কুদ « kud » *leap* (cf. Skt. kūrd); মুড় « muṛ = muḍ » *fold, wrap*; dialectal শাপড় « śāpȧṛ = śāpaḍ » *eat, gobble up, finish* (*e.g.*, ভাত শাপড়ান « bhāt sāpṛānā » *finishing one's meal of rice*) : roots exactly similar in form and meaning to all of the above are found in Tamil. Roots that would come under this group of obscure etymology would be, among others—

« আঁচ ā̃c *guess*; আঁট ā̃ṭ *tighten*; কাচ kāc MB. *dress*, NB. *wash clothes*; কুঁড় kũṛ *pound*; কুঁদ kũd *carve*; খস khȧs *slip off*; খাট khāṭ *work, labour, put money on a trade*, or *lend at interest* (in the last sense a late Skt. « √khaṭṭ » has been found: see Jñānêndra Mōhan Dās's Dictionary, under খাটান); খুঁট khũṭ *scratch, rub, rub gently with the finger-tips or nails, peck with the beak*; খুল khul *loosen, open, open bolt*; গাদ gād *ram in*; ঘির ghir *surround*; ঘুচ ghuc *come at an end, be finished*, cf. Assamese গুচ gus *enter*; চট cȧṭ *be angry, get ruffled or cracked*; চাহ cāh *look at, ask* (OIA. « cakṣ » ?: cf. Aśōkan « caghati » = *strives, wants* < OIA. « *cagh » = IE. root ?); চাঁচ cā̃c *scrape*; চাট cāṭ *lick* (OIA. caṣṭa. √cakṣ ?); চাপ cāp *press*; ছাঁক chā̃k *strain*; ছাঁট chā̃ṭ *clip off*; ছাপ chāp *print, press*; ছিপ chip *hide*; ছুট chuṭ *run*; জোখ jōkh *measure*; জুট juṭ, জুল jul *meet together*; ঝল, ঝুল jhȧl, jhul *hang*; ঝুঁক jhũk *lean out*; ঝাঁপ jhā̃p *plunge*; ঝাল jhāl *mend a metal pot, clean a well*; ঝুঁজ jhũj *ooze*; টস্ ṭȧs *drip* (onomat. ?); টাঁস ṭā̃s *be finished, die*; টাঁক, ṭā̃k, টেঁক ṭẽk, টিক ṭik *endure, repair*; টাক ṭāk *taste* (cf. টাকরা ṭākṛā *palate*); টিপ ṭip *pinch with the fingers*; ঠেল ṭhēl *push*; ডাক ḍāk *call, shout*; ডুব, বুড় ḍub, buṛ *sink, drown*; তাড় tāṛ *hustle, pursue*; থুড়, থুর thuṛ, thur *mince* (cf. thurv *kill*); পট pȧṭ *be in agreement*; পিঁজ pĩj *card cotton*; পুড় puṛ *burn* (cf. Skt. √ puṭ); পুত, পুঁত put, pũt *bury*; ফির phir *turn*; বাঁচ bā̃c *live* (Skt. vañc); বাছ bāch *select, choose*; বিহা, বিআ bi(h)ā *give birth to*; ভাস bhās *float* (< Skt bhās *shine*

> *appear ?*); রহ **rāh** *remain* (? arh); রট **rāt** *spread* (*as a rumour*); রড় **rār** *run*; লড় **lāṛ** *fight*; লুস, লুষ lus, luṣ *gorge oneself*; সাঁট **sāṭ** *ibid*, also *tighten*; হাঁট **hāṭ** *walk* (cf. Skt. hiṇḍ, Gujarātī hẽḍ-vũ); etc.

622. MIA. borrowings from Sanskrit may be included under the inherited or the proper *tbh*. element of Bengali. After Bengali emerged from Māgadhī Ap., as a distinct speech, and literature began to be produced in it, the habit of borrowing from Sanskrit obtained a greater impetus. A practice grew up in Bengali literature from very early times of adopting Sanskrit roots bodily into the language, like the adoption of *ts.* nouns and participles. This practice received a fresh support during the age of Vaiṣṇava renaissance in the 16th century, and again in the 19th century, in the hands of modern poets like Madhusūdan Datta. This use of Skt. forms, even when their *tbh.* counterparts were in actual use, is not peculiar to Bengali alone: we find it in the medieval vernacular poetry of all Aryan India. It was the inevitable effect of a revival of classical studies—in grammar, literature, law, theology and philosophy, the results of which were brought to bear upon the vernaculars. The revival of Brahmanic studies strengthened the position of Sanskrit, which had throughout retained a living touch with the vernaculars as their natural feeder. We thus find from Middle Bengali times *ts.* roots or bases like « আহ্ব āhwa, কীর্ত্ত kīrtta, গর্জ্জ garja, চুম্ব cumba, তিষ্ঠ tiṣṭha, ত্যজ tyaja, ধ্যা dhyā, ধ্বন dhwan, নম nam, নির্ম্মা nirmā (*s/s.*, নিরমা nirāmā), নির্ণি nirṇi, নিশ্চি niści, প্রণম praṇam, বদ bad (vad), বন্দ banda (vand), বর্জ্জ barja (varj), বর্ত্ত barta (vart), ভঞ্জ bhañja, ভৎর্স bhartsa, ভিদ bhid, মর্দ্দ marda, যজ yaj, রাজ rāj (the last two may be *tbhs.*), শোভ śōbh, সেব sēb (sēva), স্মর smar, হিংস hiṁsa » etc., etc. to be in common use, side by side with *tbh.* equivalents in many cases. These *ts.* roots, although understood by most people, figure mainly in literature, and only a few have been adopted in the colloquial, like তিষ্ঠ « tiṣṭha » (cf. তিষ্ঠাইতে দেওয়া tiṣṭhāitē dēwā > Standard Coll. তিষ্টুতে দেওয়া tiṣṭhutē dēwā=*let one remain at peace*), বর্ত্ত « barta » (cf. বাঁচিয়া বর্ত্তিয়া > বেঁচে-ব'র্ত্তে থাকা bāciyā-bārtiyā > bẽcē-bōrtē thākā *to remain alive and well*, বর্ত্তিয়া > ব'র্ত্তে যাওয়া bārtiyā > bōrtē jāwā *to feel saved, to get a new existence*). The number of such common *ts.* roots comes up to some 100; but it is often difficult to determine

whether they are *ts.* roots, or denominatives, as frequently the base in Bengali shows « guṇa » of the Skt. root characteristic of noun forms.

(2) Secondary or Derivative Roots.

623. The Causatives are the most characteristic of this class. They have the affix « -ā- » which comes from the Second MIA. « -āva- » = First MIA. « -āpa- », which is only a generalisation of the « -pa- » affix found in the causative of some OIA. roots ending in « -ā », *e.g.*, √dā > dā-pa-ya-, hā > hā-pa-ya-, mā > mā-pa-ya-, yā > yā-pa-ya-, sthā > sthā-pa-ya-, snā > snā-pa-ya- », etc. Their verbal nouns as well as infinitives and passive participles have the affix আন, আনো « -ānå, -ānō ». Almost every primary root and denominative which is not already a causative in form can have its causative in « -ā- ». A number of denominatives (especially in the case of bases in three syllables, ending in ড় « -ṛ- », original or affixed) have become obsolete, their places being taken by causative formations which are used without causative meaning: *e.g.*, আঁকাড় « ãkāṛå » *embrace, hold with both hands* (aŋka-ḍa : cf. aŋka-pālikā *embrace*), proper verb form আঁকাড়ে « ãkaṛē », causative extension * অাঁকাড়াএ > অাঁকড়ায় « ãkāṛāē > ãkåṛāy »; উখাড় « ukhāṛå », উখাড়ে « ukhāṛē » > *উখাড়াএ, উখড়ায়, উখড়োয় « *ukhāṛāē > ukhåṛāy, ukhåṛōy » *roots out*; উজাড় « ujāṛå » *desolate*, উজাড়ে « ujāṛē » > *উজাড়াএ « *ujāṛāē », উজড়ায়, উজড়োয় « ujåṛāy, ujåṛōy » *makes desolate, ransacks*; উগার « ugārå » > উগারে « ugārē », *উগারাএ « *ugārāē » > উগরায় উগরোয় « ugåṛāy, ugåṛōy » *vomits*; তাকে « tākē » *gazes* (tarkayati) > তাকায় « tākāy »; হাঁকাড়ে « hãkāṛē » *shouts, hits* > *হাঁকাড়ায় « *hãkāṛāē » > হাঁকড়ায়, « hãkåṛāy, beside হাঁকরায় « hãkåṛāy » *belabours* ; etc., etc. The causatives present a numerous class in Bengali, the proper « -ā- » causatives numbering some 400.

624. Denominatives are made up from nouns and participle adjectives, these nouns and participles being treated exactly like roots. A vowel ending the noun or participle base is dropped. IA. developed early this habit of making roots out of nouns and adjectives, without adding the denominative-forming affix « -āya- ». According to the Skt. grammarians (who doubtless were guided by vernacular Prakrit usage in

this respect), any noun-stem could be used as a verb-stem. With the decay of inflected past forms, the past participles became, after the present base, the most important. In some cases there was a very great difference in form between these two outstanding parts of the verb. The levelling tendency in MIA. simplified matters by making the passive participle the basis of a new present formation, which in course of time ousted the old present: since in Late MIA., the latter often appeared (from point of view of MIA.) irregular and peculiar. Equally frequently the reverse process took place. Thus, OIA. « upaviśati » and « upaviṣṭa- » gave MIA. « uvaïsaï » and « uvaïṭṭha », but « uvaïṭṭha » assumed the function of the present, so that in NIA. (Hindōstānī) we have present « baiṭhē» (rather than « baisē »), and pass. participle « baiṭhā »; and in the OIA. group « śṛṇōti, śruta » > MIA. « suṇaï, sudō > suō », « suṇaï » made « suō » obsolete by bringing about the creation of a new form « suṇiō », so that in Hindōstānī we have present « sunē » and pass. part. « sunā ». The simple « -a » verbal noun, as presenting the root in a very intelligible form, also often supplied a basis for the new conjugation.

The Kōl and Dravidian speeches might have been responsible for the wide development in IA. of the practice of forming denominatives. Anyhow, it was a late MIA. characteristic which has come down to Bengali. Denominatives in « -ā- » are now freely formed, even from foreign nouns and adjectives.

625. As for the *tbh* (and *dēśī*) denominatives of Bengali, absence of literary records does not allow us to fix with certainty when they were first employed as verbs—whether in the pre-Bengali period, or in later times. The forms without « -ā- » seem to be earlier. Examples are: « উগে ugē *rises* (uggaa, udgata); উজাড়ে ujāṛē *clears* (*ujjhāḍa, * ud-jhāṭa *with trees cut down*); MB. উনাএ unāē *gets hot* (uṇha, uṣṇa); উভে, উবে ub(h)ē *is volatile* (ubbha, ūrdhva; ubbhaa, udbhṛta); MB. উমাএ umāē *steams* (umha, uṣma); কহে, কয় kåhē, kåy (kahēï, kathåyati); কাড়ে kāṛē *snatches away, robs* (kaḍḍha, kṛṣṭa); কামায় kāmāy *earns, shaves* (« kamma, karma »: Second MIA. « kammaï » *cuts*; connexion with Pali « kappēti » *trims*, as suggested by R. Morris, 'Pali, Sanskrit and Prakrit

Etymology,' Transactions of the 9th International Congress of Orientalists, London, 1893, Vol. I, pp. 494-495, not likely); কালায় kālayā *gets black, blackens* (kāla); কুড়ায় kuṛāy *gathers* (kūḍa, kūṭa); খোয়ায় khōw̃āy *gets lost* (*khaw̃a, khaa, kṣaya); গাড়ে gāṛē *buries* (*dēśī* gaḍḍa : ? < garta); গাবায় gābāy *vaunts* (gabba, garva); গাহে, গায় gāhē, gāy *sings* (gāheï, gāthayati < gāthā); গুছায় guchāy *arranges* (guccha); ঘোলে ghōlē *mixes thoroughly as liquids* (ghŏlla = ghūrṇa); ঘামে ghāmē *sweats* (gharma); চিনে cinē *recognises* (cihna); চোরায় cōrāy *steals* (caura); চেতায় cētāy *comes to senses* (cittāvēi, citta-); চিরে cirē *slits, pie rces* (cīara, cīvara); ছাঁদে chā̃dē *grips, holds tight, binds* (chanda); ছিনে chinē *snatches away* (chinna); জিতে jitē *wins* (jitta < jitá); ছিটায় chiṭāy *sprinkles* (chiṭṭa-,? kṣipta); জুতে, জোতে jutē, jōtē *hitches ox or horse to vehicle* (jutta, yukta); টকে ṭakē *gets sour* (ṭakka = takra); ঠাটায় ṭhāṭāy *stiffens* (ṭhaḍḍha < * ṭhaṭṭha : stabdha ?); দাঁড়ায় dā̃ṛāy *stands* (danḍāyatē); তাকে tākē *gazes* (takkēi, tarkayati); তাতে tātē *gets hot* (tatta, tapta); তিতে titē *gets wet* (tinta, √tim); থামে thāmē *comes to a standstill, stops* (thambha, stambha); থিরায় thirāy (sthira) থিতায় thitāy *subsides as a residue* (*sts.* ? < sthitá); দুখায় dukhāy *pains* (dukkha, duḥkha); ধূঁয়ায়, ধোঁয়ায় dhũāy, dhõāy *smokes* (dhūw̃a, dhūma); পাকে pākē *ripens* (pakva); MB. পতিয়াএ, পইতায় pâtiyāē, pâitāy *believes* (*sts.* < pratyaya); পইঠে pâiṭhē *enters* (païṭṭha, praviṣṭa); পিটে piṭē *beats* (piṭṭa, piṣṭa); বাঁকে bā̃kē (baŋka = vakra); বাখানে bākhānē *explains, praises* (bakkhāṇa, vyyākhāna); বাজে bājē *is played, as music* (vajja, vādya); মাগে, মাঙ্গে mā(ŋ)gē *begs* (maggaï, maggēï, mārgati, mārgayati); মাতে mātē *becomes intoxicated* (matta); মুতে mūtē (mūtra); মুদে mudē *closes, as eyes* (mudrā *seal*); রুঠে ruṭhē *angers* (ruṭṭha, ruṣṭa); রুধে rudhē *prevents, forbids* (ruddha); শুখায় sukhāy *dries* (suṣka); সেঁতায় sẽtāy *gets wet* (* sinta, sitta < sikta) », etc., etc. *Tadbhava* derivatives of NIA. origin in Bengali can be exemplified by forms like « আঁধারা ā̃dhārā (andhakāra); আউলা, আলা, এলা āulā, āïlā, ēlā *make dishevelled* (ākula); আলগা ālagā *loosen* (ālagga, ālagna); আঁতকা ā̃tkā *be seized with a sudden fright* (ātaŋka); ইটা iṭā *stone, hit with pellets* (iṣṭaka); উঁচা ũcā *raise, level as a weapon* (ucca-); আগুআ, আগুয়া, আগা, এগো āguā, āïgā > ēgō *advance* (agra + uka); কষা kaṣā *tighten* (karṣa); কাঁধা kā̃dhā *to shoulder* (skandha); কিলা kilā

give blows with the fist (kil? *fisticuff*); খেঙ্‌রা khēŋrā *strike with a broom*; খেপা khēpā *become mad*; গালা gālā *abuse* (gāli=garbikā); চাপড়া cāpṛḍā *pat* (cāpaṛ? *patting with the flat of the palm*); ঘনা ghanā *deepen* (ghana); ঘুমা ghumā *sleep* (ghum? *sleep* : see p. 482 *supra*); গোঁজা gõjā *tuck inside* (cf. gõj? *a peg*); চড়া caṛā *slap* (caṛ? *a slap*); ছোঁচা chõcā *wash after evacuation* (śauca); জুতা jutā *strike with the shoe* (jutā *shoe*); ঝাঁটা jhãṭā *strike with a broom*; ঢেউআ ḍhēuā *dash water in a tank or stream* (ḍhēu *wave*); তলা talā *sink deep* (tala); তাসা tāsā *play cards* (slang : tās? *playing cards*); তেওড়া tēoṛā *make deformed* (tri-vṛta); দাঁতা dãtā *gnash teeth, show teeth* (danta); MB. নিন্দা nindā *sleep* (nidrā); পাদা pādā *break wind* (parda); পাছুআ > পেছো pāchuā > pēchō *fall back* (paścāt); বিষা bi·ā *fester as a wound* (viṣa); ভাঙ্গা bhāŋ(g)ā *break* (bhaŋga); রাঙ্গা rāŋ(g)ā *redden* (raŋga); লাঠা lāṭhā *belabour with sticks* (lāṭhi < yaṣṭi ? < * lak-ṭhi = * lak-, * lag- [cf. lak-uṭa, lag-uḍā + yaṣṭi); শাণা śāṇā *whet* (śāṇa); হাতা hātā *receive in hand to one's advantage* (hasta); MB. হুমা humā (hōma) », etc., etc., The noun base not infrequently ends in « -u » : thus আগুয়া > এগো « āg-u-ā > ēgō » *advance*, পাছুয়া > পেছো « pāch-u-ā > pēchō » *recede*, পারুআ > পেরো « pār-u-ā > pērō » *cross*, etc.

The *tbh.* derivatives convey mainly an instrumental or acquisitive sense.

Common *tbh.* roots of this class number some 200 in Bengali.

626. Sanskrit denominatives, in *ts.* or *sts.* forms, like Skt. roots and participial forms, occur from the oldest Bengali onwards. Almost any Sanskrit noun, preferably in « -a », which is not the name of a concrete object, can be used as a root in the language of Bengali poetry. About 100 denominatives of this class are in common use in the Bengali. A few of this have developed characteristic vernacular or *sts.* forms from MB. onwards, *e.g.*, তেয়াগ « tēyāgā » < « tyāga », বরণ « baraṇā » < « varṇa », দরশ « daraśā » < « darśa », পরশ « paraśā » < « sparśa » etc.

Examples of *ts.* demonstratives : « agrasara, ādara, ādēśa, ākula, āghāta, ānanda, ālāpa, āśīṣa, ucchēda, uttāpa, uddhāra, unmōca, ulaŋga citra, trasta, dvēṣa, dvandva, dāna, dīpa, nāda, nīrava, niścaya, niṣphala,

nistāra, parihāra, pradāna, praṇāma, pramōda, prasāra, prasāda, praśama (*ts.* root, pra + √śam?), **puraskāra, bhāti, bhāva, vikāsa, vighōṣa, vināśa, vistāra, vēṣṭa, rāga, yōga, lēpa, saṁhāra, santōṣa, stuti** » etc., etc.. we have even a word like « prati-vidhitsā » turned into a denominative root, প্রতিবিধিৎস « prāti-bidhitsā- », in poetry (*e.g.*, in Madhusūdan Datta and in Giriś Chandra Ghōsh).

627. Foreign denominatives number barely 20. They are almost all from the Persian (or Perso-Arabic): *e.g.*, অর্শা « ārśā » *be entailed as property* (ʿarsah); কবলা « kāblā » *make agree or accept* (slang : < qabūl) ; কুলুপা « kulupā- » *lock up* (qufl = *lock*) ; খতা « khātā » *cast accounts, estimate* (xatt) ; খামচা, খিমচা « khāmᵊcā, khimᵊcā » *pinch* (Ar. xams = *five* : *pinch with the five fingers* ?): গুঁতা « gũtā » *butt with horns* (gutah *plunge*); গুজরা « gujᵊrā » *pass time* (guðār); জম « jām » *gather,* জমা « jāmā » *collect* (jamʿ); MB. তপাস « tāpās » *seek* (tafahhus : see *supra*, p. 213, footnote 2); তোয়া « tōā » *flatter* (? tawājah); দাগ, দাগা « dāg, dāgā » *mark* (dāg); নরমা « nārᵊmā » *be soft* (narm); গরমা « gārᵊmā » *be hot* (garm) ; ফস্‌কা « phāsᵊkā » *slip from hold* (fasx); বদলা « bādᵊlā » *change* (badl); MB. মানা « mānā » *forbid* (manʿ); সাবাশা « sābāśā » *cry bravo* (śābāś < śād-bāś) ; etc., etc.

There are no denominatives proper from the other foreign sources, Portuguese and English. English verbs like *edit, manage, quote, note, agree,* etc., as well as nouns and adjectives, are freely compounded with Bengali roots like « kār, dē » to form verbs, in the familiar speech of persons educated in English, but such words by themselves are not used as verb roots, with or without the « -ā- », as in the case of Persian words. Slang is responsible, however, for one or two genuine denominatives, *e.g.*, in student slang in Calcutta one can hear পাসানো, পেস্থনো < পাস্থয়ানো « pās-ānō, pēsunō < pās-u-ā-nā » *to pass* < English *pass.*

628. Compounded and Suffixed Roots.

There are over 125 roots which are derivative, being made up of either two roots combined, or a root preceded by a noun or adverb, or in the majority of cases, of a root (primary or denominative)

modified by a suffix. Instances of the first type (two roots combined) can be easily analysed. The second root which is suffixed is commonly আসা, আইসা « ā(i)sā » *come.* Thus, we have দেখসে, দেখসা « dēkhȧ-sē, dēkhȧ-sā » *come and see* found from early MB. times, = দেখ + আইস « dēkh + āïs » *see* and *come,* and ŚKK চড়সা « cȧṛȧsā » *come and mount* (√cȧṛ + √āïs). We have also occasionally a similar combination with গা from গিয়া « gā < giyā » (করগা, খাওগা « kȧrȧ-gā, khāo-gā » *go and see, go and eat*). We have beside a combination of রহ « √rȧh » *to remain* and সহ « √sȧh » *to endure,* in the imperative only—contemptuous র'স্ « rōsȧ̸ », ordinary রোসো « rōsō » < « rȧhȧ sȧhȧ » *wait,* in the Standard Colloquial. The above forms strictly speaking are not roots,—they are merely compounded forms, contracted and stereotyped. Besides, they do not occur in all persons and tenses, but only in the imperative. Of the second type (noun or adverb and root) are found some instances, also from eMB., like আগুছা « āguchā (< *āgusā, āgu + √āïs) » *advance,* রাকাড়া > রাকড়া « rā-kāṛā > rākȧṛā » *shout, raise a shout,* and the negative forms নার « nār < nā + pār » *fail, not succeed,* নহ « nȧh < na + √*ah, hȧ » *not be.*

The periphrastic forms composed of a noun (*tbh., ts.* or foreign) and a root like « kȧr » *do,* like দর্শন করা « dȧrśȧnȧ̸ kȧrā » *to see,* গমন করা « gȧmȧnȧ̸ kȧrā » *to go,* do not come under this.

629. The bulk of these secondary compounded roots are suffixed. We have these suffixes: (i) ক « -k- », (ii) ট « -ṭ- », (iii) ড় « -ṛ- », (iv) র, ল « -r-, -l- », and (v) স, চ « -s-, -c- » (cf. G. A. Grierson, 'On the Irregular Causals in the Indo-Aryan Vernaculars,' JASB., 1896, Part I). These modified the meaning of the original root or denominative base in various ways,—as an intensive or continuative, frequentative or approximative affix. Corresponding forms occur in the other NIA. speeches. These roots may again be described as denominatives from nouns ending in « -k-, -ṭ-, -ḍ- (-ṛ-), -r-, -l-, -ś-, -c- ».

630. Of these affixes, (i) ক « -k- » in Bengali indicates, generally, the suddenness of the action, or its continuity: it is thus an intensive. Its origin has been discussed before (see *supra,* pp. 679 ff.). Examples in Bengali: চুক « cuk » *be at an end* (*cyut-kṛ); কোঁচকা « kōcȧ̸kā »

wrinkle (kuñc); খিঁচকা « khĩc∮kā » *pull, nag* (cf. খেঁচ khẽc *pull*: ? « krakṣyati < √kṛṣ », whence MIA. « kacchaï, kañcaï », vowel influenced by « ā-krakṣati > *ākacchaï > āyañcaï > NIA. aĩcai ») ; চলকা « cål∮kā » *spill, as water from a vessel full to the brim* (cal); চুলকা « cul∮kā » *scratch* (√cal ? cf. চুলবুল cul-bul *wander*); চানকা « cān∮kā » *glance, make eyes, draw the eyes as in a picture*; (? *cayaṇa-kka, cētana-); চুমুকা « cumukā » *sip, touch vessel with lips* (cumb); ছিটকা « chiṭ∮kā » *sprinkle* (chiṭ∮ = *drop, sprinkling*); so চমকা « cåm∮kā » *be bright, dazzle, be startled as at a sudden flash or noise*; জমকা « jåm∮kā » *be showy*; টপকা « ṭåp∮kā » *jump over*; টসকা « ṭås∮kā » *drip, run out*; ঠমকা « ṭhåm∮kā » *caper, walk with a dancing gait*; ঢুলকা « ḍhul∮kā » *wave a fly-flap*; তড়কা « tåṛ∮kā » *be in fits*; থমকা « thåm∮kā » *be at stand-still*; থকা « thåkā » ibid; থাকা « thākā » *remain*; দমকা « dåm∮kā » *come as a gust of wind*; ধমকা « dhåm∮kā » *rebuke*; নড়কা « nåṛ∮kā » *move about*; বখা < বহকা « båkhā < båh∮kā » *be borne away > go astray*; ভড়কা « bhåṛ∮kā » *be confused, fear* (bhraṣṭa); মচকা « måc∮kā » *break with a noise, sprain*; মুচকা « muc∮kā » *smile, wrinkle*; লটকা « låṭ∮kā » *hang*; সটকা < সড়কা « såṭ∮kā < saṛ∮kā *slink away* (sṛta); হড়কা « håṛ∮kā » *slip one's foot, be slippery*; হেঁচকা « hẽc∮kā » *drag*; etc.

A few words of other origin have come in line with these « -k- » denominatives: *e.g.*, আঁতকা « ãt∮kā » *be filled with sudden fear* (*sts.*, < ātaŋka, ā-√tañc); উসকা « us∮kā < uk∮sā » *trim a lamp, incite* (? utkarṣa); কড়কা « kåṛ∮kā » *rebuke* (cf. « kaḍakkha- = kaṭākṣa- ». whence NIA. [Hindī etc.] « kaṛ∮khā » *war-song < challenge < glance of contempt*: confusion with, or influence of কড়া « kåṛā » *stiff* likely); ফসকা « phås∮kā » *slip*, from the Persian (see p. 884); চটকা « cåṭ∮kā » *rinse* by metathesis from কচটা, কছটা « kåc(h)∮ṭā » (next para.); etc.

631 The affix (ii) ট « -ṭ- » is the « -∮ṭ∮- » affix (No. 41), noted at pp. 684 ff. *supra*. It indicates continuity of the action. Examples: কছটা, কষটা « kåch∮ṭā, kåṣ∮ṭā » *rinse* (karṣa-varta-); ঘষটা « ghåṣ∮-ṭā » *rub along* (gharṣa-varta-); চিপটা « cip∮ṭā » *press down*; so জাপটা « jāp∮ṭā » *embrace, hold with both arms*; ঝাপটা « jhāp∮ṭā » *struggle* (MIA. *jhappa, jhampa); দাপটা « dāp∮ṭā » *be aggressive* (darpa); পাশটা « pāś∮ṭā » *pass by* (pārśva-

varta-); রপটা « rȧpȧṭā » *gad about*; লপটা or লিপটা « lȧpȧṭā, lipȧṭā » *stick on*, etc. Cf. MB. নেউটা « nēuṭā » *return* (nivartt-) which is of different origin.

632. (iii) The ড় « -ṛ- » affix is the pleonastic ড় « -ṛ- », discussed before as Formative Affix No 46 (pp. 689 ff.) The sense is sometimes intensive, but generally it is merely pleonastic. In some instances the sense is continuative or approximative, and then the ড় « -r- » would seem to be connected with « √vṛt », either as a phonetic modification of « -ṭ- < vaṭṭa, vṛtta » above, or it is the same ড় « -ṛ- » as Formative Affix No. 44 (pp. 687-688 *supra*): thus ঘেঁষড়া, ঘষড়া « ghẽṣȧṛā, ghȧsȧṛā », দাবড়া « dābȧṛā » beside ঘষটা « ghȧṣȧṭā », দাপটা « dāpȧṭā » above; হেঁচড়া « hẽcȧṛā » *pull*, see *supra*, p. 878; in আওড়া « āoṛā » *repeat*, তেওড়া তোবড়া « tēoṛā, tōbȧṛā » *disfigure*, and MB. নিবড়া « nibȧṛā » *finish*, we have the OIA. « √vṛt ». Examples of «-ṛ- »: আঁকড়া «ȃkȧṛā » *embrace* (see *supra*, p. 880); আঁচড়া « ȃcȧṛā » *scratch*, (? √añc *wander, bend, curl* + -ḍa-); কুঁকড়া, কোঁকড়া, কুঁচড়া, কোঁচড়া « kũkȧṛā, kõkȧṛā, kũc-, kõc- » *crumple, wrinkle, be curly* (kuñc); খেদড়া « khēdȧṛā » *hustle* (cf. খেদা « khēdā » *drive away*, Hindī and Bengali noun « khēdā » '*kheddah*,' *enclosure to which wild elephants are driven and caught*: *sts*, < « √khid » *torment*?); খিঁচড়া « khĩcȧṛā » *feel tense or annoyed* (see « khĩcȧkā », *supra*, p. 886): ঘাবড়া « ghābȧṛā » *be frightened* (connected with ঘাপটী « ghāpȧṭī » etc., p. 685); চাপড়া « cāpȧṛā » *slap, pat* (carpaṭa); চিমড়া « cimȧṛā » *dry up, reduce to skin and bone* (√cip > *civ > *ciw̃, cim); চুমড়া « cumȧṛā » *flatter* (cumb), also চুমরা « cumȧrā »; জোবড়া, জাবড়া « jōbȧṛā, jābȧṛā » *blotch* (cf. জবজবে « jȧbȧjȧbē », *onomatopoetic to denote the idea of stickiness and moisture*); তাংড়া, তামড়া « tāŋȧṛā, tāmȧṛā » *save up, store up* (Yōgeś Chandra Vidyānidhi, Bengali Dictionary, VSPd., gives a late Sanskrit « 'tryaŋgaṭa-' śikya-bhēdē », = Marāṭhī « tā̃gaḍ » *bind the feet*: Monier Williams, « tri-aŋgaṭa » *three strings suspended to either end of a pole for carrying burdens*); থাবড়া « thābȧṛā » *slap* (cf. থাবা « thābā » *paw*); থুবড়া « thubȧṛā » *give a blow, fall down on the face* (Dhātu-kōṣa √thurv *kill*: cf. থুড়া « thuṛā » *pound, cut into small bits*); দাঁদড়া « dā̃dȧṛā » *be aggressive* (dvandva + ṭa), also দাঁদলা « dā̃dȧlā »; দুমড়া « dumȧṛā » *bend, crumple* (< ?); দৌড়া « dăuṛā » *run* (drava + -ḍa); নিঙ্গড়া « niŋgȧṛā < niŋgāṛā » *wring wet clothes* (niñj); নেংড়া « nēŋȧṛā- » *limp* (cf. লেঙ্গ « lēŋ[g]ȧ » *foot, kick*); নেবড়া « nēbȧṛā

smear (*sts.* < lēpa) ; পাকড়, MB. পাখড় « pākàṛà, -khàṛà » *seize* (? parka + -ḍa : √pṛc *mix, unite*) ; পাছুড়া « pāch(u)ṛà » *dash, toss, clean corn* (< ?) ; মুচড়া « mucàṛā » *wring* (cf. macàkā, mucàkā : onomatopoetic) ; মুষড়া « muṣàṛā » *be dispirited* (cf. muṣ *steal, rob* : cf. the expression « hanta muṣitāḥ vayam » *alas, we are done for!*) ; রগড়া « ràgàṛā » *rub* (< *beat*? cf. late Sanskrit « drakaṭa, dragaḍa » *drum* ; Yogeś Chandra Vidyānidhi, Beng. Dictionary) ; হাঁকড়া « hãkàṛā » *drive* (MIA. hakka *shout*) ; হাতড়া « hātàṛā » *feel with the hand* (hasta) ; হুমড়া « humàṛā » *push through eagerness, fall face forwards* (connected with হামা « hāmā » *crawl*) ; etc., etc. It would be seen that the « -ṛ- » roots are mostly very obscure, and these suffixed forms or roots, a most characteristic element inherited by NIA. from MIA., constitute a problem of prime etymological importance. From these roots with the ড় « -ṛ- » affix are to be distinguished roots like আছাড় « āchāṛ » *dash, throw down with force* (ā-chṛd) ; উজাড় « ujāṛ » (see page 881, *supra*, with a variant আজাড় « ājāṛ » *empty a vessel*) ; উপাড় « upāṛ » (utpāṭayati) ; etc. : but উখাড় « ukhāṛ » may represent « utkhāta + -ḍa ».

633. (iv) The affixes র, ল « -r-, -l- » represent the OIA. adjectival and pleonastic affix occurring both as « -ra, -la » (see *supra*, pp. 697-698). In compounded denominatives, the force is that of approximation or resemblance, or connexion. The « -r- » form in some instances may be a modification of ড় « -ṛ- » above ; and in other cases it may be for « -ārà formative < -ākāra », implying resemblance (Affix No. 18, *supra*, pp. 668-669). Similarly the « -l- » form may represent the adjectival « -ālà » (No. 19, p. 669). Examples : আগলা « āgàlā » *watch* (arga-la-) ; উঁচলা, ওঁছলা « ũcàlā, õchàlā » *sift* (uñch) ; খোসলা « khōsàlā » *peel* (khōsā *skin of fruit*) ; চোমরা, চুমরা « cōmàrā, cumàrā » *flatter* (cumb) ; চোবলা « cōbàlā », ছোবলা « chōbàlā » *bite as a snake* (cf. চোপ « cōpà » *blow* : see p. 482 *supra*) ; ঝাঁকরা « jhãkàrā » *shake* (see p. 479 *supra*) ; ঝামরা « jhāmàrā » *be pale, dry up* (p. 480) ; ঠাওরা, ঠাহরা « ṭhāorā, ṭhāhàrā » *look over, scrutinise, examine a thing that is standing still* (ṭhāha, ṭhāwa < √sthā) ; ডুকরা « ḍukàrā » *shout, lament loudly* (cf. ḍākà *shout*) ; থেঁতলা « thẽtàlā » *pound, batter* (cf. থেঁত thẽtà *pounded*) ; নাগলা « nāgàlā » *reach* (lāga + -āla-) ; দাঁদলা « dãdàlā » *swagger* (dvandva) ; পিকলা « pikàlā » *spit, squirt out*

(onomatopoetic); ফুসলা « phusa̸lā » *wheedle, lead astray by whispering in the ear* (onomatopoetic); ফুকরা « phuka̸rā » *shout out, lament loudly* (onomatopoetic: « phukka » *puffing, blowing*, cf. Hindī « pukār » *shout*); বাওলা « bāolā » *fan, winnow* (vāta); হাঁকরা, হাঁকারা « hā̃ka̸rā, hā̃kārā » *shout, give a blow* (MIA. hakkāra *shout*); হামলা « hāma̸lā » *be eager, fall down on all fours in eagerness* (cf. hammati *crawls*); etc., etc. This affixed « -r-, -l- » of course is not to be confused with original « -r-, -l- » in forms like আঙলা « āŋga̸lā » *to use fingers* (aŋguli); †উভরা « ubha̸rā » *bring down, pour* (udbhārayati); নিকলা « nika̸lā » *get out* (niḥ + kr̥); বাতলা « bāta̸lā » *explain* (from Hindōstānī, a causative in « -lā- »); etc.

634. (v) The affix স, চ « -s-, -c- » is the affix of resemblance (No. 55, p. 699). Examples with it are কপচা « kāpa̸cā » *chatter like a bird* (kḷp); গুমসা « guma̸sā » *be stuffy* (< grīṣma? : cf. গুমট « gumāṭa̸ » *stuffy weather*); so চকসা « cāka̸sā » *become clear, as sky* (see p. 699); চুপসা « cupa̸sā » *be lean, be hollow* (p. 699); ঝলসা « jhāla̸sā » *roast* (see p. 479); লেঙ্গচা « lēŋga̸cā », নেঙ্গচা « nēŋga̸cā » *limp* (see p. 699); ধামসা « dhāma̸sā » *rummage as a bed* (cf. MB. ধামালি « dhāmāli » *horseplay, sport*); বালসা « bāla̸sā » *get fever as a baby* (bāla); ভাপসা « bhāpa̸sā » *smell fœtid* (bāṣpa); ভেঙ্গচা, ভাঙ্গচা « bhēŋga̸cā, bhāŋga̸cā » *make faces* (bhaŋga); etc., etc.

635. Onomatopoetics also fall under denominatives. These can be classed under two heads—Onomatopoetics Proper, and Roots Reduplicated or Repeated, which produce a jingle. Onomatopoetics Proper can also be either simple or reduplicated.

It is evident that in the early stages of IA., onomatopoetics were not so common. Compared with the Vedic, the MIA. dialects are specially rich in onomatopoetics.

Vedic has registered about a dozen onomatopoetics formed by repeating a root to produce a jingle, or by compounding an imitative word with a root of action or existence (cf. Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, § 1091; see also *supra*, pp. 175, 200). Onomatopoetics were included in the category of *dēśī* words by Prakrit grammarians, as they cannot show counterparts in Vedic or Sanskrit. We have onomatopoetics

of two types in the speech of Ancient India (Vedic, Skt., and the Pkts.): *simple,* like the Sanskrit nouns « jhaŋ-kāra, guñj-ana, kūj-ana », Pkt. verbs « jhaŋkārēi, *guñjaï, kūjaï »; and *reduplicated,* like Late Skt. « khaṭ-khaṭāyamāna, maḍamaḍāyitā, pharpharāyatē », etc., Pali « halahalā, kiṇikiṇāyati, capucapu », etc., and Prakrit « caḍapaḍanta, cuhūcuhū, tharahara- », etc. It would be seen that in Sanskrit the onomatopoetics are treated as denominatives in « -āya- », but in MIA., we have the direct use of the stem as root.

Onomatopoetics of the reduplicating type are found in abundance in all NIA. languages. In Bengali, onomatopoetic reduplications are ordinarily used as adverbs, absolutely i.e., without any affix, and modify a verb of action: *e.g.,* চক্‌চক্ করে « cåkɸ-cåkɸ kårē » *glitters;* or they are employed as gerundives in « -iyā », also standing in adverbial relation to the verb of action, *e.g.,* কন্‌কনাইয়া < কন্‌ক'নিয়ে উঠে « kånɸ-kånāiyā > kånɸkōniē uṭhē » *gives a throbbing pain.* A group consisting of a reduplicated or simple onomatopoetic and a verb like কর্ « kår » *to do* may be regarded as a compound verb formation.

There are over 125 common onomatopoetics in Bengali which are used as verb-roots. The list of onomatopoetics given in Rabīndra-nāth Tagore's 'Śabda-tattwa' comes up to 651, which includes words of all kinds that would come under this head. By change of the vowel, the same consonant group can be made to take numerous forms, which are slightly differentiated in meaning. Thus টক্‌টক্ « ṭåkɸ-ṭåkɸ » *tick of a clock,* টিক্‌টিক্ « ṭikɸ-ṭikɸ » *tick of a watch, nagging in a mild way,* টুকটুক « ṭukɸ-ṭukɸ » *gentle battering with a tiny hammer,* ট্যাক্‌ট্যাক্ « ṭyākɸ-ṭyākɸ » [ṭæ̃kṭæ̃k] *jangle, unpleasant remarks,* টিক্‌টাক্, টুক্‌টাক্ « ṭikɸ-ṭākɸ, ṭukɸ-ṭākɸ » *gentle blows with alternation of sound,* টকাটক্ « ṭåkāṭåkɸ » *quick one after another,* etc. The proper significance and use of the onomatopoetic forms in the psychology and art of Bengali speech has been discussed by Rabīndra-nāth Tagore in 'Śabda-tattwa' and by Rāmēndra-sundara Trivēdī in 'Śabda-kathā.'

Examples of Onomatopoetic Verbs in Bengali.

A. Onomatopoetics Proper:

(i) Simple : চিল্লা « cillā » *shout ;* চুঁয়া « cũā » *scorch in cooking, be fried black ;* টুপা, টুসা « ṭupā, ṭusā » *drip ;* ফুক « phuk » *whiff, smoke, puff ;* ফোঁসা « phõsā » *hiss ;* হাঁক « hå̃k » *shout* (MIA. hakka) ; হাঁচ « hå̃c » *sneeze* (cf. OB. « bhāñjī » as in Sarvânanda) ; etc.

(ii) Duplicated : কট্‌কটা « kåṭa̸-kåṭā » *sense of biting or breaking pain ;* কটমটা « kåṭa̸-måṭā » *look with glaring eyes ;* কড়মড়া « kåṛa̸-måṛā » *gnash one's teeth ;* কুড়মুড়া « kuṛa̸-muṛā » *chew something crisp ;* ক্যাঁচক্যাঁচা « kyå̃ca̸-kyå̃cā » *creak ;* খটখটা khåṭa̸-khåṭā » *rattle, knock ;* গড়গড়া « gåṛa̸-gåṛā » *roll ;* গেঁগা « gẽgā », গেঙা « gẽŋā » *groan, have a dried-up throat or choked voice in speaking ;* চড়চড়া > চচ্চড়া « cåṛa̸-cåṛā, cåccåṛā » *striking with a cane, sense of whipping pain ;* ঝলমলা « jhåla̸-målā » *dangle, be bright ;* ঝমঝমা « jhåma̸-jhåmā » *make a hollow ringing noise, tinkle as anklets, patter as heavy rain ;* ঠকঠকা « ṭhåka̸-ṭhåkā » *knocking sound ;* তড়বড়া « tåṛa̸-båṛā » *clatter as gallopping horses, chatter ;* থিকথিকা « thika̸-thikā » *sense of teeming as with maggots ;* পিলপিলা « pila̸-pilā » *sense of being over-crowded ;* ফরফরা « phåra̸-phårā » *flutter ;* বজবজা « båja̸-båjā » *sense of being moist and rotten ;* বিড়বিড়া « biṛa̸-biṛā » *mutter ;* মচমচা « måca̸-måcā » *crackle in the mouth ;* সপসপা « såpa̸-såpā » *sense of being wet and uncomfortable ;* হড়হড়া « håṛa̸-håṛā » *sense of being slippery and uncanny ;* etc., etc.

B. Roots Repeated.

(i) Complete repetition : জলজলা « jål-jålā » *be brilliant* (jval) ; টনটনা « ṭån-ṭånā » *sense of binding pain* (ṭan = ṭān) ; টলটলা « ṭål-ṭålā » *be clear and ready to run off, as water* (ṭal) ; ধুকধুকা « dhuk-dhukā » *pant* (cf. dhũk *pant, gasp*) ; সড়সড়া « såṛ-såṛā » *feel creepy, as with an insect crawling over the body* (såḍ < sṛta) ; গলগলা « gål-gålā » *ooze or flow out, as blood* (gal) ; গনগনা « gån-gånā » *burn brightly* (< gan < agni ? cf. Pali gini) ; etc.

(ii) Modified repetition, where another root of similar sense and assonance echoes the preceding one : চুলবুলা, চিলবিলা « cul-bulā, cil-bilā » *be fidgety, be eager to move away* (« cål, bul » : cf. চলাবুলা « cålā-bulā » *wander about, move and walk*) ; টলবলা « ṭål-bålā » *be shaky and moving* (ṭal, bål = bul < Skt. val) ; দলমলা « dål-mālā » *shake and pat* (« dal, mal » : cf. দলাইমলাই « dålāi-målāi » *currying a horse*) ; etc., etc.

636. In addition to roots which easily affiliate themselves to one or the other of the above classes, there are a few roots of which the origin has not been found out, and which from their look are secondary formations : *e.g.*, কাঁচা « kā̃cā » *bring to a failure, make 'cutcha'* ; গজা « gåjā » *sprout* ; MB. গাহা « gāhā » *cauker* ; গুটা, গুড়া « guṭā, guṛā » *gather up, as a net or line* ; গুঁড়া « gũṛā » *pound* ; জিরা « jirā » *cool one self, rest* ; টাঙ্গা « ṭāŋ(g)ā » *hang on high* ; বিলা « bilā » *distribute* ; হেদা « hēdā » *pine away* ; লেলা « lēlā » *set a dog on a person* ; etc. In some cases they appear to be *dēśī*.

In a number of *dēśī* and *tbh.* roots, we find a wide range of vowel change : চিপসা and চুপসা « cip(ả)sā, cup(ả)sā » *get shrivelled* ; জাবড়া, জোবড়া « jāb(ả)ṛā, jōb(ả)ṛā » *smudge, blotch* ; etc. This, as well as other variations, like nasalisation or the absence of it, and interchange of consonants, etc., have been noticed under *Phonology*. The dislocation of the MIA. tradition in Bengali spelling from the very beginning, through Sanskrit influence, has been responsible for the state of chaos which exists in the spelling of verb-roots (as of other forms) in Middle and New Bengali. Dialectal modifications are not properly discriminated and kept in their proper place. The result is that we have the same root spelt differently, *e.g.*, গোঙা and গোয়াঁ « gōŋā, gōyā̃ » (=gåw̃ā) *pass* (gam-aya-), শু and সু « śu, su » *sleep, lie down* (svap), নেউটা and লেউটা « nēuṭā, lēuṭā » *return* (ni-vṛt), আইশ, আইস, আস « āiś, āis, ās » *come* (ā-viś), etc., etc.

[II] Formal Classification of Roots.

637. The proper classification of roots in Bengali, viewed from the formal aspect, is not with regard to their affixes (because they are always the same—the Bengali verb presents only *one* conjugation, and apparent irregularities are only the result of recent phonetic changes), but with regard to the modifications of the root-vowels and also of the affix-vowel in the case of the causatives and denominatives. These modifications are the result of Epenthesis-cum-Umlaut and Vocalic Harmony (*supra*, pp. 378 ff.). Roots have [i, e, u, o] when the following affix has a high vowel, [i, u] ; and these are lowered respectively

to [e, æ, o, ɔ] in the case of a low vowel [e, o, ɑ, ɔ] following; and [æ, ɔ] are changed to [e, o] through the influence of a following [i, u].

The principal parts of a Bengali verb, judging from these vowel modifications, can be taken to be (i) Inferior Imperative, which is identical with the Root; (ii) 3rd pers. Present; (iii) 3rd pers. Past; or 3rd pers. Future; (iv) Present Participle, and (v) Conjunctive in « -iyā ». All the variations a root can undergo are found in the above forms. To classify formally the Bengali verb, it is best to take the Standard Colloquial in which the phonetic advance has been the greatest. The « sādhu-bhāṣā » spelling does not consider the present-day vowel changes and contractions, and conjugation in the « sādhu-bhāṣā » means only a rigid and regular adding of a series of affixes.

Below are given in phonetic transcript the groups into which the Standard Colloquial verbs would range themselves: the spelling in Bengali is not uniform, as has been noted before.

Class I (a): Roots in « -å- » [ɔ] closed by a consonant:

(i) [kɔr] *do*; (ii) [kɔre]; (iii) [korle, kolle < *kɔrile; korbe < *kɔribe]; (iv) [korte, kotte]; (v) [kore];

(i) [bɔl] *say*; (ii) [bɔle]; (iii) [bolle; bolbe]; (iv) [bolte]; (v) [bole].

Class I (b): Roots ending in « -å- » [ɔ], originally in « -åh » [ɔɦ]:

(i) [rɔ < rɔɦ] *remain*; (ii) [rɔĕ]; (iii) [roilo; roibe, rɔbe]; (iv) [roite]; (v) [roe];

(i) [ʃɔ < ʃɔɦ] *suffer*; (ii) [ʃɔĕ]; (iii) [ʃoile; ʃoibe, ʃɔbe]; (iv) [ʃoite]; (v) [ʃoe]. Similarly [dɔ, bɔ < dɔɦ, bɔɦ] *burn, bear*; etc.

(i) [ɦɔ < *ɔɦ] *be*; (ii) [ɦɔĕ]; (iii) [ɦolo; ɦɔbe]; (iv) [ɦote]; (v) [ɦoe].

Class II (a): Roots ending in « -ā » [ɑ]:

(i) [khɑ] *eat*; (ii) [khɑĕ]; (iii) [khele, khelo; khɑbe]; (iv) [khete]; (v) [kheĕe];

Class II (b): Roots in « -ā- » [ɑ] ending in a consonant:

(i) [mɑr] *beat*; (ii) [mɑre]; (iii) [mɑrle, mɑlle, mɑrlo, mɑllo; mɑrbe]; (iv) [mɑrte, mɑtte]; (v) [mere].

Class II (c) : Roots in « -ā » originally closed by « -h » [aɦ > ɑ] :
(i) [gɑ < gaɦ] *sing* ; (ii) [gaĕ] ; (iii) [gaile ; gaibe] ; (iv) [gaite] ; (v) [geĕe < *gaiɦa, gaɦia].

Class III (a) : Roots in « -i » (rare, archaic) :
(i) [ʤi] *live* ; (ii) [ʤie] ; (iii) [ʤilo ; ʤibe] ; (iv) [ʤite] ; (v) [ʤie]. So [pi] *drink*, etc.

Clas III (b) : Roots in « -i- », ending in a consonant :
(i) [mil] *unite, be found* ; (ii) [mele] ; (iii) [millo ; milbe] ; (iv) [milte] ; (v) [mile].

Class IV (a) : Roots in « -e » (irregular) :
(i) [de] *give* ; (ii) [dæĕ] ; (iii) [dile ; debe] ; (iv) [dite] ; (v) [die] ;
(i) [ne] *take* ; (ii) [næĕ] ; (iii) [nile ; nebe] ; (iv) [nite] ; (v) [nie].

Class IV (b) : Roots in « -e- » ending in a consonant :
(i) [khel] *play*, inferior imperative [khæl < *khɛlɔ] ; (ii) [khæle] ; (iii) [khelle ; khelbe] ; (iv) [khelte] ; (v) [khele].

Class V : Roots in « -u- » ending in a consonant :
(i) [ʃun > ʃon] *hear* ; (ii) [ʃone] ; (iii) [ʃunle ; ʃunbe] ; (iv) [ʃunte] ; (v) [ʃune] ;
(i) [khũʤ > khõʤ] *search* ; (ii) [khõʤe] ; (iii) [khũʤle ; khũʤbe] ; (iv) [khũʤte] ; (v) [khũʤe].

Class VI : Roots in « -o » :
(i) [ʃo] *lie down* ; (ii) [ʃoĕ] ; (iii) [ʃulo ; ʃobe] ; (iv) [ʃute] ; (v) [ʃue] ;
(i) [do] *milk* ; (ii) [doĕ] ; (iii) [duile ; duibe, dobe] ; (iv) [dute, duite] ; (v) [due] ; (irregular ; « -o < -uh »).

Class VII : Causatives and Denominatives in « -ā » (see also *supra*, under *Phonology*, 'Umlaut') :
(i) [kɔrɑ] *cause to do* ; (ii) [kɔraĕ] ; (iii) [kɔrale ; kɔrabe] ; (iv) [kɔrate] ; (v) [korie] ;
(i) [ʤaɖɑ] *cause to go* ; (ii) [ʤaɖaĕ] ; (iii) [ʤaɖale ; ʤaɖabe] ; (iv) [ʤaɖate] ; (v) [ʤaie].

(i) [c͡ʃina > c͡ʃena] *cause to recognise* ; (ii) [c͡ʃinaĕ > c͡ʃenaĕ] ; (iii) [c͡ʃenale ; c͡ʃenabe] ; (iv) [c͡ʃenate] ; (v) [c͡ʃinie].

(i) [dækha] *show* ; (ii) [dækhaĕ] ; (iii) [dækhale ; dækhabe] ; (iv) [dækhate] ; (v) [dekhie] ;

(i) [ʃona] *cause to hear* ; (ii) [ʃonaĕ] ; (iii) [ʃonale ; ʃonabe] ; (iv) [ʃonate] ; (v) [ʃunie].

[III] Roots and Verbal Nouns in Bengali.

638. Although roots are essentially the creations of grammarians, conceived as the foundation of a number of words, there is always present, even among the uneducated speakers of an inflexional language, what may be called *root-consciousness.* Often the barest form, identical with the grammarian's root, is found to be in use in speech, even in highly inflected languages. Thus in Sanskrit, we see that « dṛś » means *a seeing, a seer ;* so « bhuj, bhū, pṛcch » are used as nouns ; and similarly « vṛt » is *that which turns,* and « vid » occurs as a noun in the sense of *knower.* The nominal inflexions were of course added in Sanskrit, although, as a result of phonetic decay, it would so seem that in the nominative singular the bare root itself without any formative affix added was the word. And in the modern IE. languages like English, French, Persian, Hindī, Bengali, what was originally a combination of root + affix has commonly been reduced to the bare root through phonetic decay. As a consequence in NIA. what at first sight looks like the root unmodified by any inflexion, features as a verbal noun, and also as the inferior imperative. Historical grammar will tell us that originally such forms ended in an affix, « -i » or « -a », which is now lost. In Dravidian, the simple root is used for the imperative singular : in modern Hindī and Bengali, we have the same thing resulting as the *finale* of a long history ; although it looks like an approximation to the Dravidian usage. Instances of such phonetically decayed *Root-Nouns,* as they may be called, are fairly common in Bengali. These occur either singly, or with another root-word of similar meaning, and are in the accusative or nominative relation to the verb with which they are employed : *e.g.,* সাজ « sājđ » as

in সাজ করা « sājẚ kȧrā » *array ;* ফাট « phāṭẚ » *crack* as in ফাট ধ'রেছে « phāṭẚ dhōrēchē » *it has got a crack ;* পচ « pȧcẚ » *rottenness ;* চির, চিড় « cirẚ, ciṛẚ » *mark or line of a crack ;* পাক ধরা « pākẚ dhȧrā » *become ripe, tend to ripen ;* ডুব « ḍubẚ » *a dipping ;* তাক লাগা « tākẚ-lāgā » *gaze, be struck with wonder ;* খাখা করা « khā-khā kȧrā » *be eager to eat* (but cf. খাউ খাউ করা « khāu-khāu kȧrā », *supra*, pp. 678-679); চল « cȧlẚ » *circulation ;* রহ-সহ or রহ-ঠহ করা « rȧ(hȧ)-sȧ(hȧ), rȧ(hȧ)-ṭhȧ(hȧ) kȧrā » *to wait and watch ;* ভাঙ্গচুর « bhāŋ(g)ẚ-curẚ » *breaking and pulverising ;* ভুলচুক « bhulẚ-cukẚ » *mistakes and omissions ;* তোলপাড় « tōlẚ-pāṛẚ » *raising and felling = turning upside down, agitating ;* মারধর « mārẚ-dhȧrẚ » *striking and seizing ;* ধর-পাকড় « dhȧrẚ-pākȧṛẚ » *seizing and catching ;* মারকাট « mārẚ-kāṭẚ » *striking and cutting down ;* ভাঙ্গ-গড় « bhāŋ(g)ẚ-gȧṛẚ » *destroying and building ;* দেখ-মার « dēkhẚ-mārẚ » *seeing and striking, attacking at sight* (cf. in a daily paper—জার্ম্মানী দেখ-মার নীতি অবলম্বন করিল « Jārmmānī dēkhẚ-mārẚ nīti ȧbȧlȧm-bȧnẚ kȧrilȧ » *Germany has adopted the policy of 'hit at sight'*); so উঠ-বস « uṭhẚ-bȧsẚ » *rising and sitting ;* হার-জিত « hārẚ-jitẚ » *lose and win ;* চল-বুল « cȧlẚ-bulẚ » *walk and wander ;* হাঁক-ডাক « hā̃kẚ-ḍākẚ » *shout and yell ;* কাট-ছাঁট « kāṭẚ-chā̃ṭẚ » *cut and trim (as of garments) ;* ফাট-ফুট « phāṭȧ-phuṭẚ » *crack and split ;* etc., etc. These Root-Nouns also form compounds with other nouns: *e.g.*, ছাড়-পত্র « chāṛẚ-pȧtrȧ » *passport.* See also under 'Verbal Nouns,' *infra*. For Root Imperatives, see under 'Moods,' below.

[C] Kinds of Verbs: Intransitive and Transitive.

639. Verbs in Bengali are either intransitive or transitive. In their outward form, however, there is no distinction between the two classes. Intransitive roots are chiefly primary ones, although those of secondary origin also occur. *E.g.*, « āch, kā̃d, kā̃ś, khēl, gȧl, cȧl, cu, jwȧr = jȧr, jwȧl = jȧl, ji, jā, jujh, jhȧr, ṭuṭ, ṭal, mil, hil » etc. Also old denominatives like « pāk, ruṭh, tāt, bā̃k, māt, phā̃s, thām » etc.; and new denominatives « kulā, ghumā, dā̃ṛā, bāhirā, śukhā, sẽtā » etc. All primary intransitive roots can be made transitive by adding the causative « -ā- ».

640. The initial stress of Bengali has in most cases obliterated the means of differentiating between the intransitive and transitive

(causative) forms of roots by making long the quantity of the root-vowel of the latter, and keeping short the quantity of that of the former. This means still obtains in the Bihārī dialects, and in Eastern as well as Western Hindī: *e.g.*, Bihārī « kăṭab » *get cut*, causative « kāṭab »; « dĭsab » *be seen*, « dīsab » *show*; « găṛab » *be interred*, « gāṛab » *inter*; Hind. « pălnā » *be reared*, « pālnā » *rear*; « nikălnā » *get out*, « nikālnā » *cast out*; etc. These intransitives with a short vowel are frequently new forms in NIA., built out of the old causatives with a proper long vowel (cf. R. L. Turner, 'The Loss of Vowel-Alternation in Indo-Aryan,' in the 'Proceedings and Transactions of the 2nd Oriental Conference,' Calcutta, 1922, p. 492). But the «-ā-» affix is indispensable in Bengali for the causative, or transitive form of an intransitive root, and quantity of the root-vowel does not count.

641. The transitive verb depends largely on its object. In Bengali, as in other NIA. languages, only inanimate nouns can properly be said to have an accusative case,—i.e., only these do not take a dative affix like « -kē, -kō » etc.: *e.g.*, জল আনো « jåla̸ ānō » *bring water*, ভাত খায় « bhāta̸ khāy » *eats rice*, কাঠ কাটে « kāṭha̸ kāṭē » *cuts wood*, etc. Animate nouns when really in the accusative case take the dative affix « -kē, -rē » in NB. when they are personal and definite: but they do not take the dative affix, and thus behave like inanimate nouns, when the object signified is general, vague or indefinite: গোরু চরায় « gōru cårāy » *grazes cattle*, but গোরুটাকে বাঁধো « gōru-ṭā-kē bā̃dhō » *tie the cow*. The accusative apparently governed by an intransitive verb in Bengali is properly a dative, or a locative: *e.g.*, বাড়ী চলো « bāṛī cålō » *come home*; জলকে চল « jala̸-kē cåla̸ » *come to the water* (=*river, tank*); ঘরকে গেল « ghåra̸-kē gēlå » *went home*, etc.

The extension of dative the post-position to the accusative is a NIA. development. The NIA. « bhāvē prayōga » or neuter construction of the transitive verb, in the past tense, as in Hindī « us-nē ghōṛī-kō dēkhā » *by-him with-reference-to-the-mare it-was-seen* (as opposed to the « karmaṇi » or passive construction, « us-nē ghōṛī dēkhī » *by-him mare she-was-seen*), was not a characteristic thing in MIA.: it could be established only when the dative post-position came to be attached to the accusative for precision, as the inflexion of the latter was lost. Bengali সে মানুষকে দেখিল « sē mānuṣa̸-kē dēkhilå » *he*

with-reference-to-the-man saw and সে মানুষ দেখিল « sē mānuṣ dēkhilȁ » *he man saw* are in their formation analogous respectively to the « bhāvē » and « karmaṇi » constructions of Hindī, etc., only the Bengali development has been to make them both active (with the proper nominative rather than instrumental), and definite in case of the post-positional form. The loss of OIA. affixes brought in the employment of post-positions for clearness and definiteness. The accusative did not possess any remarkable inflection—the OIA. « -am » had dwindled away to zero in Bengali and other NIA. When the dative post-position was taken up by the accusative, it was to supply this want of an affix; and it brought in greater definiteness. In Apabhraṅśa and in Avahaṭṭha we have the accusative (for the animate noun) without post-position, *e.g.*, in the 'Prākṛta-Pāiṅgala,'— « girivara-saaṇaṁ ṇamaha Haraṁ » *salute ye Hara dwelling in the noble mountain* (p. 313, Bib. Ind. edition); « gōla (= gōḍa)-rāa jiṇi » *having conquered the King of Gauḍa* (p. 423); « Bali chali » *having cheated Bali* (p. 586); etc.: but « rajja Suggivaha dijja » *gave the kingdom to Sugrīva* (p. 576), where we have the dative-genitive. In the OB. of the Caryās, we have the same thing: « guru pucchia jāṇa » *ask the* guru *and know* (2): « sadguru pucchi » *asking the good master* (4); etc. In MB. and NB., in some cases the old accusative survives: *e.g.*, বন্দো মাতা সুরধনী « bȁndō mātā surȁdhȁnī » *I worship mother S.*; রাম ভজো মন « rām bhȁjō mȁn » *adore R., O mind.* But already in the ŚKK., we find the NB. characteristic of using the dative affix for the accusative established. Bengali in this respect came in line with the other NIA. languages which developed largely the neuter construction: thus রাধাক দেখিআঁ « Rādhā-kȁ dēkhiȁ̃ » *seeing R.*, পুছিল রাধাকে «puchilȁ Rādhā-kē » *asked R.* (p. 135); বড়ায়িক ছাড়ী কেহে হৈবোঁ একাকিনী « bȁṛāyi-kȁ chāṛī kēnhē hȁibō̃ ēkākinī » *why should I be alone, leaving the old woman ?* (p. 147); etc.

642. One intransitive verb, compounded with a noun or adjective, behaves ike a transitive in NB.: the verb বাস « bās ». Originally it meant *to feel, to like, to regard, to hold.* The source of it seems to the common OIA. root « vas » *to dwell,* with the long, or causative grade « vās, vās-aya » used as

active; but there seems to have merged in it also the other OIA. roots « vaś » *desire, wish for*, and « vas » *love*, as well as « vās » *put on garment.* In NB., the words ভালো, বাসা « bhālō, bāsā » = *well* and *like* have formed a compound verb-root, transitive, = ভালবাসা, ভালোবাসা « bhālå-bāsā, bhālō-bāsā » *to love.* The compound মন্দ-বাস « måndå-bāsa̸ » *dislike* also is heard in NB. But in MB., বাস « √bās » was an ordinary root, which was used with other nouns, or was used impersonally: *e.g.*, ভয় বাসি, ডর বাসি মনে « bhåya̸ bāsi, ḍåra̸ bāsi månē » *I am afraid in my mind*; শরীরে বাসি বল « śårīrē bāsi båla̸ » *I feel strong in body*; কৌতুক বাস কি « kåutuka̸ bāså ki » *do you think it as queer?*; অদ্ভুত হেন বাসি « ådbhuta̸ hēnå bāsi » *strange as it were it appears to me*; না দেব কড়ি তোমার মনে বাসে « nā dēbå kåṛi, tōmāra̸ månē bāsē » *it strikes you as if I shall not pay the money*; লাজ বাসে » lāja̸ bāsē » *feels shy*; কোপে না কহিলা মোর মনে বাসে « kōpē nā kåhilā, mōra̸ månē bāsē » *appears in my mind that he spoke not in anger*; বাসি ভাত ব্যঞ্জনে জিহ্বায় রস বাসে « bāsi bhāta̸ byåñjånē jihwāy råsa̸ bāsē » *the tongue feels moist (with relish) with cold rice and curry*; আমার আগেতে নৃত্য করিতে বাস ঘৃণা « āmāra̸ āgē-tē nṛtyå kåritē bāså ghṛṇā » *holdest in scorn to dance before me*; ধন্দ হেন বাসে « dhåndå hēnå bāsē » *it seems as if it were a maze*; হাটিতে না পারে চান্দ পাএ বাসে বান্ধা « hāṭitē nā pārē Cāndå, pāē bāsē bāndhā » *C. cannot walk, feels as if fastened by the feet*; etc., etc. (the examples given above are from the 'Padmā-purāṇa' of Vijaya-gupta, but instances abound in all MB. writers). The nouns in apparent accusative relation with « √bās » like ভালো, মন্দ, ভয়, ডর, বল, কৌতুক etc. above, are properly adverbial in nature, rather than true accusatives.

[D] MOODS: OPTATIVE, SUBJUNCTIVE, IMPERATIVE.

643. NB. possesses but two moods, Indicative and Imperative. The Imperative occurs in the second and third persons only, and in the present tense. It is sometimes quite properly called the 'Imperative Tense.' An old future for the second person is used as a Precative or Future Imperative. For the Infinitive, there are some verbal nouns. The other moods of OIA.— Subjunctive or Conjunctive, Optative, Injunctive, and Precative, are entirely lost in Bengali.

644. In the well-known « āryā » or distich giving rules for working land-measures, attributed to the mathematician **Śubhaŋkara** (under whose name the old Indian system of arithmetic and square and cubic measures as practised in the village schools in Bengal passes), we have an optative or precative form লিজ্জে « lijjē »: কুড়ুবা কুড়ুবা কুড়ুবা লিজ্জে, কাঠায় কুড়ুবা কাঠা লিজ্জে « kuṛubā kuṛubā, kuṛubā lijjē: kāṭhāy kuṛubā, kāṭhā lijjē » *kuṛubā* (= kuḍava, '*bighā*' *measure* = $\frac{1}{3}$ *acre*) × *kuṛubā, take* (*the result*) *as kuṛubā*; *kāṭhā* (= $\frac{1}{20}$*th of a bighā*, '*cottah*') × *kuṛubā, take as kāṭhā*. Here « lijjē » *take*, is properly an optative or precative = *let one take*, representing a Late MIA. « *lahijjaï, lahĕjjaï », which is made up of the optative form for the 3rd singular, « lahejja, lahijja » (= OIA. « *labh-yā-t, *labh-iyā-t » for « labh-ī-ta »), *plus* the affix for the indicative 3rd present « -i » (< OIA. -ti). The OIA. « -yā- » optative or precative became « -ĕyya » in First MIA., which gave later MIA. « -ĕjja, -ijja », and assumed the personal terminations « -mi, -si- (also -hi), -ti > -i » etc. of the indicative, and sometimes « -tu > -u » of the 3rd person imperative (*e.g.*, 'Prākṛta-Pāiŋgala,' p. 427—« sō tuha Saŋkara dijjaü mōkkhā » *may he, Śaṅkara, grant you liberation*, where « dijjaü » = « dĕjja, dijja [< dadyāt] » + « -u [< tu] » of the imperative. Cf. Grierson, JRAS., 1910, pp. 162-163); and as a distinct tense form—the 'Optative Tense'—it existed in Late MIA. This optative in « -j- » is preserved as a respectful imperative in the Midland and Western NIA. languages—*e.g.*, Hindōstānī « kījiyē » *please do*, Gujarātī « marjē, mārjō », etc.; but it is not found in the Eastern languages, being conspicuous by its absence in the Caryās, and in MB. in general. লিজ্জে « lijjē » of Śubhaŋkara is only a stray form which has found a place in a technical verse. It is not unlikely however, that the « -ijja- » optative existed in Māgadhī Apabhraṁśa. The 'Prākṛta-Pāiŋgala' verses with the « -ijj- » forms (see *supra*, p. 124) could from that assumption be connected with the East. There is a NIA. inflected passive in « -īj-, -ī-, -ij-, -i- », which is quite a different thing, being derived from the OIA. passive affix « -yá- ». A connexion between the MIA. inflected passive in « -ijja- < -yá- » and the MIA. « -ij-, -j- » imperative was suggested by Hoernle, but Tessitori has shown how this MIA. form is

only the old optative ('Comp. Grammar of the Gauḍian Languages, §§ 480, 481, 499; 'Notes on the Grammar of OWR.,' §120).

645. In MB. the optative sense is expressed by the indicative with the pronominal adverb যেন « jēnå » used as a conjunction = *so that* (see *supra*, p. 853); and sometimes the instrumental of the pronoun যা « jā » *that*, যাতে « jātē » *so that*, is also similarly employed: *e.g.*, আমি যেন দেখি « āmi jēnå dēkhi » *so that I may see, may I see*; সে যাতে করে « sē jātē kårē» *so that he may do, may he do.* There is also a periphrastic form with the root পা « pā » *obtain* or পার « pār » *be able*: *e.g.*, যেন আমি দেখ্‌তে পাই, or পারি « jenå āmi dēkhtē pāi, pāri » *may I see.* The conjunctives যেন, যাতে « jēnå, jātē » have no fixed place in the sentence. This idiom is found as early as the ŚKK.: *e.g.*, p. 168, সে যেহ্ন আহ্মাক বাহাএ দধিভার « sē jēnhå āmhā-kå bāhāē dådhi-bhārå » *may she make me carry the load of curds*; p. 186, সাবধানে লঅ যেহ্ন না ছাড়াএ ঘোল « sābådhānē låå jēnhå nā chāṛāē ghōlå » *take it carefully, that the whey may not scatter*; p. 211, কেহো কাহাকো যেহ্ন না করে উপহাস « kēhō kāhākō jēnhå nā kårē upåhāså » *may no one taunt another.* In other MB. works also this construction figures: *e.g.*, 'Caitanya-Bhāgavata,' p. 204 (ed. Atul Krishna Goswāmī), মোর কাম্য—যেন দেখা পাই « mōrå kāmya, jēnå dēkhā pāi » *my desired object—may I get a sight*; etc., etc. The conjunctive or adverbial participle in ইলে « -ilē » implies a condition, and it can be used with an optative force: *e.g.*, গেলে দেখা হয় « gēlē dēkhā håy » *an interview might take place if one went.* In this idiom, however, the optative sense is not always implied: *e.g.* OB. Caryā 2, « rāti bhaïlē Kāmaru jāi » *she goes to Kāmarūpa* (*would go, may go*) *when it becomes night*; ŚKK., p. 397, যে বুধি করিলে রহে আহ্মার জীবন « jē budhi kårilē rahē āmhārå jībånå » *by doing such contrivance with which my life may endure* (or *will endure*), etc.

646. The Subjunctive Mood, which was of so great importance in Vedic, was dropped in Classical Sanskrit, although it lingered on in Early MIA. (cf E. Müller, 'Pali Grammar,' p. 108). Bengali in common with other NIA. (except Assamese) possesses a Present Participle form which is used for the Past Subjunctive or Conditional, as well as Past Habitual: *e.g.*, (যদি) করিতাম (করিতে, করিত) « (jådi) kåritāmå (kåritē, kåritå) », Oṛiyā

« mu kårånti (tu kåråntu, sē kåråntā) » *if I (you, he) did*, etc.; so Maithilī « ham karitahu, sē karitai », Western Hindī « maĩ kartā, ham kartē » etc.

The subjunctive is formed in Bengali with the help of the conjunction যদি « yadi, jådi » *if*, a *ts.* which has ousted the OB. *tbh.* « jaï ». Occasionally in early Bengali (as in early 19th century prose), the conjunction যে « jē » *that* is used. A similar use of « jaï » or « yadi » occurs in OB.: *e.g.*, Caryā 5, « jaï tumhē, lōa hē, hoïba pāragāmi » *if ye, O men, will be goers across*; 41, « jaï tō mūḍhā acchasi, bhāntī puccha-tu sadguru-pāva » *if thou art ignorant, ask thou about thy mistakes at the foot of the good master*; in eMB., ŚKK., p. 137, যদি মোরে পুছে আইহনে « jådi mōrē puchē Āïhånē » *if Ā. were to ask me*; p. 244, তোহ্মা দেখি যদি মোর বিচলিল মনে « tōmhā dēkhi jådi mōrå bicålilå månē » *if by seeing you my mind is moved*; p. 289, আনল শরণ কিবা করিবোঁ যদি না দিবে বচনে « ānålå śårāṇa kibā kåribõ jådi nā dibē båcånē » *if you do not give word, I reck not I shall seek refuge in fire*; p. 351, যদি কাহ্নাঞি কর পার, হএ মোর তবেঁসি নিস্তার « jådi Kānhāñi kårå pārå, håē mōrå tåbẽsi nistārå » *if you get me across, O Kṛṣṇa, then indeed may come my salvation*; etc.

This use of « yadi, jaï » is common in the Apabhraṅśa and Avahaṭṭha: cf. 'Prākṛta-Paiŋgala,' p. 211, « sēra ĕkka jaï pāvaü ghittā » *if I could get a seer of ghee*; p. 465, « jaï ĕtthi digantara jāïhi kantā » *if the beloved one were to go to a foreign land even now*; p. 430, « jaï jaḍḍā rūsaï, cittā hāsaï pēṭē aggī thapplā » *if cold rages, the heart contracts, and fire is put on the stomach*; etc., etc.

647. The Imperative Mood, or 'Imperative Tense,' has the following affixes:

New Bengali :

First Person : Same as those for the Indicative Present.

Second person : Inferior (=Original Singular) has a form identical with the bare root: *e.g.*, কর্ « kår-ǿ », চল্ « cål-ǿ »; Ordinary, used with inferiors and equals (= Original Plural) has root + « -å » or « -ō »: কর, করো « kår-å, kår-ō », চল, চলো « cål-å, cål-ō ».

Honorific (= Originally 3 plural) = root + উন্ « -unđ »: করুন্, চলুন্ « kår-unđ, cål-unđ ».

Third Person: Singular, now also Plural: root + উক্ « -u-kđ »: করুক্, চলুক্ « kår-u-kđ, cål-u-kđ ».

Honorific (= Original Plural): root + উন্ « -unđ »; করুন্ চলুন « kår-unđ, cål-unđ ».

Early Middle Bengali:

First Person: Same as for Indicative Present.

Second Person: Singular and Plural অ, « -å »; অহ, হ « -åhå, -hå », and হা « -hā »: *e.g.*, কহ « kåh-å », লঅ « lå-å », সুত « sut-å » (= *sleep!*), দে, নে < দেঅ, নেঅ « dē, nē < *dēå, *nēå »; করহ « kår-åhå », চিন্তহ « cint-åhå », জাহ, যাহ « jā-hå », দেহ « dē-hå », খাহ « khā-hå », নিষধহ « niṣådh-åhå », থোহ « thō-hå »; খাহা « khā-hā », যাহা « jā-hā ».

Third Person: Singular and Plural: উ, অউ « -u, -åu » with or without pleonastic ক « -kå » (উক, অউক « -u-kå, -åu-kå) »: rarely, honorific অন্তু « åntå »: *e.g.*, জীউ « jī-u », পসু « påsu = påïś-u », « dē-u », ধরু « dhår-u », খণ্ডউ « khåṇḍ-åu », তেজুক « tēj-u-kå < *tēj-åu-kå »), থাকু « thāku (< *thā-u-kå »); দেন্তু « dē-ntå » (only instance in the ŚKK.). (Also forms in ইউ « -iū », for which see *infra*.)

Old Bengali:

Second Person: (i) « -a »: « jāṇ-a (Caryās 1, 44); sun-a (2); cāl-a (3); phāl-a (4); bāha-a (13); bāh-a (14); mār-a (21); kar-a (28, 41); bindh-a (28); pēkh-a (30, 46); bhōl-a (37); dhar-a (38); pasar-a, bas-a (39); bhaṇ-a (40, 42); phuḍ-a (47); hēr-a, chāḍ-a (50); accha = āch-a (37) »;

(ii) « -a-tu »: « pucch-a-tu (5); bāh-a-tu (8); bujh-a-tu (33) »;

(iii) « -aha, -ha »: « bindh-aha (28); bhul-aha (15); chēv-aha (45); (bāhaa, Caryā 13 = bāh-aha ?) »;

(iv) « -hu, -u »: « lā-hu (1); hō-hu (6); lē-hu, jā-hu, lō-u = lēhu, lē-u ? (32); dhahu = dhara-hu ? (38); jā-u (38); chāḍ-u (50) »;

(v) « -hī »: « hō-hī, jā-hī » (5).

Third Person: « -au »: « kar-au » (22);

Passive Third Person: « -iu », as in « ghōl-iu (12), marāḍ-iu ? (12), saṁkēl-iu, jā-iu, (15); caṭār-iu ? (26) ».

648. OIA. employed the corresponding subjunctive forms for the imperative 1st person: singular « -āni », dual « -āva », plural « -āma ». These have not survived in MIA. and NIA. The OIA. imperative 2 sg. had « -a » as well as « -hi ». This « -a » was continued through MIA. and OB. down to eMB., after which it fell off from pronunciation: OIA. « cal-a » > NIA. « cal-a » > OB. « cal-a » > eMB. « càl-à » > lMB., NB. « càl-ạ̊ »,. This old singular is now used as the inferior imperative, both singular and plural: তুই, তোরা চল « tui, tōrā càlạ̊ ». This « -a » affix was fairly common for the ordinary imperative, and in the general confusion of numbers, it seems to have been extended to the plural as well from the OB. period. The « -a » certainly assimilated with the root vowel, when the root ended in a vowel, before the eMB. stage: witness ŚKK. দে, নে = NB. দে, নে « dē, nē », < « *dēà, *nēà », inferior forms beside the ordinary NB. দেও or দাও « dēo, dāo » and নেও, নাও « nēo, nāo » < eMB. « dēà, nēà < dēha, nēhà ». [1]

The affix « -hi » of OIA. seems to have been continued down to OB. in the strengthened form « -hī », as in the Caryā « hō-hī, jā-hī »: and possibly in a form like করী « kàrī » in the ŚKK., as in প্রভু হয়িআঁ হেন নাহিঁ করী « pràbhu hàyiā̀ hēnà nāhī kàrī » *do not do so, being the lord* (p. 236),

[1] This loss of inflexional vowels occurring immediately after the root ending in a vowel seems to have taken place in Old Bengali, and possibly earlier still. Thus, for example, Tibetan tradition gives as an Old Bengali (or Old Magahī ?) sentence of the 11th century 'bhālā hoo (=hōu ?), nāth(a) Atīśa, bhāt onā, bhāt onā (= bhāta anā < aṇāa < MIA. *āṇāpaya = Skt. ānāyaya)' *may it be well, Master Atīśa, get (them) bring rice*, with which a beggar-boy accosted Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna Atīśa distributing alms and food at Vikramaśilā. (Śarat Chandra Dās, 'Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow,' Calcutta, 1893, p. 60.)

we have traces of « -hī », or of its influence (but see *infra*, under 'Inflected Passive'). But this « -hī » is lost to NB. The « -hi (-hī) » affix for the imperative seems to have been foreign to the eastern speech, which preferred « -a ». In MB. we have one or two instances of this « -hi (-āhi) » affix for the imperative, as a relic from MIA. : *e.g.*, Kṛttivāsa (VSP., I, p. 497)— আপনি ধার্ম্মিক তুমি ধর্ম্ম বুঝাহি আনে « āpåni dhārmikå, tumi dhårmå bujhāhi ānē » *you yourself are a righteous person, you explain the* dharma *to another.*

The OB. forms in « -tu », like « pucch-a-tu », are cases of pure agglutination arising out of an emphatic employ of the pronoun « tu (< tvam) ». As a stereotyped form it was extended to the plural or honorific also (*e.g.*, Caryā 5, « jaï tumhē, lōa hē, hōiba pāragāmi, pucch-a-tu Cāṭila anuttara-sāmī », translated at p. 262 *supra*).

The OIA. affix for 2 sg. *ātmanē-pada* was « -sva ». This gave a vocalised « -ssu » in First MIA. (Pali), which was used even with *parasmāi-pada* roots (E. Müller 'Pali Grammar,' p. 107; W. Geiger, 'Pali-sprache,' in the Grundriss, § 126). From « -ssu » came the Second MIA. « -su ». Pischel, however, holds that the Second MIA. « -su » arose by analogy: the Indicative had in MIA. the singular forms « -mi, -si, -ti > -di, -i », plural « mō, -tha > -dha > -ha, -nti », and by the juxtaposition of the 3rd personal forms, Indicative « -ti > -i, -nti » beside Imperative « -tu > -u, -ntu », the 1st and 2nd person singular also came to have in the Imperative « -mu, -su » beside the Indicative « -mi, -si » (cf. 'Gramm. der Pkt.-sprachen,' § 467).

The OB. forms in « -hu, -u » were used both for the singular and the plural, but probably they were singular at first, and it seems not unlikely that the « -hu, -u » affix originated from the « -su » form, in the pre-Bengali stage: « *cala-sva > cala-ssu > cala-su » might have given « cala-hu » in OB., with the obscure change of « -s- » to « -h- » remaining unexplained. Or a blend of *ātmanē-pada* « cala-su », *plus* « calāhi, calahi » (with *parasmāi-pada* « -hi » affix) may have given « calahu », and « calasu » + « cala » similarly may have resulted in « calu ».

The forms « calahu, jāhu, hōhu » etc. may equally be the original plural, with the « -ahu » affix, as in Śaurasēnī Apabhraṁśa, originating as follows: OIA. Indicative 2 plural « calatha » > MIA. Imperative « calaha, calahu »,

the « -a » changing to « -u » in MIA. probably through analogy of the 3rd plural « -ntu ».

This « -u » affix was also extended to the 2nd person of the other tenses—to the past in « -il- » and the future in « -ib- » in dialectal Bengali, and to the singular 2nd person of the present, simple past, habitual past, and future in Oṛiyā.

The « -u » imperative is quite common in Apabhraṅśa, *e.g.*, 'Prākṛta-Pāiŋgala,' p. 463, « ē atthirā dĕkkhu sarīrā gharu jāī » *see, all this is unstable,—the body, house, wife.*

The Imperative 2nd plural affix in OIA. was « -ata ». This fell together with the Indicative 2nd plural « -atha » as early as the First MIA. period, and « -atha » became in Second and Late MIA. « -adha, -aha ». OB. inherited this as « -aha », and this অহ « -åhå » continued down to eMB., and is even now used in NB. as an archaic, literary form (*e.g.*, আপন পাঠেতে মন করহ নিবেশ « āpanǿ pāṭhē-tē månǿ kåråhå nibēśǿ » *direct your mind to your own studies*; পশ্চাদ্ভাগ দেখহ « påścādbhāgǿ dēkhåhå » *see back*, as in Calcutta tramway tickets a few years ago). The contraction of « -åhå » to « -å, -å », however, took place in the spoken language as early as eMB., and this « -aha < -å » did not coalesce with the root when it ended in a vowel, unlike the « -ă » of the original singular. Final « -å > -å » also occurs as « -ō » in NB., and is as a matter of fact written ও « -ō » after vowels: জাহ, জাঅ > জাও « jāhå, jāå > jāō » *go!*; খাহ, খাঅ > খাও « khāhå, khāå > khāō » *eat!*; নেহ, নেঅ > (নেও) ন্যাও > নাও « nēhå, nēå > nēō [næo] > nāo » *take!*; so হও « håō » *be!*; জীঅহ > জীহ, জীঅ > জীও « jīåhå, jīhå, jīå > jīō » *live*, which even occurs as জীউ « jīu » through the influence of the preceding high vowel (cf. 'Māṇik Candra Rājār Gān,' জীউ জীউ রাইঅত ধর্ম্ম দেউক বর « jīu jīu rāiåtå, dhårmå dēukǿ bårǿ » *live, ye farmers, may Dharma grant this boon*: the « -u » here, however, can equally be the other imperative affix « -hu, -u »). With roots ending in consonants the affix « -åhå » becomes also « -ō, », and it is written either অ or ও: কর, চল or করো, চলো,—the pronunciation is generally [o] although the old tradition makes it অ in writing.

MIA. also changed « -aha » to « -ahu »: this has been noted before.

Early MB. « -hā » is only the « -ha » affix affected by the « -ā » of the root, as in « khā-hā, jā-hā ».

649. The OIA. affix « -tu » for 3 pers. sg. gave « -u » in OB. From eMB. times, the pleonastic ক « -kå » came to be added to this form (see *infra*, 'Pleonastic Affixes'). Oṛiyā and Bihārī do not employ this « -kå ». In MB., forms with « -kå » are almost as common as those without; in NB., the « -kǿ » is universal, and after the loss of the « -u- », this consonant has become the distinctive affix for this form: *e.g.*, যাক্, খাক্, নিক্, দিক্ « jāk, khāk, nik, dik », etc. The group « -u-kǿ » modified its spelling in accordance with the epenthesis of « -i-, -u- », *e.g.*, MB. জাকু, পাকু, হকু, দেকু = জাউক, পাউক, হউক, দেউক « jāukǿ, pāukǿ, håukǿ, dēukǿ » etc. (see *supra*, p. 383).

The plural form of the imperative 3 pers. in OIA., « -ntu », seems to have continued down to OB. The normal development in MB. and NB. ought to have been « -˜tu, -ũt, -˜t », but we actually find উন « -unǿ ». The expected « -nt- > -˜t- » has been ousted by « -n- » which is certainly the nominal plural affix extended to the verb (see *supra*, pp. 725-726).

OB. and eMB. have as a living form a passive imperative in « -iu, -iū », which is discussed below (under 'Passive in Bengali').

650. Forms for the Imperative in the other Magadhan speeches may be compared:

Assamese	Oṛiyā	Maithilī
1. kårō̃;	1. kårẽ—karũ;	1. dēkhiai̯, dēkhū;
2. kår, *honorific* kårā;	2. kårǿ—kårå;	2. dēkh, dēkhahŭ;
3. kårōk.	3. kåru—kåruntu	3. dēkhau̯, dēkhathŭ.

The Assamese « kårā » represents « karaha, karāhā »; and « kårōk » = « karau + -ka ». The Oṛiyā and Assamese 1st person is borrowed from the indicative. Oṛiyā 2 plural « kårå » is from « karaha ». The Maithilī « dēkhiai̯ » is extended from the indicative, and the other form « dēkhū » seems to have the « -ū » from « -mu, -mō », the Apabhraṁśa imperative 1 sg. and pl. forms. The plural « -ntu » is represented by « -thŭ », like the indicative « -nti > -thī ».

651. NB. « sādhu-bhāṣā » has for the second person a future imperative, precative, and prohibitive in ইয়ো « -i(y)ō » which is found from the earliest period. In OB. and eMB. the form was ইহ « -ihå, -ihå ». It is a relic of the old inflected or sigmatic future of OIA.: singular « caliṣyasi » > « * calihasi, calihisi » > Bengali চলিস « câlis∅ », plural « caliṣyatha » > « calihaha » > চলিহ « câlihå » > চলিঅ, চলিয় « câliå, câliyå » > চলিয়ো, চলিও, চল্যো, চ'লো « câli(y)ō, câïlyō, câ'lō = [ʧolo] ». NB. Standard Colloquial has this « -iyå, -iyō » affected by Umlaut. The « -iṣya- > -ih- » future was current in OB. and in eMB. (along with the « -itavya > -ib- » future) in the three persons, but only the second person has survived in NB. (see *infra*, under 'Future Tense'). In the Caryās, as instances of the « -ih- » future imperative, we have « hōhisi, mārihasi » (Caryā 23). It is exceedingly common in the ŚKK. and other MB. works: *e.g.*, « আসিহ āsihå, চাহিহ cāhihå, করিহ kårihå, ছাড়িহ chāṛihå, তোষিহ tōṣihå, দিহ dihå, ধরিহ dhårihå, নিবেদিহ nibēdihå, পুছিহ puchihå, রাখিহ rākhihå » etc. In latter MB., epenthesis is noticeable, as usual: *e.g.*, রাখিহ, রাখিঅ « rākhi(h)å » becomes রাইখ, রাখ্য « râikhå, rākhyå = raïkhå »; so দাণ্ডাইহ « dāṇḍāihå » as দাণ্ডায়্য « dāṇḍāiå > dāṇḍāyyå », etc., etc.

The same future imperative occurs in Maithilī and other Bihārī dialects, *e.g.*, Maithilī « dēkhihåh < dēkhihahu », Bhōjpuriyā sg. « dēkhihē » plural « dēkhihå, dēkhihau̯ ». In the Bihārī dialects, the ordinary future in « -b- » can be similarly employed, as much as in Bengali. A similar imperative use of the sigmatic future does not seem to occur in Assamese and Oṛiyā.

A future imperative for the second person only can be noted, in Old Western Rājasthānī, in Western Apabhraṅśa and in Second MIA. and in all these it occurs generally with the negative particle « mā » (L. P. Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 121).

652. The verbal form গা, গে « gā, gē » added to the imperative is found from the MB. period onwards to express the imperative in the immediate future, with a slight precative sense : *e.g.*,

1. আমি, আমরা করিগা, করিগে « āmi, āmårā kåri-gā, kåri-gē »;
2. তুই, তোরা কর্‌গা, ক'র্‌গে « tui, tōrā kår∅-gā, kōr-gē », করিস্‌গা, করিস্‌গে « kåris∅-gā, -gē »;

তুমি, তোমরা করগা, করগে « tumi, tōmạrā kārạ-gā, kārạ-gē »;

3. সে, তারা করুক্‌গা, করুক্‌গে « sē, tārā kārukạ-gā, -gē »;
তিনি, তাঁরা, করুন্‌গা, -গে « tini, tārā kārunạ-gā, gē » (also second person honorific with আপনি, আপনারা « āpạni, āpạnārā »).

Cf. MB., Kṛttivāsa,' Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa,' p. 17: সীতারে কহিল—'ফল করগা ভক্ষণ' « Sītā-rē kāhilā—phālạ kārạ-gā bhākṣāṇạ » *said to Sītā, 'go eat this fruit'*; 'Uttara-kāṇḍa,' p. 20?, সেই শস্যের ফল তুমি খাওগা আপনি « sēi sāsyērạ phālạ tumi khāō-gā āpāni » *you yourself go and eat the fruit of that grain;* etc. Carey in his 'Bengali Dialogues' (Calcutta, 1818) translates forms in « -gā » as a simple future in the 1st person, and as an imperative in the 2nd and 3rd; *e.g.*, উনিও সামগ্রী আয়োজন করুন্‌গা, আমিও করিগা « uni-ō sāmāgrī āyōjānạ kārunạ-gā, āmi-ō kāri-gā » *let him get things ready, and I will do the same* (p. 42). We can compare this affix of Bengali with the future suffix « -gau̯, -gō, -gā, -gī, -gē, -gī̃ » of the Western Hindī and Panjābī dialects.

The Western « -gā, -gē, -gī » etc., are from the passive participle « gata > gaa ». For the Bengali « -gā, -gē », the source may equally be the same « gata », but the indeclinable participle গিয়া « giyā » *having gone,* certainly had something to do with it: the change of the root-vowel in the contemptuous second person ক'রগে [korge] can be explained only as being from কর্‌গিয়া [kɔr gia]. We can compare the use of গে « gē » < গিয়া « giyā » (not গা « gā ») with the simple past and the future tenses in the Standard Colloquial, with the force of *though, nevertheless, however, even now, immediately*: *e.g.*, সে ক'র্‌লে গে [ʃe korle ge] *and then he did,* তুমি ক'র্‌বে গে [tumi korbe ge] *and you will do.*

[E] Voice: the Passive in Bengali.

[I] The Inflected Passive in Bengali.

[1] Passive Indicative.

653. Primitive Indo-European does not seem to have possessed a passive conjugation. In the Aryan (Indo-Iranian) period the passive developed out of the middle or reflexive, but it was confined to the present stem

and to the third person singular of the aorist only. The distinctive affix of this inflected passive was « -yá- » in the present stem, and the personal terminations of the middle voice were employed. Old Indo-Aryan (Vedic and Sanskrit) has preserved this passive. In Middle Indo-Aryan, the conjugational system underwent the greatest decay imaginable, but the passive was retained, being found in the present indicative and optative imperative ; and a few forms like passive aorist and future were built up in Second MIA.

The « -yá- » affix occurs as « -ya-, -iya, -iyya-, -īya- » in First MIA. and as « -ijja- » or as « -īa- » in Second and Third MIA., or is assimilated with a preceding consonant. The middle inflections of course are changed for those of the active ; and the passive is extended to a number of neuter roots, forming deponents. The NIA. languages inherited the « -ijja- > -īja- » or « -īa-, -ia- » passive from Apabhraṅśa, but it is not preserved in all of them. Early in the history of NIA., the analytical mode of expressing the passive came into being, and in most of them the old inflected passive fell into desuetude. The languages of the West have preserved it, but those of the Midland, the South and the East have either entirely lost it or have only retained it as an obsolete or archaic form. Western Panjābī, Sindhī and Rājasthānī, for instance, employ « -īj- » or « -ī-, -i- » to form the passive ; *e.g.*, W. Panjābī « mārdā < mārända- » *striking*, « mārindā » *being struck* ; « cāhdā » *wanting*, « cāhidā » *being wanted* ; « paṛhē » *reads*, « paṛhīē » *is read* ; Sindhī « karījē » *is done*, « paṛhījē » *is read* ; Mārwāṛi « karaṇō » *doing*, « karījaṇō » *being done*. 'Modern Gujarâtî has *î* only in *-îe*, a 3rd sing. present passive form which is used in a reflexive sense as a substitute for the 1st plur. active [*i.e.*, « hũ karũ » *I do* < « aham karōmi », but « amē karīē » *we do* < « asmābhiḥ kriyatē » instead of from « vayam kurmaḥ »], and in all other cases substitutes the potential passive in *â*.' (L. P. Tessitori, 'Notes on the Grammar of OWR.' § 136 : R. L. Turner suggests another explanation of the Gujarātī « -īē », as being from « -imaḥ », through « -imō > -imu > -ĩ > -ī », + « ē » of the 3 pl. [-anti > -ahiṁ >

-ẽ], to distinguish it from the absolutive in « -i » < earlier « -ia » [JRAS., 1916, p. 227, foot-note]).

654. The western languages are thus more conservative in the matter of preservation of this inherited form. The Midland language has curtailed the old passive, but relics do occur in it: *e.g.*, Braj-bhākhā « mārai̯ » *strikes*, « mārii̯ai » *is struck*. Bhandarkar and Tessitori have given instances from the Early Awadhī of Tulasī-dāsa. (R. G Bhandarkar, 'Wilson Philological Lectures,' Bombay, 1914, p. 227; Tessitori, 'Grammatical Forms in Old Baiswari,' JRAS., 1914.) The modern Hindī respectful imperative or precative forms like « kījiyē » *please do* have in all likelihood been influenced by the passive, if they are not of passive origin (cf. Hoernle, 'Gauḍian Grammar,' § 480, 481, 499). An expression like Hind. « kapṛā cāhiyē » *cloth to sell* is a passive one, where « cāhiyē » = *is wanted*. Compare the Bengali চাই in কি চাই « ki cāi » *what do you want?* (literally, *what is-wanted?*), তোমার আসা চাই « tōmār̥ āsā cāi » *you must come* (literally, *your coming is-wanted*): Bengali « cāi », Hindi « cāhiyē » are from a Middle Indo-Aryan passive from « *cāhia(d)i » =Old Indo-Aryan « *ca(g)hyátē »: compare these with কি চাও « ki cāŏ » *what do you want* and তুমি আসিতে চাও « tumi āsitē cāŏ » *you must come*, where « cāŏ » = চাহ « cāhå », 2nd pers. (plural), present and imperative, = « cāhaha » (=Skt. « -atha » and « -ata »). The « -ī-, -i- » or « -ijja-, īja- » affix for the passive is quite common in the dialects of the 'Prākṛta-Päiŋgala,' which represent the stage immediately before Modern Hindī: and the loss of this affix is quite a remarkable feature in Western Hindī when compared with the neighbouring Rājasthānī and Panjābī. The « -īj-, -ij- » passive was also quite frequent in Early Marāṭhī, as Bhandarkar has noticed it (R. G. Bhandarkar, 'Wilson Philological Lectures,' pp. 226 227); but it seems to have died out in Modern Marāṭhī.

655. It would be interesting to see how far the inflected passive is preserved in Old and Middle Bengali, and in other Magadhan languages.

The language of the 'Dōhā-kōṣas' (see *supra*, p. 112) shows some cases of the « -i- » or « -ijja-, -īja- », as well as the assimilated passive:

e.g., 'Bauddha Gān Ō Dōhā,' p. 89, « purāṇẽ vakkhāṇijjaï » *it is described by the Purāṇa*; p. 103, « sō ē māï kahiajē » *that has been declared by me*; ibid., « sō paramēsuru kāsu kahijjaï » *for whom is that supreme lord (to be) described?*; p. 105, « visaya ramanta ṇa visaa vilipyaï (=vilippaï) » *enjoying the world, yet the world is not attached to him*; p. 106, « dēva pi (=vi) jjaï (=jaï) lakṣa (=lakkha) vi dīsaï, apyaṇu (=appaṇu) mārīī sa [ki] kariaï » ? *if the deity is seen face to faee, self becomes dead: he (=by him) what can be done?*; p. 107, « jāva ṇa dīsaï » *until it is seen*; p. 109, « kāsu kahijjaï » *to whom is it (to be) declared?*; p. 129, « aïsō sō nibbāṇa bhaṇijjaï, jahi mana mānasa kiṁ pi na kijjaï » *Nirvāṇa is described to be such that there nothing is done of the mind or of the qualities of the mind*; p. 130, « jaï pavana-gamana-duārē [diḍha] tālā vi bhijjaï, jaï tasu ghōrāndhārē mana diva hō kijjaï » *if the strong lock at the door for the passage of the wind is shut* (« bhijjaï », cf. Bengali root ভেজ « bhēj » *to shut*=? Skt. « abhy-ajyatē »), *if in that, in the deep gloom, the mind is made as a lamp*: etc.

In this Western Apabhraṅśa dialect, the « -ijja- » affix is more common than the « -ia- », and it is in full force as a passive form. The Old Bengali of the Caryā-padas has a number of instances of the inflected passive, but the affix is « -i(a)- », not « -ijja- » or « -īja- »; besides there are a few of the assimilated « -yá- » forms: *e.g.*, Caryā 1, « saala sa[mā]hia kāhi kariaï » *what is attained by all* samādhi*?*; 6, « hariṇā hariṇira nilaa na jāṇī » *the abode of the stag and of the doe is not known*; ibid., « hariṇāra khura na dīsaa (=dīsaï) ». *the stag's hoof is not seen*; 26, « pāviaï » *is obtained*; « bhāviaï » *is thought of*; 32, « duhiē » *is milked*; 46, « cchijaï » (=chidyatē) *is cut*; etc.

The analytical passive with root জা, যা « √jā < yā » *to go* following the verbal noun in « -ana » has already become established in the language of the Caryās; and the analytical « √jā » passive in NIA. seems to have been influenced by, if not actually developed out of, the older inflexional « -ij- » form.

It would seem that in Māgadhī Apabhraṁśa, the two forms « -ia- » and « -ijja- » occurred side by side: and « -ia- » seems to be the genuine Magadhan affix, and « -ijja- » borrowed through the influence of the Western speeches, and not native in the East. The « -ia- » was preserved in OB. and in MB., although as an obsolete form in the latter, and its real nature seems to have been lost to the speakers quite early.

The examples of the « -ia- » passive in the 47 Caryās are not so few, there numbering some twenty. In Middle Bengali literature we find similar relics of the inflected passive—a linguistic survival which seems not to have been noticed before. The affix loses prominence as the language progresses, and is ultimately merged into the 1st and 3rd personal affix ; and in this way the passive verb is transformed into the active one.

There are numerous cases of the passive in « -i(a)- » in the ŚKK. : for instance—

p. 19, যত নানা ফুল পান করপুর সব পেলাইল পাএ।
উঠিআঁ বড়ায়ি রাধাক বুইল—হেন কাম না করিএ ॥

« jåtå nānā phulå pānå kåråpurå såbå pēlāïlå pāē :
uṭhiā̃ ḅåṛāyi Rādhā-kå builå—'hēnå kāmå nā kåriē' »

All the various flowers, betel-leaves and camphor and all she threw away with her foot. The Old Lady got up and said to Rādhā, 'you should not do so' (lit. *such a deed should not be done :* « kåriē ») ;

p. 57, আইহন বীর তিন লোকেঁ ভালে জাণি ॥

« Āïhånå bīrå, tinå lōkẽ bhālē jāṇī »

That Ā. is a hero is known (jāṇī) *well in the three worlds ;*

p. 59, দান সাধিএ রতিপতিআশে।

« dānå sādhiē råti-påtiāśē »

The toll is demanded (sādhiē) *with the expectation of dalliance (with thee) ;*

p. 118, ভুখিল হয়িলেঁ কাহ্নাঞিঁ দুই হাথে না খাইএ ।
« bhukhilà hàyilẽ, Kānhāñī, duī hāthē nā khāïē »
When one is hungry, O Kānha, one should not eat (« khāïē », lit. *it should not be eaten*) *with both hands ;*

p. 137, আপণা রাখিয়ে আপণে ।
« āpàṇā rākhiyē āpàṇē » (=ātmā raksyátē ātmanā)
Self is (*to be*) *preserved by self ;*

p. 145, নাএর আন্তরে গেলী চন্দ্রাবলী রাহী ।
তার পাছে আর যত গোআলিনী সহী ॥
কথো দূরে গিআঁ দেখিএ একখানি নাএ ।
সত্বর হয়িআঁ রাহী তার পাস যাএ ॥
« nāērà āntàrē gēlī càndrābàlī Rāhī,
tārà pāchē ārà jàtà gōālinī sàhī.
kàthō dūrē giā̃ dēkhiē ēkà-khāni nāē :
sàtwàrà hàyiā̃ Rāhī tārà pāsà jāē »
In search of a boat went Candrāvalī Rādhikā ;
After her, all her milk-maid friends ;
Having gone some distance, a boat is seen (dēkhiē).
Quickly Rādhikā goes to its side ;

p. 184, বোলেঁ চালেঁ না পাইএ পরার রমণী ।
« bōlẽ cālẽ nā pāïē pàrārà ràmàṇī »
Another's wife is not won (pāïē) *by talk and* (*gallant*) *ways ;*

p. 185, গোপত কাজত কাহ্নাঞিঁ ছয় আখি বারী ।
« gōpàtà kājà-tà, Kānhāñi, chàyà ākhi bārī ».
In a secret deed, O Kānha, six eyes are barred (bārī) ;

p. 236, ত্রিভুবন নাথ তোহ্মে হরি । প্রভু হয়িআঁ হেন নাহিঁ করী ॥
« tribhubànà-nāthà tōmhē Hàri, pràbhu hàyiā̃ hēnà nāhī kàrī »
You are Hari, the Lord of the three worlds ; being the Master, you should not do so (lit. *it should not be done* : « kàrī ») ;

p. 289, পুনমীর চান্দ তোহ্মার বদন ঘুসিএ জগতজনে ল ।
« punàmīrà cāndà tōmhārà bàdànà ghusiē jàgàtà-jànē, là ».
O, your face is proclaimed (ghusiē) *by the people of the world to be the moon of the full-moon night ;*

p. 367, সোণা ভাঙ্গিলেঁ আছে উপাএ জুড়িএ আগুন তাপে।
পুরুষ নেহা ভাঙ্গিলেঁ জুড়িএ কাহার বাপে ॥

« sōnā bhāŋgilẽ āchē ūpāē, juṛiē āgunā-tāpē :
puruṣā-nēhā bhāŋgilẽ, juṛiē kāhārā bāpē ? »

If gold is broken, there is a way—it is joined (juṛiē) *by the heat of the fire ; but if a man's love is shattered, by whose father (=by what man) can it be joined ?*

There are numerous other instances of a similar type in the ŚKK. The general tendency will be to explain the forms in ইএ « -iē » as being in the ই « -i » of the first person, and the এ « -ē » only as a final lengthening for reasons of metre. But পাইএ, করিএ « pāïē, kāriē » etc., are true inflected passives, and it will be seen that in the instances quoted above, the passive construction gives the correct explanation of the passages rather than the active first person : পাইএ, করিএ etc., thus represent the Caryā forms like « pāviaï, kariaï », =Sanskrit « prāpyátē, kriyátē ». The passive was already dying out in Old Bengali; and in Middle Bengali it would be easily confused with the active first person from similarity in form. We may recall as a parallel instance the Gujarātī use of the passive third person singular as the first person plural active, as in « amē utārīē, amē cālīē », etc., which have been explained as being really passive forms (see *supra*, p. 910). The same thing seems to have happened in Central Magadhan, in the « -iai » forms for the 1st person of the verb. The passive in its origin is connected with the reflexive, and the transition to the active is always easy. More so in the early periods of Bengali, when there was a confusion between the instrumental and the nominative, from which the language even now is not wholly free.

The transition from the decaying passive, which was less and less properly understood, to the active was quite a matter of course : from after the ŚKK. onwards, we find frequent use of « -iē » in active forms, for the 1st person generally.

The passive use of the neuter verb is also common in Old and Middle Bengali: *e.g.*, ŚKK., p. 364, পুণ্য কইলেঁ স্বগ্গ জাইএ, নানা উপভোগ পাইএ « puṇyā kāïlẽ swāggā jāïē, nānā upābhōgā pāïē » (=gamyatē, prāpyatē) *practising virtue, heaven is attained, and many enjoyments are obtained.*

Examples of the inflected passive are frequent in Middle Bengali literature. A few are given below :

From poems by Caṇḍīdāsa (VSP., II, pp. 968 ff.): নীল মুকুতার হার মনোহর শোভিত দেখিএ গলে « nīla̸ mukutāra̸ hāra̸ månōhåra̸ śōbhitå dēkhiē gålē » *a charming necklet of blue pearls is seen beautifully in her neck*; অবলা পরাণে এত কি সহিএ « åbålā påråṇē ētå ki såhiē » *can so much be endured in the life of a weak woman?*; ক্ষুরের উপর রাধার বসতি, নড়িতে কাটিএ দে « kṣurēra̸ upåra̸ Rādhāra̸ båsåti, nåṛitē kāṭiē dē » *Rādhā's abode is on (the edge of) a razor, her body is cut at the (slightest) movement*; মানুষে এমন প্রেম কোথা না শুনিএ « mānuṣē ēmåna̸ prēma̸ kōthā nā śuniē » *such love in man has nowhere been heard of*; from the 'Caitanya-caritåmṛta' of Kṛṣṇa-dāsa Kavirāja (VSP., II, p. 1223): সনাতন কৈল গ্রন্থ ভাগবতামৃতে। ভক্তি-ভক্ত-কৃষ্ণ-তত্ত্ব জানি যাহা হইতে॥ হরিভক্তিবিলাস গ্রন্থ কৈল বৈষ্ণব আচার। বৈষ্ণবের কর্ত্তব্য যাহা পাইয়ে পার॥ « Sånātåna̸ kåĭlå gråntha Bhāgåbåtāmṛtē, bhåkti-bhåktå-Kṛṣṇå-tåttwå jāni jāhā håïtē: Håri-bhåkti-bilāsa̸ gråntha kåĭlå båiṣṇåba̸-ācāra̸, båiṣṇåbēra̸ kårttåbyå jåhā pāiyē pāra̸ » *Sanātana made the book* Bhāgavatåmṛta, *from which are known the doctrines of* bhakti *and* bhakta, *and the nature of Kṛṣṇa*; *he made the book* Hari-bhakti-vilāsa, *on Vaiṣṇava ritual, in which the duties of a Vaiṣṇava are made to cross over, as it were* (i.e. *described in detail*); from 'Bhāgavata,' by Daivakī-nandana Siṅha. (VSP., II, p. 844): যে অঙ্গে দেখিএ সেই অঙ্গে অলঙ্কার « jē åŋgē dēkhiē sēi åŋgē ålåŋkāra̸ » *jewels on every limb that is viewed*; বিনি না পুছিলে কারো না জানিএ জাতি « bini nā puchilē kārō nā jāniē jāti » *no one's family is known without asking.*

656. Instances like the above are fairly common in Early Bengali literature, and further quotations are not necessary. Maithilī and Oṛiyā, too, show similar forms, and some instances may be given :

Maithilī : Vidyāpati (VSPd. edition), p. 6, « lakhaï na pāria, jēṭha kanēṭha » *cannot be distinguished, (whether) old (or) young*; p. 9, « jata dēkhala, tata kahahi na pāria » *all that was seen cannot be described*; p. 19, « paṛhabi na pāria ākhara-påti » *the rows of letters cannot be read*; p. 21, « sē nahi dēkhala jē diya upāmā » *that has not been seen with which a*

comparison can be made; p. 30, « **saba taha sunia aisana bēwahārā** » *that such is the usage is heard from all*; p. 39, « **Madhu-ripu sama nahi** dēkhia **sohāwana,** jē dia tanhika upāma rē » *nothing handsome like the Foe of Madhu is seen, with which his comparison can be made*; p. 44, « **na** jāniya kiya karu mōhana cōra » *what this charming scamp may do is not known*; p. 499, « **kajjala-rūpa tua Kālı kahiaō...Gaṅgā kahiē pānī... Bramhā-ghara Bramhānī kahiē, Hara-ghara kahiē Gaurī** » *in favour like lamp-black, thou art called Kālī; she is called Gaṅgā when in watery form; in the home of Brahmā, is called Brahmāṇī; is called Gaurī in the home of Hara*; etc.

Oṛiyā: Jagannātha-dāsa's 'Dhruva-caritra' (Contai edition): p. 5, « **kȧmpii** (=kampyatē) **tāhārȧ** nijȧ dēhi » *her own body trembles*; p. 33, « **dēhȧ-mānȧ** diśȧï, **khȧijuȧ-bṛkṣȧ-prāyȧ** » *his body's measure is seen, like a date-palm*; p. 11, « **dȧśȧ-**diśi **ȧndhȧkārȧ,** kichi hi **nȧ** diśi » *the ten quarters are dark, nothing is seen.*

Thus the older literatures of Maithilī and Oṛiyā also demonstrate the presence of the inflected passive in these speeches.

657. The inflected passive is also preserved in a curious idiomatic usage in Modern Bengali, in which both its form and nature are disguised. We have expressions like এ কাজ করে না « ē **kājȧ kȧrē nā** » *shouldn't do this*, রবিবার দিন মাছ খায় না « **rȧbi-bārȧ-dinȧ māchȧ khāy nā** » *shouldn't eat fish on Sundays*, জ্বর হ'লে নায় না « **jwȧrȧ** hōlē nāy **nā** » *shouldn't bathe when there is fever*, etc., etc., where the forms করে, খায়, নায় etc., are used with or without the negative particle, and are apparently 3rd person indicative present, the subject, however, being left understood; and such expressions have a general prohibitive or imperative force. The fuller form is presented in dialectal Bengali: in Birbhum, for instance, there is an imperative or optative in « -iyē », *e.g.*, in sentences like হোথা যেয়ে না « **hōthā jēyē** (< **jāiyē**) **nā** » *one shouldn't go there*, ভাইকে না দিয়েঁ খেয়ে না « **bhāi-kē nā** diyē̃ **khēyē** (< **khāiyē**) **nā** » *shouldn't eat without sharing with one's brother*, আগুনে হাত দিয়ে না « āgunē **hātȧ** diyē **nā** » *shouldn't put one's hand in fire*, তোর দাদা যেনে না এসে « **tōrȧ** dādā jēnē **nā** ēsē (=ēsiyē ?) » *may your brother not come*, যে আমাকে এত কষ্ট দিলে তার কুষ্ঠব্যাধি হ'য়ে, সে যেনে

দুটী চোখ খেয়ে « jē āmākē ētå kåṣṭå dilē tārø kuṣṭhå-byādhi hōyē, sē jēnē duṭī cōkhø khēyē » *may he get leprosy, may he eat his two eyes, that caused me so much pain* (Basanta Kumār Chatterji in the VSPdP., 1326, p. 266): in these, খেয়ে, দিয়ে are passives, and যেয়ে, এসে, হ'য়ে are equally passives of neuter verbs (such as are found in the ŚKK.) in which the archaic aspect, which cannot be confused with the indicative active present, is retained. In MB. there are instances of this construction : cf. ŚKK., p. 333, প্রভু হয়িআঁ হেন না করী « pråbhu håyiā̃ hēnå nā kårī » *shouldn't do so, being the Master*; p. 185, লোভ হয়িলেঁ কাহ্নাঞিঁ আরতি না করী « lōbhå håyilē̃ Kānhāñī āråti nā kårī » *O Kānhu, shouldn't yearn (too much) although there is desire*; p. 257, কেহ তার না কহিএ মরণে « kēhå tārå nā kåhiē mårånē » *none should speak of his death*, etc. ; etc. The MB. forms in « -i-, -ī- » indicate that this construction is properly a passive one; এ কাজ করে না, « ē kājø kårē nā » is « ētat kāryaṁ na kriyatē » : « kriyatē » would be « kariaï, kåriē, kårī » in MIA. and OB. and MB. As in the other cases, the passive nature of the verb was forgotten, and the active form came in. The influence of a similar imperative use of the optative (active and middle) and of the passive, as in Sanskrit, is likely here.

General statements, in which the subject is not definite or important, may be in the third person, active But it is just likely in such popular expressions like জামায়ের জন্য মারে হাঁস। গুষ্ঠী-শুদ্ধ খায় মাস ॥ « jāmāyērø jånyå mārē hā̃sø, guṣṭhi-śuddhå khāy māsø » *they kill the goose for the son-in-law, and eat the meat with the whole family* (= *the goose is killed, the meat is eaten*) ; and এক দেয় বর দেখে। আর দেয় ঘর দেখে ॥ « ēkø dēy [dæĕ] bårø dēkhē, ārø dēy [dæĕ] ghårø dēkhē » *they give (in marriage), first by looking at the bridegroom, again by looking at the house* = (*the daughter*) *is given (in marriage), taking into note either the bridegroom or his family*; and in similar proverbial couplets and phrases, we have the passive.

It seems we have also the passive in a rare polite imperative in some North Bengali dialects, *e.g.*, দ্যাখেক, রাখেক « dyākhē-kø, rākhē-kø » *please see, please keep* (= « dēkhiē, rākhiē + -kå » : see below, 'Pleonastic Affixes : Affix « kå »').

(2) BENGALI 'KARMA-KARTṚ-VĀCYA.'

658. The so-called middle-voice (*karma-kartṛ-vācya*) of Bengali, which we find in impersonal constructions, seems originally to have been this inflected « -yá- » passive: *e.g.* কলসী ভরে « kålåsī bhårē » *the jar becomes full*; কাপড় ছেঁড়ে « kāpårṛå chẽṛē » *the cloth gets torn*; বই কাটে « båï kāṭē » *the book cuts > sells*; বাঁশ ভাঙ্গে « bãśå bhāŋgē » *the bamboo breaks*; শাঁখ বাজে « śãkhå bājē » *the conch-shell is sounded*; etc. Here ভরে, ছেঁড়ে, কাটে, ভাঙ্গে, বাজে, etc., are to be explained as passive forms, derived from earlier, fuller « * bhariaï » > * ভরিএ « bhåriē », « chindiaï » > * ছিণ্ডিএ « chinḍiē » « * kaṭṭiaï, * kāṭiaï » > কাটিএ « kāṭiē », « *bhañjiaï » or « * bhaŋgiaï » > * ভাঙ্গিএ « * bhāŋgiē », « * bājiaï » > * বাজিএ « * bājiē » etc., of OB. and eMB. A similar use of the passive is known also in Sanskrit (cf. Speyer, 'Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax,' § 169).

(3) OB. AND MB. PASSIVE IMPERATIVE.

659. In the ŚKK. there is a form in ইউ « -iū » which is illustrated by the following examples:

p. 140, নাঅ বান্ধিতেঁ গিআঁ করিউ যতনে « nāå bāndhitẽ giẫ kåriū jåtånē » *let us make an attempt to build* (lit. *bind*) *the boat*; p. 141, আনহ সকল সখিজন মেলী করিউ যুগতি « ānåhå såkålå såkhi-jånå, mēlī kåriū jugåti » *bring all girl friends, let us hold a consultation together*; p. 141, পসার সাজিউ দধি দুধে, সেসি জীবার উপাএ « påsārå såjiū dådhi dudhē, sē-si jībārå upāē » *let us arrange our milk and curds for sale, that indeed is the means of livelihood*; p. 204, নানা ফুল ফুটিলছে মাঝ বৃন্দাবনে। তাক পিন্ধি মথুরাক করিউ গমনে ॥ « nānå phulå phuṭilå-chē mājhå Bṛndābånē, tākå pindhi Måthurā-kå kåriū gåmånē » *flowers of many kinds have blossomed in the middle of Vṛndāvana, wearing these, let us go to Mathurā*; p. 253, যমুনাক যাইউ রাধা লয়িআঁ সখীগণে « Jåmunā-kå jāïū Rādhā, låyiẫ såkhī-gånē » *let us, O Rādhā, go to Yamunā, taking (our) girl-friends*; p. 270, দধি বিকেঁ জাইউ মথুরা « dådhi bikẽ jāïū Måthurā » *let us go to Mathurā to sell curds*; p. 292, সত্বরে রাধা লইআঁ জাইউ ঘর « såtwårē Rādhā låïẫ jāïū ghårå » *let me take Rādhā quick to her home*; p. 310, বাশী চোরায়িতেঁ করিউ যতনে « båśī cōrāyitẽ kåriū jåtånē »

let us make an effort to steal the flute; p. 354, বারতা পুছিউ রাধা সব জন থানে « **bārātā** puchiū Rādhā **sābā jānā** thānē » *let us ask for news, O Rādhā, from everybody*; p. 347, কদমতলাক জাইউ চিত্তের হরিষে « **kādāmā-tālā-kā** jāïū cittērā hāriṣē » *let us go to the foot of the Kadamba tree, with joy in mind.*

This ইউ « -iū » form is certainly the passive imperative: in force it is generally optative or imperative. In an example like বাঁশী চোরায়িতেঁ, করিউ যতনে, করিউ যতনে « kāriū jātānē » = Skt. « kriyatām yatnaḥ »; so জাইউ « jāïū » = « gamyatām », বারতা পুছিউ « bārātā puchiū » *let us ask for news*, lit. *let news be asked for* = « vārttā pṛcchyatām ». The ইউ « -iū » affix is the Second MIA. imperative passive 3rd pers. singular affix « -īadu », as in Śaurasenī (and Māgadhī) « kadhīadu, karīadu (kalīadu), suṇīadu (śuṇīadu) » = « kathyatām, kriyatām, śrūyatām », « -īadu » giving the later form « -īaü » and « *-īu ».

In eMB., the spelling with long ঊ « ū » has no special point, unless the lengthening had a historical reason analogous to that for the final « -ī » in the same period (see *supra*, p. 309). This 3 pers. imperative in « -iu, -iū » soon became confused with the 1 pers. indicative present in « -ō, -ō̃ » (for which see *infra*, 'Radical Tense'). This « -iu » passive is also found in Old Bengali (see *supra*, pp. 904, 907): *e.g.*, Caryā 15 « bāṭa jāiu » *go the way* (=vartma, vartmani gamyatām).

[II] Analytical Formation of the Passive in Bengali.

660. The inflected passive is a fossil in Bengali: the living method is analytical and periphrastic. The following are the ways in which the passive is formed in Bengali:

I am seen=(1) আমি দেখা যাই « āmi dēkhā jāi »; (2) আমাকে (আমায়, আমারে) দেখা যায় « āmākē (āmāy, āmārē) dēkhā jāy »; (3) আমাকে (আমায়, আমারে) দেখন যায় « āmākē (āmāy, āmārē) dēkhānā jāy »; (4) আমি দেখা পড়ি « āmi dēkhā pāṛi »; (5) আমাকে (আমায়, আমারে) দেখা হয় « āmākē (āmāy, āmārē) dēkhā hāy »; and (6) আমি দৃষ্ট হই « āmi dṛṣṭā hāi ».

Of these (1), (4) and (6) are true passives (*karma-vācya*), and these agree with the passive forms of English, French and other modern

Indo-European languages. The other forms, (2), (3) and (5) are instances of the neuter construction (*bhāva-vācya*) in Bengali. All the above forms are used in Bengali, but there are slight shades of difference in their meaning.

661. (1) আমি দেখা যাই « āmi dēkhā jāi » *I am seen* is best explained as being composed of the passive participle (adjective) in আ « ā » and যা « √jā » *to go,* and which assumes the function of the substantive verb. But this form, though allowable, would not ordinarily be regarded as very idiomatic or natural in Bengali: the passive proper, with the object in the nominative, would hardly be considered as natural to the language, especially when the nominative is a definite person. But general statement, where only the action is definite, and is the more important thing, can be easily made with an impersonal construction in the passive: *e.g.*, দেখা যায় « dēkhā jāy » *it is seen* (subject ইহা « ihā » *this, it* understood); যদি বলা যায় « yȧdi bȧlā jāy » *if it is said*; শোনা যাইতেছে or যাচ্ছে « śōnā jāitēchē, jācchē » *it is being heard.* In the passive construction, the mind of the speaker is loth to forget that what is the grammatical nominative is the real object, and hence the feeling of the native speaker has this preference for the neuter construction, with the nominative-object in the dative, *e.g.*, আমাকে দেখা যায় or আমাকে দেখা হয় « āmākē dēkhā jāy, hȧy ». The conscious use of the passive would bring in a certain amount of emphasis; and to make a statement emphatic or definite, the dative with কে « -kē » is preferred to the accusative or nominative without any inflexion, when we are speaking of a sentient or animate being (see *supra*, pp. 897, 898). So আমাকে (আমারে, আমায়) দেখা যায় « āmākē (āmārē, āmāy) dēkhā jāy » would be preferred, as the idea is definite so far as the object of sight is concerned, to আমি দেখা যাই « āmi dēkhā jāi » where আমি « āmi », although formally nominative, is in sense really the oblique or accusative. আমি দেখা যাই « āmi dēkhā jāi », however, would seem to be the older form, and আমাকে দেখা যায় « amākē dēkhā jāy » a later one. আমি করা যাই « āmi kȧrā jāi » *I am done* would be bad Bengali, because here the first personal pronoun would preferably have the কে « -kē » and be put in the dative as it is very

definite, and করা যাওয়া « kārā jāŏā » is rather vague: the construction would be regarded as clumsy. But আমি ধরা যাই « āmi dhārā jāi » *I am caught* would be quite allowable, as ধরা « dhārā » refers to a definite action.

Names of inanimate objects as a rule do not take কে « -kē » when they are in the objective or dative; hence ঘর দেখা যায় « ghārǭ dēkhā jāy » *the house is seen* (not ঘরকে « ghārǭ-kē »), where ঘর « ghārǭ » can be easily parsed as being the subject of the passive sentence.

662. (2) আমাকে (or আমারে, আমায়) দেখা যায় « āmākē (āmārē, āmay) dēkhā jāy » *I am seen* or, with a slight potentiality implied, *I may be seen* (=*they can see me*). There is a difficulty in explaining দেখা « dēkhā » here. Generally it is looked upon as a verbal noun in আ « -ā », derived ultimately from the passive participle in « -tá » of Indo-Aryan, the nominal use of which is also quite common in Sanskrit. It would thus be explained as meaning *with-regard-to-me, a-seeing goes-on* (or *takes-place*). The occurrence of (3) আমাকে দেখন যায় « āmākē dēkhānǭ jāy » *with-regard-to-me a-seeing takes-place* would lend countenance to the above explanation. But it would seem that in an expression like আমাকে দেখা যায়, দেখা is really a passive participle adjective, and the whole construction is in the impersonal, which is so characteristic of the Western and Southern Indo-Aryan languages: আমাকে দেখা-যায় would be best explained as being literally, *with-regard-to-me, it-is-seen.*

If we had evidence from Old and Middle Bengali remains on this point, we might expect a solution of the difficulty. But the passive with the past participle in আ « -ā » was not at all a popular form, and its occurrence is rather rare in the plain direct narration of Middle Bengali verse. Stray instances in the ŚKK. like তোহ্ম জাইবেঁ মার « tōmhā jāïbẽ mārā » (= মারিঅ, মার্অ OIA. « mārita > māria, mār-ā » =Modern মারা « mār-ā », *i.e.*, মারিঅ+আ « māria » + pleonastic affix « ā ») *you will get killed* (p. 33), বান্ধিল জাই « bāndhilā jāi » *becomes tied up, is put in bonds,* (p. 71: here we have the old passive participle adjective in ইল « -il- », for which see *infra*, under 'Past Tense') indicate that the passive participle is the form associated with this construction. The transition was from the real passive made up of the participle and the verb (and with the

object proper in the nominative) to the impersonal neuter construction (with the nominative-object in the dative and the passive participle); and such a state of things has its parallel in the other cognate languages.

663. The origin of this জা or যা « jā » passive has undoubtedly been influenced, as Beames had suggested ('Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Aryan Languages,' Vol. III, 1879, pp. 73-74), by the old « -ijja- » passive of Apabhraṅśa. We have the « -ijja- » forms in Prakrit and Apabhraṅśa on the one hand, and the « jā » forms in the modern languages on the other: the middle is blank, and linking these two in all likelihood there was a transitional stage, not represented in linguistic remains, when the « -ijja- » was slowly assuming a new rôle as a root—when it was merging into the « jā » root, as it were. It would seem that the neuter passives (deponents) like « marijjaï=mriyátē » *dies* first took up an analytical form: because « marijjaï » is equivalent in meaning to « maraï » or « marē » (=márati, máratē), the « -jjaï » would seem to have been regarded as a form of « jāï » from « √jā », giving rise to the analysis « mari jāï » *having-died, goes* or *passes away* (=M B. মরিয়া যায় « màriyā jāy »). The occurrence of the compound verb in the speech would help such an analysis. Once this analysis was established, there would not be any bar in forming other tenses and verb forms from « √jā ». In Early Middle Bengali, analysed forms of the above type (the conjunctive in ই « -i » or ইয়া « iyā » + √যা « jā », mostly with neuter verbs) are very common; *e.g.*, in the ŚKK. চলি জাইহ « càli jāïhà » *depart*; পড়ি গেল দিঠী « pàṛi gēla diṭhī » *the sight was cast*; ভাঙ্গি জাএ « bhāŋgi jāē » *gets broken*; মোর মজি গেল মনে « mōrà màji gēlà mànē » *my mind became attached*; পড়িয়া যাইবে « pàṛiyā jāïbē » *you will fall*; মরিআঁ যাইবি « màriā̃ jāïbi » *wilt die*; etc., etc. An Old Bengali instance would seem to be « avasari jāi » (<« *avasarijjaï, » deponent of « ava » + « √sṛ » *move*) in Caryā 32. The modern passive or neuter with the আ « -ā » participle would seem to be of later origin. The potential sense which one can attach to the passive in যা « √jā », and which is never present in the passive with হ « √hà », seems to point

at the « -ijja- » origin of the former. The old potential or optative had « -ĕjja- » in Prakrit, and the confusion between the passive and the optative, already noted, might just be continued in the newly risen analytical form.

As has been noted above, the « -ijja- » form seems to have been foreign to Māgadhī Prakrit and Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa, the source of Bengali; since no « -ijja- » forms are found in the relics of the inflected passive presĕrved in Bengali and other Magadhan languages, only « -i- » forms. The formation of the analytical passive with « jā » may thus have been brought about in Old Bengali through contact with and influence of Western dialects having « -ijja- > -īj, -ij- ».

664. (3) আমাকে দেখন যায় « āmākē dēkhånå jāy » *I am seen, I may be seen*, lit. *with-regard-to-me, a-seeing goes-on* (or *takes-place*). This form of passive is one of the oldest constructions in Bengali. It occurs in the Caryās, and it is quite plentiful in Middle Bengali; *e.g.*, (Caryā 2) « dharaṇa na jāï » *cannot be held*, (35) « kahaṇa na jāï » *cannot be described*, (4) « lēpana jāï » *? is entangled* or *smeared*; ŚKK., p. 38, ললাট লিখিত খণ্ডন না জাএ « lålāṭå-likhitå khåṇḍånå nå jāē » *that which is written on the forehead cannot be averted*; p. 58, প্রাণ ধরণ না জাএ « prāṇå dhåråṇå nå jāē » *life cannot be endured*, etc. Middle Bengali instances are fairly common. In Modern Standard Bengali, this construction is falling into disuse, but it is fully preserved in the East Bengal dialects. The employment of this অন « -ånå » + যা « √jā » passive is impersonal, and it is on the lines of (2).

It would seem to have originated from an unconscious analysis of the verbal adjectives, passive, in « -anīya(ka) ». The line of development was probably as follows: « karaṇīya-ka > karaṇijja(y)a » > করণি জাএ « *karaṇi jāē », করণ জাএ « kåråṇå jāē »; so « paṭhanīya-ka > paḍhaṇijja(y)a », পঢ়ণি জাএ, পঢ়ন (পাড়ন) জাএ, « *paḍhaṇi jāē, pår(h)ånå jāē »; etc. The intermediate form in this process of analysis, as in করণি জাএ, পঢ়ণি জাএ, is not preserved in Bengali, but it seems to be represented in Early Baiswāṛī forms like « barani jāya, kahani jāi » etc., as in Tulasī-dāsa. We may note that an expression like না জায় কহনে « nā jāyå kåhånē » would be quite

natural in Middle Bengali, and the locative-instrumental in এ « -ē » in কহনে « kȧhȧn-ē » might be a reminiscence of the older form in ই « -i » which could be regarded as a locative. The analysis into a noun in অন+ √যা « -ana » + « √jā » took place before the Old Bengali period: and once this analysis became accepted, transposition of the noun and the verb, and the insertion of the negative particle না between the noun and the verb, which is so frequent in negative constructions of this type in Middle Bengali, would result: thus সহন না যায় « sȧhȧnȧ nā jāy », না যায় সহন « nā jāy sȧhȧnȧ » *it cannot be borne* (but curiously enough, না সহন যায় is not found, although সহন যায় না is commonly met with in modern speech: the reason being probably that না « nā » which qualifies the verb in this analysed form must not be separated from it by the noun).

In Middle Bengali we have a few cases where there is apparently a verbal noun in অ « -ȧ »: *e.g.*, নিবার না যায় রে « nibārȧ nā jāy rē » *cannot be prevented* (VSP., p. 981); so বোল না যায় « bōlȧ nā jāy » *cannot be described*. There is no form in Modern Bengali corresponding to it: the absence of the -ন (ণ) « -nȧ (-ṇȧ) » in such cases is in all likelihood due to hapolology.

665. (4) আমি দেখা পড়ি « āmi dēkhā pȧṛi » *I am seen, I happen to be seen*, lit. *I fall seen*. This construction, apparently an old one, is essentially idiomatic, and strictly speaking it should come under the consideration of the characteristic 'Compound Verbs' of Modern Indo-Aryan. The use of the পড় « √pȧṛ » is restricted to a few verbs only, and as Beames has fully noticed it, it indicates accidence as well as finality more than anything else. The দেখা « dēkhā » etc., are best explained as passive participle adjectives. The modern Dravidian employment of a root « paḍ » to form the passive has been noted by Beames and others, but it would seem that it is a matter of coincidence. The old Dravidian speech did not possess a passive form, but the employment of obviously the same root in the two groups of Indian speeches, Aryan and Dravidian, is interesting; and it is only one of numerous points of similarity which demonstrate a fundamental agreement between the speakers of the languages of the two groups in their habits of

thought. The impersonal construction with পড় « √pȧṛ » (*e.g.*, আমাকে দেখা পড়ে « āmākē dēkhā pȧṛē ») is unknown.

666. (5) আমাকে দেখা হয় « āmākē dēkhā hȧy » *I am seen* (i.e., *they see me*); lit. *with-regard-to-me, a-seeing takes-place* (or *a-seeing there-is*). Here we have a verbal noun in « -ā » : we never say আমি দেখা হই « āmi dēkhā hȧi » where « āmi » would be the nominative. Note that মারা যায় « mārā jāy » or মারা পড়ে « mārā pȧṛe » *gets struck* or *killed, dies*, but মারা হয় « mārā hȧy » *the striking* or *killing takes-place*; দেখা গেল « dēkhā gēlȧ » *seen went, came in sight*, but দেখা হইল « dēkhā hȧilȧ » *a-seeing took-place*. The root হ « hȧ » here is non-committal and merely states the fact. This construction seems to be a modern one.

667. (6) আমি দৃষ্ট হই « āmi dṛṣṭȧ hȧi » *I am seen* is a learned form and a modern one, and it is found in high-flown speech and in the « sādhu-bhāṣā » only. This construction seems to have received a new impetus from the English passive: the Sanskrit passive participle avoids any ambiguity that might result if the native passive participle in আ « -ā » were used. But it undoubtedly originated in Middle Bengali, as Sanskrit passive participles have been largely introduced into the language since its birth.

668. The root আছ « √āch » is used with the past participle to form a sort of passive perfect, mostly in connexion with inanimate nouns or nouns that are names of lower animals, which are subjects of the predicate; *e.g.*, এ বই আমার পড়া আছে « ē bȧï āmārȧ pȧṛā āchē » *this book has been read by me*, where আমার « āmārȧ » governs পড়া « pȧṛā » which predicates বই « bȧï » the subject of আছে « āchē »; মাছ ধরা আছে « māchȧ dhȧrā āchā » *fish have been caught* (or *fish that have been caught are*); এ কথা সকলের জানা আছে « ē kȧthā sȧkȧlērȧ jānā āchē » *this is known to everybody*; এ বই তো পড়া ছিল « ē bȧï tō pȧṛā chilȧ » *this book indeed was read before*, etc., etc. This construction seems to be recent.

669. Two other idiomatic forms of the passive may be noted. চল « √cȧl » *to go*, to express the idea of possibility or continuance, occurs with the verbal noun in আ « -ā », which governs the personal object

in the dative with কে « -kē », and the inanimate object or object which is the name of a lower animal in the accusative. The construction is impersonal: *e.g.*, খাওয়া চলে « khāŏā cålē » *can be eaten*, দেখা চ'লল « dēkhā cållå » *the seeing went on.* খা « √khā » *eat* in the sense of *suffer* is used with the verbal noun মার « mārå » *a beating*, and is conjugated actively, to denote *to be beaten.* This last idiom occurs in other Indo-Aryan languages, as well as in Dravidian.

670. The impersonal and indefinite use of the passive is a noticeable feature in Modern Bengali. When one is not sure whether to use the honorific forms in speaking to an individual, recourse is taken to the passive impersonal to avoid any chance of giving offence by using the ordinary non-honorific: *e.g.*, কি করা হয় « ki kårā håy » *what do you do?* literally, *what is done (by you)?* instead of the direct forms, the honorific আপনি কি করেন « āpåni ki kårēnå » or the inferior তুমি কি কর « tumi ki kårå ». So কোথা থাকা হয় « kōthā thākā håy » *where do you live?* etc. Cf. also the indefinite expressions ধ'রে নেওয়া যা'ক্ « dhōrē nēŏā jāk » *let it be granted*; যদি বলা হয় or যায় « jådi bålā håy, jāy » *if it is said that*; এখান দিয়ে যাওয়া যায় না « ēkhānå diyē jāŏā jāy nā » *one cannot go by this way* (where যাওয়া যায় « jāŏā jāy » is probably from « *jāïjjaï », passive with « -ijj- »: cf. এখান দিয়ে যায় না « ēkhānå diyē jāy nā » *one does not, one should not go by this way*, where যায় « jāy » = « *jāïaï », passive in « -ia- »).

[III] The Passive in « -ā- ».

671. In MB. and NB. occurs a passive with a distinctive « -ā- » affix, which is illustrated below. This passive may have a potential implication.

Middle Bengali: SKK., p. 89, সেহি এহা পথে মাহাদানী বোলাএ « sēhi ēhā påthē māhādānī bōlāē » *he is called the chief toll-collector in this highway*; p. 186, যেহ্ন না ছাড়াএ ঘোল « jēnhå nā chāṛāē ghōlå » *so that the butter-milk is not scattered*; also cf. পঞ্চানন নুলো কয়, তেজীয়ান্ না দোষায় « Pañcānånå Nulō kåy, tējīyān nā dōṣāy » *says Pañcānana, the one with defective arm: 'a man of spirit is not censured'* (Nagendranātha Vasu, 'Baŋger Jātīya Itihās,' Brāhmaṇa-kāṇḍa, I, i, p. 224);

Modern Bengali instances: বেশ মানায় « bēśⱥ mānāy » *fits nicely, looks well*; কথাটা ভাল শুনায় না « kåthā-ṭā bhālå śunāy nā » *the story does not hear nice* (*=it is not to be regarded as welcome*); কথাটা চারাইয়াছে « kåthā-ṭā cāraiyāchē » *the news has been spread*; সে ভাল মানুষ কহায় বটে, কিন্তু লোক সুবিধার নয় « sē bhālå-mānuṣⱥ kåhāy båṭē, kintu lōkⱥ subidhārⱥ nåy » *he is spoken of as an honest man, but he is not of the good sort*; এতে কিন্তু দোষ খণ্ডায় না « ē-tē kintu dōṣⱥ khaṇḍāy nā » *but the evil is not averted by this*; যত পরখায় তত দোষ বা'র হয় « jåtå pårⱥkhāy tåtå dōṣⱥ bā'rⱥ håy » *the more it is tested the larger the tale of faults that come out*; দুল পরবার জন্য কান বেঁধায় « dulⱥ pårⱥbārⱥ jånyå kānⱥ bēdhāy » *the ear is pierced to put on earrings*; এটা তত খারাপ দেখাবে না « ēṭā tåtå khārāpⱥ dēkhābē nā » *this will not show so bad*; etc., etc. : the sense in most instances, as above, is impersonal.

It occurs in Oṛiyā: 'Dhruva-caritra' of Jagannātha-dāsa (Contai edition), p. 8, « sē bōlāi pāṭårāṇī » *she is called the chief queen*; p. 48, « dēbå gåṇå-mådhyẽ tu bōlāu sunāsīrå » *thou art called Sunāsīra* (*=Indra*) *among the gods*; p. 16, « dwādåśå åkṣårå måntrå-rājå ē bōlāi » *of twelve syllables, this is called the prince of charms.*

This « -ā- » passive is found in other NIA. languages: in the Magadhan Maithilī and Bhōjpuriyā; in Eastern Hindī, in Western Hindī, though rather rarely in these (*e.g.*, Kabīr, Kṣiti-Mōhan Sēn's Selections, IV, p. 63 « sabahi piyāsa pūrana hōta hai̯, tana-kī tapana bujhāy « *all thirst is fulfilled, and the burning of the body is relieved* ; Guru Nāṇak, 'Sukha-maṇī,' ed. in Bengali characters by Jñānêndra Mōhan Datta, Calcutta, 1916, p. 80, « jīwana-mukata sōu kahāwai̯ » *he is called 'emancipated in life,'* beside the proper passive in « uha purukha kahiyai̯ jīwana-mukata ») ; in Rājasthānī (dialectally), and in Gujarātī, in which the « -ā- » passive is the common method. It occurs also in Marāṭhī, where the affix is « -āv- -av-, -vav-, -avav- » (cf. Rāmchandra Bhikājī Jōshī, 'Prauḍha-bōdh Marāṭhī Vyākaraṇ,' Poona, 1917, p. 215).

The « -ā- » passive has been explained as a Causative or Potential form, originating from the causative affix « -ā-, -āv- » < OIA. « -ā-pa-ya » (Hoernle, 'Gauḍian Grammar,' § 484; Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 140).

But another and a more reasonable derivation of the « -ā- » passive has been suggested by Sir George Grierson (in a private communication). He derives potential the passive affix « -ā- » from the denominative « -āya- » of OIA. The Bihārī dialects offer a clue to the source of this « -ā- » passive. In Maithilī, Magahī as well as Bhōjpuriyā, there is clear indication that the affix for this passive was originally « -āya- », distinct from that of the causative which was, and still is in many forms, « -āwa- (< -āpaya-) ». Thus, the causative base in Maithilī is « dēkhāb (< dēkhāw < *dĕkkh-āva-) » *to show*, and the potential passive base is « dēkhā » *to be seen* : in the 3 pres., the causative is « dĕkhābē (dēkhāwē), dĕkhābathi », the passive is « dĕkhāĕ, dĕkhāthi » ; so in the future, causative « dĕkhāot » (= MIA. *dĕkkhāvanta-), passive « dĕkhāit » (= MIA. *dĕkkhāyanta-) ; and the past participle forms are, causative « dĕkhāol » (< -āwa-la), passive « dĕkhāel » (< - āya-la) (Grierson, 'Introduction to the Maithilī Dialect,' Calcutta, 1909, pp. 214 ff., esp. tables on pp. 219 ff.). But even in Bihārī itself, the separate identity of the two affixes is to some extent confused, owing to interchange of « -w- » and « -y- » as intervocal glides. In the other NIA. speeches, the distinction has been entirely levelled down, both « -āya- » and « -āwa- » being reduced to « -ā- », or to « -āw- ». We see that from Early MIA. times the causative affix « -āpaya- » has encroached into the domain of the denominative (see *infra*, under ' Denominatives ').

The « -ā- » passive is thus an extension of the denominative « -āya- » of OIA. The NIA. intransitives in « -ā- » are similar OIA. denominatives in « -āya- », and this can be well seen from cases like দোষায়, চারাইয়াছে, পরখায়, খওায় etc. at p 928, which certainly are based on nouns. Compare W. Hindī « Hari-simarana kari bhagata pragaṭāy » *a saint is made manifest* (< prakaṭa) *by thinking on God* (Nāṇak, 'Sukhamaṇī'). NIA. thus has preserved the denominative way of forming the potential passive, despite its being obscured by the causative.

672. The Passive Construction (*karmaṇi-prayōga*) in the past and future tenses is discussed below (under ' Participial Tenses ' and ' Personal Affixes ').

[F] TENSE : THE SIMPLE TENSES.

673. For ordinary purposes, Bengali may be said to have *eight* tenses, with special affixes. These are—

(i) Simple Tenses: 1. Present; 2. Past; 3. Conditional or Habitual Past; and 4. Future.

(ii) Compound Tenses :

(*a*) Progressive: 5. Present Progressive; 6. Past Progressive;

(*b*) Perfect: 7. Present Perfect; 8. Past Perfect.

In addition, there are other Compound or Periphrastic tenses, like Present, Past and Future Continuous, or Habitual Past Perfect (with auxiliary « √ thāk ») where the original verb and the auxiliary are yet distinct and have not coalesced as in the case of the Progressive and the Perfect tenses.

These tenses historically fall under *three types*, viz., Radical, Participial, and Periphrastic.

There is only one *Radical Tense*—the Simple Present, or Present Indefinite, which is derived from the Indicative Present of OIA. *Participial Tenses* are the Simple Past, Conditional or Habitual Past, and Simple Future, which originated respectively from the passive participle (strengthened with the pleonastic « -la » affix), active present participle, and passive future participle of OIA. and MIA. The *Periphrastic* or *Compound Tenses* are made up with the help of the substantive verbs « √ăch » and « √thāk » as well as « √rah » employed as auxiliaries with forms of the root.

In NB., we have only standardised forms, but in earlier Bengali, numerous forms occurred side by side.

[I] THE RADICAL TENSE.

674. The inflexions are:

Old Singular Old Plural

1. «-i» ; (-ō) : « āmi, āmⱥrā căl-i (‡ căl-ō) » .

2. «-is, -s» ; « -āhā, -ā, -ō » : « tui, tōrā căl-is ; tumi, tōmⱥrā căl-āhā, căl-ā » .

3. «-ē, -y »; « -ēn̐, -n̐ »: « sē, tārā cal-ē; tini, tāra cal-ēn̐ ». (āpni, āpnārā cal-ēn̐=2nd person honorific).

The distinction in number in the 1st person was dropped from the earliest times in Bengali. In the 2nd and 3rd persons, this distinction was retained to some extent, in that the plural forms became honorific: in the 2nd person, the old singular became the familiar, inferior or contemptuous (both in the singular and the plural), and the old plural, for some period honorific no doubt, followed suit, although it is slightly more respectful and formal than the singular form. The 3rd person plural became the respectful or honorific, both plural and singular.

675. Typical forms occurring in the OB. of the Caryās are:

First Person:

« jīvami, pīvami (Caryā 4); acchahu (6); puchami, mārami, lēmi (10); dēhũ, lēhũ (8); bāhāma (20: = cāhāma); jāṇahũ (22); acchama (29); āvēśi (33); pēkhami (35); birahũi =? biharaī (39: Comm. = viharaṇaṁ karōmi); ācchuhũ (44); siñcahũ, jānami (49) ».

Second Person:

« aisasi, jāsi (10); bujhasi, pucchasi, bāsasi (15); gilēsi (39); bujhaṣi, acchasi (41) ».

Third Person:

« Lui bhaṇaï (1); jāï, khāa = khāï, jāgaa = jāgaï, jāa = jāï (2); sāndhaa = sāndhaï, bhamanti Birūā (3); taraï, gaṭaï = gaḍhaï (5); chāḍaï, chuppaï, pivaï, bōlaa = bōlaï (6); bājaē, biharaē, lavaē (11); gājaï, bhājaï, dhāvaï, ghōlaï (16); bājaï, bilasaï, nācanti Bājila, gānti dēvī, hōi (17); bhanathi Kaukkurīpā, jō bujhaẽ = bujhaï (20); bhakhaa = bhakhaï, karaa = karaï (21); jē bhamanti tē hōnti; Saraha bhanati = bhananti (22); païsaa = païsaï; bōlathi Sānti (26); basaï, hiṇḍaï, khāï, pōhāï (28); lāgē (29); jujhaa = jujhaï (33); bhuñjaï (34); ujāa = ujāï, bhanaï; 'pamāē = *sāmāi (38); Saraha bhaṇanti (39); » etc., etc.

676. Below are given specimens of forms occurring in MB. :

First Person :

« (mui, mu, mõ, mōẽ, mōē, mōña, āmhi, āmhē, āmi, āmhārā, āmārā, āmi-sābā, āmārā-sābā etc.) চলি, চলী cāli, cālī ; চলোঁ, চলো cālõ, cālō ; চলহুঁ, চলহ চলউ, চলু cālāhũ, cālā(h)u, cālu ; (চলিএ cāliē) ».

Cf. VSP., p. 30, কওঁ kāõ ; p. 31, বলোঁ bālõ ; 34, খাওঁ khāõ ; 57, যাওঁ yāõ=jāõ ; 65, দেওঁ dēõ ; 67, জানোঁ jānõ, থোয়ো thōyõ ; 68, দেও dēō = dēõ ; 276, বটি bāṭi ; 732, রাখো মুঞি rākhō muñi = rākhõ ; 733, পড়হুঁ pāṛāhũ, মুঞি জাঙ muñi jāṅā = jāõ ; 853, থাকিয়ে thākiē, করিয়ে kāriē ; 855 কান্দিএ kāndiē ; 861, মোরা আছোঁ mōrā āchõ ; 974, জানিএ jāniē, বাসিএ bāsiē ; 1204, মাগোঁ māgõ ; 1211, পারো pārõ ; etc., etc. ; 'Padmā-purāṇa' of Vaṅśī-dāsa : p. 4, বন্দম bāndāmā (= bāndāw̃ā, bāndõ) ; p. 11, প্রণমহুঁ prāṇāmāhũ (বন্দোঁ, বন্দো « bāndõ, bāndō », and প্রণমহো « prāṇāmāhō » are quite common in MB.) ; Kṛttivāsa, 'Uttara-kāṇḍa,' p. 28, বিস্তারিয়া কহ মুনি শুনিউঁ কথন bistāriyā kāhā muni, śuniũ kāthānā (*narrate in detail, O Sage, I [shall] hear the tale*) » ; etc.

Cf. Oṛiyā : Modern Oṛiyā, singular « dēkhẽ, dēkhi », plural « dēkhũ » : Jagannātha-dāsa's 'Dhruva-caritra' (Contai edition), p. 12, « āśīrbādā kārā mōtē, sādhāī jēmāntē » *give me blessing, so that I (may) succeed* ; p. 13, « muhi jībāī » *I live.* Also, Maithilī » dēkhī, calī, dēkhiai ; chī, chiahu ; thikahu ; rahī, rahiahu » ; Early Maithilī, as in Vidyāpati (VSPd. edition, Pada 30), « kahañō = kahaw̃ō » ; Magahī, « dēkhī, dēkhũ » ; Bhōjpuriyā, singular « dēkhõ », plural « dēkhī, dēkhyũ ».

Second Person :

« (tui, tuñi, taĩ, tõ, tōē, tōrā etc.) চলসি, চলিসি, চলিস cālāsi, cālisi, cālis ; (tumhi, tumhē, tumi, tōmhārā, tōmārā, tumi-sālā, tōmārā-sābā etc.) চলহ, চল, চলো, চলু cālāhā, cālā, cālō, cālu » .

The « -āsi, -is(i) » and « -āhā, -ā, -ō » forms are exceedingly common n MB. ; the « -u » form is rather rare.

Third Person :

« (sē, tāhā, tāhārā, tāhārā-sabā etc.) চলই, চলে, চলএ calāï, calē, calāē ; (tā̃hō, tā̃hārā etc.) চলন্তি, চলন্ত, চলেন্ত, চলেন, চলাইন, চলাইঁ, চলঞি calānti, calāntā, calēntā, calēnā, calāin, calāī̃, calāñi » .

Cf. VSP., p. 357, « যাওন্তি শৃগাল yāonti sṛgāla = jāwānti, jānti » ; Kṛttivāsa, 'Uttara,' p. 179, « কুক্কুর বলেন kukkurā bālenā, কুকুর জানেন kukurā jānenā » ; *ibid*, p. 7, গঙ্গা শিরে ধরিয়া হাসেন্ত শূলপাণি « gāŋgā sirē dhāriyā hāsēntā Śūlapāṇi » *the One with the trident in hand* (*Śiva*) *laughs, bearing Gaṅgā on his head* ; p. 10, গুরুজনা বাসেন লাজ « guru-janā bāsēnā lājā » *the revered ones feel shame.*

The « -ānti, -āntā, -ēntā » forms are very common in the ŚKK., in Chuṭī-Khān's (Śrīkara Nandī's) 'Mahābhārata,' in Vijaya Paṇḍita's 'Mahābhārata,' and in other older works. In Vaṅśī-dāsa's 'Padmā-purāṇa' (Maimansing District, 17th century), a large number of « -āñi, -āi » forms occur, beside « -nti » ones : the former, it should be noted, occur more frequently with the past and future bases than with the present : *e.g.*. « p. 3, স্মরন্তি বিধাতা smārānti bidhātā ; p. 44, নারদে কহন্তি Nārādē kāhānti ; p. 260, মঙ্গল গাহন্তি māŋgālā gāhānti ; pp. 262, 318, 362, 489, 496, নারীগণে দেহন্তি (দেয়ন্তি) জোঁকার nārīgāṇē dēhānti (dēyānti) jõkārā *the women give shouts of triumph* ; p. 417, মঙ্গল গায়ন্তি সুযুবতী māŋgālā gāyānti su-jubāti » ; besides p. 631, kārāñi = kārānti ; p. 622, yāñi = jānti ; p. 643, pūjāñi = pūjānti » ; etc., etc.

In addition, through Sanskrit influence, a few *ts.* or *sts.* forms occur in MB. in the 3rd person : *e.g.*, বসতি « bāsāti » *dwells* for বসে « bāsē » (vasati) ; বদতি « bādāti » *speaks* for বলে « bālē » (vadati), etc.

The forms in the sister speeches are : Oṛiyā sg. « calāï », pl. « calānti » ; Maithilī, original sg. « dēkhaï », pl. « dēkhathi », also in Magahī, besides forms with affixed object pronouns ; Bhōjpuriyā sg. « dēkhē », pl. « dēkhan », besides other forms.

677. Origin of the Forms for the Radical Tense.

The different « gaṇas » of OIA. were practically levelled to one —with the theme « -a- ». The OIA. causative « -aya- » > MIA. « -ē- » lost its force, and « -ē- » was also found in the indicative present form :

OIA. « karōti » thus figured as « karaï, karēi » in Apabhraṅśa. NIA. forms are based on these Apabhraṅśa simplified ones, both in form and use.

First Person.

From OB. and MB., we see that the following were the old affixes: « -ami (= aw̃i, aĩ), -mi (= -w̃i -ĩ), -ī, -i ; -ama (= -aw̃a), -ɔ̃, -ō ; -a-hũ, -a-hu, -hō, -au, -ũ, -u ». The « -iyē, -iē » form in MB., as has been explained before (p. 915, *supra*), is really a passive form.

The old sense of number had died out in Bengali from the OB. period : it has continued in Oṛiyā to the present day. The affixes « -a-hũ, -a-hu, -ahō, -aü, -u » form one group: here the « -hũ » seems to be the first personal pronoun « *haũ » *I* (see p. 807, *supra*), agglutinated to a basic form of the root in « -a ». Cf. « -tu » for the 2nd person imperative (*supra*, p. 905). This « -hũ, -ũ, -u » form seems to have merged into the « -ɔ̃ » form in MB. A form like শুনিউঁ « śuniũ » (*supra*, p. 932) seems to be first person in « -i », « śuni » + « hũ »; or is it a blend of the passive in « -iu- » (*supra*, pp. 919-920) + « -hũ », or « ɔ̃ » ? The « -hũ > -hu » is found in Maithilī also.

The form « -ɔ̃ » is the affix for the first person now obtaining in Assamese and in North Bengali. This is apparently the same as « -ama » of OB., doubtless pronounced « -aw̃a ». Influence of the agglutinated « -hũ » here is likely in post-OB. times. Cf. Oṛiyā first person pl. affix « -ũ », which is doubtless based on « -ama ». The « -ɔ̃ » occurs also in Central Magadhan.

The MB. and NB. « -ī, -i » is the OIA. and MIA. « -mi » affix of the singular. The OB. « āvēśī » (Caryā 33) would go to show that it was already evolved in the OB. period; but at that time the nasalisation in all likelihood existed ; and it seems to be generally indicated by retaining the « -m- », pronounced as « w̃ » or nasalised « y ». But in a case like « āvēśī », it could not be so indicated *metri causā*, but seems to have been merely left unnoted (* āvēsī = * āyēśĩ = * āw̃iśiw̃i = * āvisimi : MB. āïśī). The Modern Oṛiyā first person sg. form in « -ẽ » (< Early Oṛiyā « -āĩ »), given above (p. 932), *e.g.*, « dēkhẽ, sādhāĩ, jībāĩ », preserves the old nasalisation. The nasalisation is lost in Bengali and in Central Magadhan

and partially also in Oṛiyā, *e.g.*, in its « -i » form. It seems that in Māgadhī Apabhraṁśa, an OIA. form like « calāmi » had resulted in « * calămi » as well as « * calimi », the former having given the Oṛiyā « càlàī, càlẽ », the latter the Bengali, Oṛiyā, and Maithilī-Magahī « -ī, -i » forms.

OIA. : « aham calāmi———vayam (Late OIA. asmē) calāmaḥ »;

MIA. : « ahakaṁ, ahakē calāmi——mayaṁ, amhē calāmō, * calāmē; hakaṁ, hakē (*hagaṁ, hagē) calāmi, calămi——amhē calāmō, * calāmē, *calămō, * calămē »;

Māg. Ap. : « haũ, * haï * calami, * calimi——ambi * calamu, * calami * calama, * calāma (m = ँ) »;

NIA. OB. : « haũ (maī) *calaī, *caliī, *calī, calī—āmhi (āmhē) calaँa, calõ »;

MB. : « (màī, mui, āmhi, āmi, āmhārā, āmi-sàbà etc.) càlī, càli, càlõ. »;

NB. (Standard Speech) : « (āmi, āmṛā) càli »; ‡ « (mui, āmi, āmṛā) càlõ »;

Assamese : « (mài, āmi) càlõ »;

Oṛiyā : « (mũ) càlẽ, càli », plural « (āmbhē, āmbhē-mānē) càlũ »;

Maithilī : « calī, calũ » (for both numbers);

Magahī : « calī, calī, calũ » (for both numbers);

Bhōjpuriyā : « calõ », plural « calũ, calyũ » (the singular « calõ » probably influenced by Western speeches).

In the indiscriminate use of singular and plural forms, it is not unlikely that the singular « * calami, calimi » in Māgadhī Apabhraṁśa became confused with an expected, and possible Māg. Ap. plural form « * calāmi, * calami » < Magādhī Prakrit « * calāmē » < OIA. « calāmaḥ », with the change of final « -aḥ » to « -ē » and then to « -i ».

678. Second Person.

The history of the forms seems to have been as follows:

OIA. : « tvam calasi—yūyam (Late OIA. *yuṣmē, *tuṣmē) calatha »;

MIA. : « tumaṁ, tūṁ calasi—tumhē calatha, caladha; tūṁ calasi —tumhē calaha »;

Māg. Ap. : « tũ, tō calasi, *calisi, *calahi; *calasu, *calahu, *calaũ (from the Imperative)——tumhi calaha »;

NIA. OB. : « tū, tō, taī calasi, calisi—tumhi, tumhē calaha, * calaa »;
MB. : « (tȫ, tō, tōē, taī, tui, tōrā) càlàsi, càlisi, càlàis, càlis—(tumhi, tumi, tōmhārā, tōmꝑrā etc.) càlàhà, càlà, càlà, càlō »;
NB. : « (tui, torā) càlis, ‡ càlàs (as in East Bengal), ‡ càlu (as in S.W. Bengali : cf. Oṛiyā)—(tumi, tōmꝑrā) càlà, càlō »;
Assamese : « tài càlà————tumi càlā (tomālokē càlā, càlāhāk) »;
Oṛiyā : « tū càlu————tumbhē (-mānē) càlà »;
Maithilī : « tȫ calahi, calah————tȫh, tōh-sabh calahu »;
Magahī : « tȫ, tȫ cal————tōhanī calah(in) »;
Bhōjpuriyā : « tȫ, tȫ cal (calas, calasi, calis)—tōhanīkā calah ».

679. Third Person.

OIA. : « sa(ḥ) calati————tē calanti »;
MIA. (Māgadhī) : « śē calati————tē calanti »;
« śē caladi, calaï————*tē calanti »;
Māgadhī Ap. : « śē, *śi calaï————* ti, tē calanti »;
NIA. OB. : « śē *calaï (calanti *honorific*)—*tē, *tēhī, * tēhi * tēha, calanti, *calēnti;
MB. : « sē càlàï, càlàē, càlē ; tēhà, tāhārā càlànti, càlēntà, càlàntà, càlēnꝑ, càlāni, càlāñi, càlāi, càlāñi, càlāin »;
NB. : « (sē, tārā) càlē—(tini, tārā) càlēnꝑē (‡ càlāin) »;
Assamese : « (si, sihātē) càlē (Early Assamese si-hātē càlàntà, càlēntà) »;
Oṛiyā : « sē càlàï—sē-mānē càlànti »;
Maithilī : « sē (sē-sabh) calai̯, calathi » (the latter honorific only);
Magahī : « sē calai̯, calē (calas < Bhōjpuriyā)—taun calīn, calī, calathi »;
Bhōjpuriyā : « sē calē, cala (calasi, calasu < Awadhī)—taun calan, calin ».

The plural form in Bengali is now used as an honorific. The change of OIA. « -nt » normally is to « -t- » in Bengali, not to « -n- » : « càlēnꝑ » therefore does not represent OIA. « calanti ». The form has obtained its « -n- » (further reduced to a mere nasalisation in dialectal Bengali) ultimately from the plural « -na » of the noun (see *supra*, pp. 725-726). It seems that this

« -na » was added to the plural-honorific forms for the verb in the past and the future tenses, which as participial forms did not have any affix originally, and therefore could take up both the plural « -na » of the oblique noun and the « -anti » of the radical tense: MB. ordinary « gēl-å, gēl-ā », honorific « gēl-ēna̸, gēl-ānti ». Thus « -na » and « -anti » became identical; and in the place of « calanti, cålēnta », and a possible « * cålẽti, * cålẽtå » (cf. ŚKK. দেঁতি « dẽti » *they give* = « dēnti »), the form « cålē-na̸ » came in. Doubtless the use of the present participle in « -itē » (cålitē-cålitē), the infinitive in « -itē », and the past habitual base « cålit- », all the three with « -it- », helped the establishment of « -ēna̸ » in the other verb forms as the plural honorific affix. Oṛiyā alone among Magadhan languages has preserved the « -nti ». In other Magadhan, in E. and W. Hindī, and in other NIA., the « -nti » has similarly given place to a mere nasalisation or to « -n »: except in Marāṭhī, where the « -nti » is altered to the normal NIA. development, « -t » (Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' § 235).

The Maithilī and Magahī « calathi » is peculiar, showing « -thi » for OIA. « -nti »; probably it is a case of emphatic « hi »: « calanti hi > calat(i) hi > calathi ». In the Caryās, « -thi » for honorific « -nti » occurs in a couple of instances: « bhaṇathi Kukkurīpāē » (20), « bōlathi Sānti » (26). These seem to have been due to the mistake of the Nēwārī scribe of the MS., familiar as he was more with Maithilī than with Old Bengali.

The « -s- » forms for the 3rd person in Magahī and Bhōjpuriyā seem to be ultimately from Awadhī, and the « -s- » seems to be the pronoun « sē » *he*, agglutinated with the verb-base (like « hū, tu » for the 1st and 2nd persons in OB.).

[II] The Tenses originating from OIA. Participles.

(1) The Past Base.

680. The inflected past tenses of OIA.—the imperfect, aorist and perfect—were continued in MIA., but their employment grew more and more rare. In Early MIA. (as in Pali) the imperfect and aorist

coalesced, and formed practically one past form (cf. Geiger, 'Pali Grammatik,' § 158 ff.), although Pali grammarians sought to indicate a theoretical difference between them by calling the forms derived from the old imperfect and the strong or root aorist (with the 3rd person singular ending in « -a, -ā ») the « hiyattanī » or *yesterday past*, and the forms derived from original sigmatic aorist (with the 3rd person singular ending in « -ī, -si ») as the « ajjatanī » or *to-day past.* The perfect became very much restricted. In Second NIA., the perfect all but disappeared, being found only in a few stereotyped forms; and the same thing happened with the imperfect-aorist tense, which could be found with a number of roots, or had resulted, as in Ardha-Māgadhī, into a couple of affixes—a singular « -itthā, -ĕtthā » and a plural » -iṁsu », originating from the OIA. *ātmanē-pada* (medial) aorist forms (Pischel, 'Gramm. der Pkt.-Sprachen,' §§ 515-517; Geiger, *op. cit.*, § 159).

This gradual decay or disuse of the old moods and forms of the old inflected past is a notable thing in the history of Indo-Aryan (cf. Jules Bloch, 'La Phrase nominale en Sanskrit,' Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique,' Vol. XIV). In this connexion Dravidian influence has been suggested, and indeed is probable (see *supra*, pp. 38, 174). As the old past forms fell into desuetude, their place was taken up more and more by the passive participle adjective which had the ending « -ta, -i-ta » or « -na » in OIA. In this extension of the verbal adjective to assume the function of the finite verb, going hand in hand with the decay of the latter, Dravidian influence, again, is likely. But the germs of this use we find within OIA. itself. In Vedic, the past or passive participle in « -ta » is quite frequently used as a finite verb, when the copula or the substantive verb « as » or « bhū » is omitted (cf. A.A. Macdonell, 'Vedic Grammar for Students,' § 208; B. Delbrück, 'Altindische Syntax,' Halle, 1888, §§ 215, 219). This construction, periphrastic in nature, with the substantive verb present or understood, seems to have come in first with intransitive verbs (meaning *going*, *sitting*, *standing*, etc.), or in impersonal statements. But as yet the passive participle has not invaded the domain of the transitive verb, in a passive construction with the true nominative in the instrumental,—

a construction which is perfectly normal in Second MIA., and which is continued down into NIA.: « sa yātaḥ, sa jātaḥ, sa ārūḍhaḥ » might be used instead of « sa jagāma (iyāya, agacchat, agamat, ayāt), sa ajāyata (ajani), sa aruhat (arukṣat, rurōha) » etc.; but « tēna kṛtaḥ (kṛtā, kṛtam), tēna dṛṣṭaḥ (dṛṣṭā, dṛṣṭam) » are not yet well-established in the place of « sa cakāra (akārṣīt, akarōt), sa dadarśa (apaśyat, adrākṣīt) », etc. But from Early MIA., the extension of the passive participle to transitive verbs also came in. In Pali, however, the OIA. condition obtains, and there is plentiful use of the past tense or aorist, the « -ta » forms occurring with intransitive verbs mainly: but the traditions of Pali as a literary speech go back to the oldest MIA., or latest OIA. period, and Pali syntax is not wholly based on that of the spoken vernaculars of the centuries immediately before Christ But the language of Aśōkan and other early inscriptions sufficiently demonstrate what an important place the passive participle in « -ta » had already obtained for itself in the popular dialects, considerably restricting the inflected past tenses. Thus, to give a few examples: Aśōkan Rock Edict I (Girnar), « iyaṁ dhaṁmalipi dēvānaṁ priyēna priyadasinā rāñā lēkhāpitā »; II (Girnar) « dvē cikichā katā; ōsuḍhāni...sarvatra hārāpitāni ca rōpāpitāni ca »; V (Girnar) « ta mayā bahu kalāṇaṁ kataṁ »; Pillar, Rummindei, « piyadasina lājina atana āgāca mahīyitē; silā vigaḍabhīcā kālāpita, silāthabhē ca usapāpitē, Luṁminī-gāmē ca ubalikē kaṭē »; Nigliva, « lājina thubē dutiyaṁ vaḍhitē »; Khāravēla Inscription, « mahārājēna...kīḍitā kumāra-kīḍikā: yōvarajaṁ pasāsitaṁ »; Bharhut Inscription on gateway, « .. Dhanabhūtina kāritaṁ tōraṇām (= tōraṇaṁ), silā-kaṁmaṁtō ca upaṁna »; Sanchi, Stupa I, « Vēdisakēhi daṁta-kārēhi rūpa-kaṁmaṁ kataṁ »; Besnagar Inscription of Heliodoros, « garuḍa-dhvajē ayaṁ kāritō Hēliōdōrēṇa »; Mathurā Āyāgapaṭṭa Inscription, « ...gaṇikāyē Vasu(yē)...śilāpaṭō pratisthāpitō »; etc., etc.

Illustrations can be multiplied. These show that the passive participle construction, the verb being an adjective qualifying the nominative when it was intransitive and the object when transitive, became the common idiomatic way of expressing the past in MIA. By the time when the Apabhraṅśa Stage came in, the old inflected past forms, which still

lingered in Second MIA., were clean swept away, and only this participial past remained in IA.; and the NIA. past tense was formed out of this.

The IA. speeches outside India show similarly the passive participle as the base for the preterit: Sinhalese (Geiger, 'Litteratur und Sprache der Sinhalesen,' pp. 71-72), and the Gipsy speeches of Europe (F. Miklosich, 'Ueber die Mundarten und die Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europas,' XI, p. 44).

681. The affix « -ta, -ita » was by this time reduced to « -a, -ia », except where it was assimilated to a preceding consonant (*e.g.*, « dṛṣṭa- », = Panjābi « ḍiṭṭhā », beside « *dṛkṣita- > dĕkkhia- » = Hindī « dēkhyā, dēkhā », Bengali দেখিল « dēkh-il- »; « supta > sutta > Early Beng. সুতিল sut-il- »; « matta > Beng. মাতিল māt-il- »; etc.). A pleonastic « -ka », which was reduced to « -a » in Prakrit and Apabhraṅśa, was sometimes added. But the need for some distinctive affix for this important form, the only one to indicate the past tense, was felt in some parts of the country. The « -la » affix of OIA., in extended forms « -i-la, -a-la », which became very popular as an adjective affix (or a merely pleonastic one) from the early centuries of the Christian era, and probably even earlier, was frequently added. In the Second and Third MIA. periods « -i-la, -a-la » apparently became « -illa (-ĕlla), -alla ». In any case, in North-Eastern India the « -ll- » was specially popular from the Apabhraṅśa period (it may be earlier still) in connexion with the passive participle in « -a < -ta, -ia < -ita ». We have no specimens of this North-Eastern or Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa, but from the evidence of the Magadhan languages we have to surmise all that. In the Ardha-māgadhī area, and in the Midland, the « -ila, -ala > -illa (-ĕlla), -alla » affix was rather sparingly used; also in the North-West: the source-dialects Eastern Hindī, Western Hindī, and Western and Eastern Panjābī apparently never used it with the passive participle, whether attributive or predicative. In the South-West, its use was more common than in the Midland, but not so common as in the East: it was used, as we can infer from Gujarātī and Rājasthānī and Sindhī, when the passive participle was a plu-perfect, or an attributive form, and not a predicate in the simple past, performing the function of a verb. In the

South, it was fairly common, and shortly after the formation of the Marāṭhī language, it became more and more popular as an affix in connexion with the passive participle > past tense.

The remnants of Second MIA. (especially in the Jaina dialects as written in the South-West) have preserved for us examples of this « -illa (-ĕlla) » and « -ulla, -alla » affix with nouns and adjectives, like « kaṇṭaïlla, chāïlla, mā(y)illa, lōhilla, sōhilla, ṇēurilla, thalaïlla, niyaḍilla, kasilla, sāsilla, kalaṇkilla, gaṇṭhilla, muttāhalilla, kandalilla, lacchīïlla, kivāïlla, gōïlla, chaïlla, gāmilla, bāhirilla, paḍhamilla, uvarilla, dāhiṇilla, majjhimilla, puvvilla » etc., etc.; and stray forms like Ardha-māgadhī « āṇilliya » (āṇia = ānīta + illa: Pischel, 'Grammartik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 595), and « āgaĕlliyā (āgata-), varĕlliyā (varia-, vṛta-), chaḍḍiĕllayaṁ (chardita-), laddhilliyaṁ (labdha-) » (Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 126) etc. confirm the surmise made chiefly from the modern languages that « -illa (-ĕlla), -alla » added to the passive participle in « -a, -ia < -ta, -ita » is the source of the NIA. « -l- » in this case. When the « -illa » in this way strengthened the passive participle, the latter retained fully its original adjectival nature, and « -illa » would change its ending according to the gender of the noun qualified.

682. Thus the past base in « -il- » in Bengali, Assamese and Oṛiyā, in « -al- » in the Bihārī speeches, and in « -il-, -al » in Marāṭhī, and similar « -l- » forms in the other NIA. speeches, originated from the OIA. « -ta, -ita » *plus* the OIA. diminutive or adjectival affix « -la- » in the extended forms « -ila, -a-la, > -illa (-ĕlla), -alla ». This explanation, first suggested by Sir Charles Lyall in his article on Hindōstānī in the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' 9th edition (1879: reprinted as 'A Sketch of the Hindustani Language,' Edinburgh, 1880: pp. 41-42) and by Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar in his 'Wilson Philological Lectures' (1877, Lecture V, first published Bombay, 1914, pp. 223-224), has finally been accepted as the only possible explanation, after Sten Konow showed how this « -l- » of Marāṭhī (and other NIA. speeches) phonologically must rest on a MIA. « -ll- » (in his 'Note on the Past Tense in Marāṭhī,' JRAS., 1902, pp. 417 ff. Cf. Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 126; Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' § 256).

683. Lassen and Hoernle, whose views, now disproved and abandoned, still obtain some following in India, traced this « -l- » to the « -ta, -ita » affix of OIA. direct: either along this line: « -ta, -ita > -da, -ida > -ḍa, -iḍa > -la, -ila »; or along this: « -ta, -ita > -da, -ida > -la, -ila » (cf. Hoernle, 'Gauḍian Grammar,' § 306). But neither of the above lines of change are known to have taken place on any large scale in IA.; and although there are cases of 'spontaneous cerebralisation' (*supra*, p. 487), and although there are a few cases where NIA. « -l- » (< earlier « -ḷ- ») corresponds to Skt. « -ḍ- » (*supra*, p. 543), a wholesale change of MIA. « -d-, -ḍ- » to « -l- » is not attested. Under influence of preceding « r, ṛ », a dental « -ta » became a « -ṭa » in 'Old Māgadhī,' and the normal change of it in Second MIA. Māgadhī would of course be « -ḍa »; in fact, Vararuci notes two cases, « kaḍa, maḍa < kaṭa, maṭa < kṛta, mṛta » and a third « gaḍa (< gata) » by analogy apparently ('Prākṛta-prakāśa,' XI, 15); and many more can be attested from MIA., from Sanskrit, and from the NIA. speeches (like « *saḍakka > saṛ̃kặ » *street* from « sṛta », « *dhaḍa > dhaṛặ » *torso* from « dhṛta », « *bhaḍa > bhaṛặ » = surname in Bengali = *servant* from « bhṛta, bhaṭa »). In all these cases we find « -ṛ- » in NIA. (< -ḍ- < -ṭ- < -ṛt-) », and never « -l- ». The equivalent of « kaḍa, maḍa » should be « kaṛặ, maṛặ » or « kaṛā, maṛā » in NIA., and not « kaila, maila » as in Early Bengali or in the Bihārī dialects. In fact, the « -ṛ- » form, মড়া « må̄ṛā » < « maḍa », has continued apart in Bengali, in the sense of *dead body, corpse*, and this is quite distinct from the verb মৈল « måilå = *maa-illa = mṛta + illa ».[1]

The adjectival accented « -lá » (Whitney, 'Skt. Grammar,' §§ 1189, 1227) became « -lla » in Second MIA. (Pischel, 'Grammatik der

[1] As has been noted before, the genuine, inherited Māgadhī forms in '-ṛ-,' = '-ḍ-' < '-ṭ-' < '-ṛt-, -rt-' were largely ousted from or restricted in the eastern dialects, probably during the Second and Third MIA periods, by new formations which did not show cerebralisation, but simple elision of the '-t-': see *supra*, p. 487. This was either due to the analogy of the larger number of '-ta-' participles in which there was no scope for cerebralisation and the '-t-' was duly lost in Second MIA.; or it may be that here there was strong influence from the Western speeches due to the continuous immigration of Westerners into the East—Bihar and Bengal—during the formative period of the Eastern languages.

Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 194). It is just possible that the doubling was due to the fact that it was a *ts.* (or *sts.*) affix introduced in Transitional MIA., at a time when original *tbh.* or inherited intervocal « -l- » tended to become cerebralised to « -ḷ- », and that its *ts.* character as an intervocal *dental* or *alveolar* sound was sought to be preserved by this doubling. Another explanation, quite possible, would derive the MIA. « -lla » from the OIA. « -la », strengthened by « -ya » (also an adjectival affix): « *-l-ya > -lla » (Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' p. 256). In any case, the fact remains that in Second MIA. it became « -ll- ». In NIA., in those speeches where the cerebral « -ḷ- » is preserved, this « -ḷ- » stands on a MIA. single intervocal dental or alveolar « -l- »; and where in NIA. it is a dental « -l- », the MIA. source of it is double « -ll- », and not single « -l- ». This has been shown for Marāṭhī (Sten Konow, JRAS., 1902, as cited above; cf. Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' §§ 144 ff.), and for Gujarātī by Turner (JRAS., 1921, pp. 527-528, 535, 537, 538). It is also the case with Oṛiyā: *e.g.*, Oṛiyā « kåḷā » *black*, « kāḷi » *ink* (< kāla-), « bēḷå » (< vēlā), « dēuḷå » (< dēvakula), « tiḷå » (< tila), *ts.* « tåĭḷå » (< tāĭla), with « -ḷ- », but « kāli » (kalliṁ, kalya-), « bēla » (bĕlla, bĭlva), « tēla » (tĕlla, tāĭlá), etc. (see *supra*, p. 533): and for the past tense and pass. part adj., Oṛiyā has « -l- », not « -ḷ- », which thus must rest on a MIA. « -ll- ». The same seems also to be the case with Panjābī. So that Apabhraṅśa (Eastern, Western, Southern) « *kaa-illa-, *kaya-illa-, *kaa-alla-; *gaa-illa, *gaya-illa, *gaa-alla; *calia-illa > *calilla, *callĕlla *calla-illa (= *calya- + -ita- + -la) » etc. can alone be the sources of Early Bengali « kåila », Bihārī « kail », Oṛiyā « kålā », Marāṭhī « kēlā, gēlā », Gujarātī « karēlo » (= * karia-illa), Sindhī « kayalŭ, kītalŭ » (the last = « * kitta-alla- »); and Bengali « gēlā, cålilå », Oṛiya « gålā, cåḷilå- » Bihārī « gail, calal- », beside Oṛiyā « cālilā », Gujarātī « cālēlō », etc.

684. Another view about the origin of the NIA. « -l- » is that it is an independent affix occurring in Indo-European itself, preserved in NIA., but ignored or left unnoticed in OIA. S. H. Kellogg first suggested this in his Hindī Grammar (cf. p. 340, second edition), and Beames connected this « -l- » with the « -l- » affix indicating the past tense in the Slav languages, and compared Slav (Russian) preterit

forms in « -l- » with those of the Marāṭhi as a typical Indian language with the « -l- » past ('Comp. Grammar,' III, pp. 135-136). But this connexion is not proper. We have seen that the MIA. form of the suffix was « -ll- » < OIA. « -l- » and that it is adjectival (diminutive or pleonastic) in its nature, whereas the « -l- » affix that we find in Slav is entirely different. The latter is a participle affix, forming *nomina agentis*, with an active present participle sense, and in Slav it is used to form periphrastic tenses with the substantive verb: and this « -l- » or « -lo- » affix has been found, in addition to the Slav, in Latin, Greek, Armenian and Tokharian among Indo-European speeches (A. Meillet, 'Le Slav Commun,' Paris, 1924, § 281; French trans. of Brugmann's Short Comparative Grammar, Paris, 1905, p. 351; S. Lévi and A. Meillet, 'Remarques sur les Formes grammaticales de quelques Textes en Tokharien B.: I: Formes verbales,' Extrait de Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique, Vol. XVIII, Paris, 1912, p. 22).

685. The « -l- » affix is established for the past tense in Bengali and other Magadhan speeches, so that its use in the Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa can reasonably be presumed. The « -l- » affix is absent for the past tense in Eastern Hindī, Western Hindī, Panjābī, Rājasthānī, Gujarātī, Sindhī: in the source Apabhraṅśas of these, therefore, it would be reasonable to think that it was not present there, or in any case it could not have been so prominent. But the « -ll- » form did not entirely supplant the simple passive participle in « -(i)a » in the East: from Old and Middle Bengali and from Early Oṛiyā and Early Maithilī, we can see that the passive participle in « -ita > -ia » without the strengthening « -illa, -alla » was actually used predicatively for the past base. Examples are given below. The non-l form of the passive participle has given the Bengali passive participle in « -ā »: « calita- > calia- + -ā > càlā ». This non-l form occurs also in Eastern Hindī as well as in Western Hindī: but in NB. it is attributive, and not predicative. All this would show that the « -ll- » and the non-l forms were used side by side in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa, but the NIA. Magadhan speeches decided for the « -ll- » form for the past base as well as for the

adjectival participle base : in Modern Bengali, in the standard language however, the non-l form is employed as the adjective, and the « -l- » form has been restricted to the predicate.

686. The following tables recapitulate the position in the NIA. languages :

[a] Non-l Forms in NIA.

(i) OIA. « calita- » > Second MIA. « calia- ; (nominative) **caliō**, caliē » > Apabhraṅśa « calia- ; caliu, *calii » ;

(ii) OIA. « calita-ka- » > Second MIA. « caliaa- ; (nominative) caliaō, caliaē » > Apabhraṅśa « caliaa- ; caliaü, * caliaï ».

From MIA. passive participles of the above type are derived :—

Western Hindī (Braj-bhākhā) passive participle adjective and past base « calyau̯ » ;
,, (Kanaujī) ,, « calō » ;
,, (Hindōstānī) ,, « calā » ;
Eastern Panjābī ,, « calliā, caliā » ;
Western Panjābī ,, « callēā » (with personal terminations added optionally to form the verb past) ;
Sindhī pass. part. adjective and past base « haliō » (with personal terminations added in the intransitive) ;
Gujarātī pass. part. adjective and past base « cālyō » ;
Rājasthānī ,, ,, « caḷyō » ;
Pahāṛī (Khaskurā) ,, ,, « calyō » ;
Eastern Hindī ,, ,, « calā » (with personal terminations added to form the past tense) ;
Early Maithilī past form « calia, cali, calu » ;
Early Oṛiyā past form « càḷi » ;
Oṛiyā past participle « càḷā » ;
Old Bengali past participle and past form « calia, calī, caliā, calā (caliō, caliu, calu) » ;
Middle Bengali past form « càli (càlē ?) » ;
New Bengali passive participle « càlā (càliyā ?) » ;
New Bengali and Assamese verbal noun « càlā »,

[b] Forms with adjectival or pleonastic « -l- » in NIA.

OIA. « calita- » > MIA. « calia- » + « -illa-, -ŏlla-, -alla- » > Ap. « *calilla-, *calŏlla-, *caliall̥a- ».

From « -ll- » forms of the above types in Apabhraṅśa are derived :—

Sindhī passive past participle « halyalŭ » ;
Gujarātī „ « cālēl, cālēlō » ;
Marāṭhī „ « cālalā » (with personal terminations added to form the past tense), besides a double « -l- » form, « cālalēlā » ;
Marāṭhī verbal noun « cālalẽ » ;
Bihārī past base, passive participle adjective, & verbal noun « calal- » ;
Oṛiyā past base and passive participle adjective « cål̥ilā » ;
Bengali past base and passive participle « cålilå- » ;
Assamese past base « cålil- ».

687. Examples of non -l and « -l- » forms from OB. and MB. are given below.

Old Bengali : non-l forms.

In OB., as in the Caryās, the adjectival nature is still clear in many cases. The form expected in OB. would be « -ia > -ī », or « -ia » + definitive « -ā » = « -iā » ; « -iā » is found, and « -ī » also ; and « -ia », with the final « -a » retained, is also found as an archaic literary survival (cf. Bengali treatment of final MIA. vowels, *supra*, pp. 301 ff.). Besides, forms in « -iō (-ō), -iu, -u » due to Western influence also occur (see *supra*, p. 115). This « -iu, -u, -iō (-ō) » is not found in MB. and NB.

Caryā 1 : « païṭhō » (= paviṭṭhō, paviṭṭhaō = praviṣṭa-, -ṣṭa-ka-) ; « āmhē sāṇē diṭhā » (dṛṣṭa-) ; « baïṭhā » (cf. বৈঠা মানুষ « båiṭhā mānuṣ » *sitting man* in Chittagong Bengali, and বঠিয়া « båṭhiyā » *having sat* in 'Māṇik Candra Rājār Gān,' VSP., p. 82—which show that « båiṭh- » was a good OB. form, though now supplanted by the root « båis ») ; Caryā 7, « bhinnā » ; 9, « haria » ; 10, « chāḍi » ; 11, « païṭha, kiū, bhaïa » ; 13, « kia, mārī » ; 16, « païṭha, païṭhā, diṭhā » ; 17, « piciu = ? cāpiu, kia, ḅiāpiu » ; 18, « bāhia, biṭaliu, ṭāliu » ; 19, « uchaliā, caliā, ahāriu, kia » ;

20, « saṅghārā »; 26, « ahāriu, caṭāriu »; 27, « bikasaü, unhasiu, cālia, gaü, bujhia »; 28, « khāi ?, pōhāi ? »; 30, « phariā, uittā, bujhjhia »; 31, « ṇaṭhā, païṭhā, bihariu, nivāriu »; 34, « bādhā (< baddha-), ladhā = lādhā (< labdha-) »; 36, « pahārī, ahārī »; 44, « miliā, ūiā, païṭhā, biṇaṭhā »; 47, « jalia (< jwalita), paḍā (= patita-) »; 49, « bāhiu, luḍiu, ṇaṭhā, païṭhā, thākiu, laïā ».

Old Bengali : « -l- » forms.

Caryā 2, « cauri nila, cōrē nila, nida gēla »; 3, « āïla, païṭhēla »; 4, « ubhila »; 6, « bēṭila = bēḍhila »; 7, « rundhēlā, bhaïla, āïlā, gēlā, bhaïīla = bhaïlā »; 8, « gēlī, mēlili, milila »; 10, « mōē ghalili »; 12, « jitēla »; 13, « calila »; 14, « buḍili, bhaïlā, caḍilā »; 15, « gēlā, bhaïla »; 16, « lāgēlī »; 18, « sutēli »; 28, « maŭlila, lāgēlī, paḍilā, chāïlī, pōhāïlī »; 30, « ujōli » (= udyōtitam); 31, « chāḍila » (cf. Commentary); 32, « mukala, bhāïlā »; 33, « duhila (adj.), biāēla »; 35, « hāu acchilā̃ (= āchilō̃ ? āchila ?), maï bujhila, dila, ahārila, laïlā, ahārā-kaēla »; 36, « nida gēlā, sutēlā, maï dēkhila »; 37, « ṭuṭi-gēli, acchilēsa »; 39, « nilēsi, bhāgēla »; 41, « phulilā »; 44, āïlē̃si, biccharila »; 47, « lāgēlī āgi, uṭhi-gēla »; 49, « bhaïlī, lēlī »; 50, « phuṭilā, tāēla = uēlā ? bhāēlā ?, phiṭēli, phuliā = phulilā, pākēlā, mātēlā, bhēlā, bhāïlā, (gaḍilā), hakaēlā, mārila, bhaïlā, phiṭili ».

In OB. the affix is commonly « -il- », as in Bengali, Assamese and Oṛiyā, and at times it occurs as « -ēl- ». Except in « mukala », « -al- », characterising Central and Western Magadhan, is not found. The affixing of personal terminations has started already in OB. (*e.g.*, acch-il-ēsa, n-il-ēsi); but the old adjectival nature is sufficiently present, making the form take up the « -i (-ī) » affix of the feminine when the subject is feminine for the intransitive verb and when the object is feminine for the transitive.

688. Examples of the Middle Bengali verb in « -ī, -i < -ia < -ita », without the « -l- » :

ŚKK. : p. 75. মৌন করিআঁ দুহেঁ থাকি এক পাশে « mäunā kāriā duhē̃ thāki (=thākilā) ēkā pāśē » *keeping silent, the two remained on one side* ; p. 217, যেহেন বাহির তেহেন ভিতর সরূপেঁ জাণিলোঁ তোরে। কপট সাগর হৃদয় তোহ্মার

নাছি মোর গোচরে ॥ « jēhēnȧ bāhirȧ tēhēnȧ bhitȧrȧ, sȧrūpē̃ jāṇilō̃ tōrē : **kȧpȧṭȧ sāgȧrȧ hṛdȧyȧ tōmhārȧ, nāchi (=nā āchilȧ) mōrȧ gōcȧrē** » *as on the outside, so within: I have known you in your true form ; your heart is an ocean of deceit, this was not known to me* ; p. 325, সরূপেঁ বুয়িলোঁ মো কাহ্নাঞি তোর বাঁশী আহ্মে নাহিঁ পাই « sȧrūpē̃ buyilō̃ mō Kānhāñi, tōrȧ bā̃śī āmhē nāhī pāï (= pāïlȧ) » *I have said in sooth, O Kānha, I have not found your flute* (note: past form with নাহি « nāhi ») ; p. 343, তোকে তত্ব বোলোঁ চন্দ্রাবলী। যোড় হাথ করী বনমালী ॥ তাত বড় পাইল আপমান। তেঁসি তোহ্মা ছাড়ী গেল কাহ্ন ॥ « tōkē tȧtwȧ bōlō̃ Cȧndrābȧlī, jōṛȧ hāthȧ kȧrī (=kȧrilȧ) bȧnȧmālī : **tȧtȧ bȧṛȧ pāïlȧ āpȧmānȧ, tē̃si tōmhā chāṛī gēlȧ Kānhȧ** » *I tell you the truth, O Candrāvalī : the one garlanded with wild flowers (Kṛṣṇa) folded his hands (before you) ; through that he has felt insulted, that is why Kṛṣṇa has left you and gone away* ;

Kṛttivāsa, 'Uttarā Kāṇḍa' (VSPd. ed.) : p. 16, দুই চক্ষু ঢাকিঞা রাণী হেঁট মাথা করি। নারদ মুনি তবে দিল টিটকারী ॥ « dui cȧkṣu ḍhākiñā **rāṇī hēṭȧ māthā kȧri** (=kȧrilȧ), Nārȧdȧ-muni tȧbē dilȧ ṭiṭȧkārī » *closing both her eyes, the queen (Mēnakā) hung down her head, and then the sage Nārada said words of scorn* : p. 17, হাথে ধরি কন্যা আনিল দেব শূলপাণি ॥ কন্যা লঞা হর ছায়ামণ্ডপে বসি। চারিদিকে বেড়িল সব দেব ঋষি ॥ « hāthē dhȧri kȧnyā ānilȧ dēbȧ Śūlȧpāṇi ; kȧnyā lȧñā Hȧrȧ chāyā-mȧṇḍȧpē bȧsi (=bȧsilȧ), cāri dikē bēṛhilȧ sȧbȧ dēbȧ ṛṣi » *holding her by the hand, the Trident-bearer led the bride (Umā) : Hara (Śiva) then sat in the pavilion with the bride, and all the gods and sages surrounded them on four sides* ; p. 14, পুষ্পকরথ সাজিঞা ব্রহ্মা তাহাকে দিল দান ॥ ব্রহ্মার বরে তুষ্ট হইলা বাপেরে নমস্করি। জত বর পাইল তাহা বাপকে গোচরি ॥ দুর্লভ বর ব্রহ্মা মোকে দিল দান। « puṣpȧkȧ-rȧthȧ sājiñā Brȧhmā tāhākē dilȧ dānȧ, Brȧhmārȧ bȧrē tuṣṭȧ hȧïlā, bāpērē nȧmȧskȧri (= -kȧrilȧ) ; jȧtȧ bȧrȧ pāïlȧ, tāhā bāpȧkē gōcȧri (=gōcȧrilȧ) : 'durlȧbhȧ bȧrȧ Brȧhmā mōkē dilȧ dānȧ' » *Brahmā prepared the (aerial) flower-chariot and gave him as a gift : he was pleased at Brahmā's boon and saluted his father, and told his father about all the boons he received : 'rare boons has Brahmā made a gift of to me'* ; etc., etc ;

Chuṭī Khān's 'Mahābhārata' (VSPd. ed.) : p. 144, এত বুলি অনুশাল করএ বিনয়, প্রীত হই আলিঙ্গি কৃষ্ণ মহাশয় « ētȧ buli Anuśālȧ kȧrȧē binȧyȧ, prītȧ hȧï

āliŋgi (=āliŋgilȧ) Kṛṣṇȧ mȧhāśȧyȧ̸ » *saying all this Anuśālva does courtesy ; being glad, the great-hearted Kṛṣṇa embraced him ;*

Mālādhara Vasu's 'Bhāgavata' (VSP., p. 771) : তার দন্ত উপাড়িয়া নিল দুই ভাই। সেই দন্তে, মাহুত মারি যমঘরে পাঠাই ॥ « tārȧ dȧntȧ upāṛiyā nilȧ dui bhāi, sēi dāntē māhutȧ māri Jȧmȧ-ghȧrē pāṭhāï (=pāṭhāïlȧ) » *the two brothers pulled out his tusks, and with those tusks killing the elephant-driver sent (him) to the abode of Yama ;*

Vijaya-gupta's 'Padmā-purāṇa' (see *supra*, p. 735) : p. 108, গোসাঞি কোন দোষে শাপি « gōsāñi kōnȧ̸ dōṣē śāpi » *through what fault did the lord curse ?* p. 109, কলসী ভরিয়া ঘৃত নাগ সবে ঢালি « kȧlȧsī bhȧriyā ghṛtȧ nāgȧ-sȧbē ḍhāli » *the Nāgas poured ghee in full jars ;* p. 214, পদ্মার বচনে বেহুলা মনে মনে হাসি « Pȧdmārȧ bȧcȧnē Behulā mȧnē mȧnē hāsi » *Bēhulā laughed in her heart at Padmā's words ;* etc. ;

'Caitanya-caritāmṛta,' Ādi-līlā, Chap. 13 : শ্রীকৃষ্ণ চৈতন্য নবদ্বীপে অবতরি। অষ্ট চল্লিশ বৎসর প্রকট বিহরি ॥ চৌদ্দশত সাত শকে জন্মের প্রমাণ। চৌদ্দ শত পঞ্চান্নে হৈলা অন্তর্ধান ॥ « Śrī-kṛṣṇa-cāitȧnyȧ Nȧbȧdwīpē ȧbȧtȧri, ȧṣṭȧ-cȧlliśȧ̸ bȧtsȧrȧ̸ prȧkȧṭȧ̸ bihȧri ; cȧuddȧ-śȧtȧ-sātȧ̸ śȧkē jȧnmērȧ̸ prȧmāṇȧ̸, cȧuddȧ-sȧta-pȧñcānnē hȧilā ȧntȧrdhānȧ̸ » *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya came down to Navadvīpa ; he sojourned in manifest form for 48 years ; the date of his birth, Śaka 1407 ; he disappeared in 1455 ;* also cf. VSP., p. 1222, যে পথে যে গ্রাম নদী শৈল যাহাঁ হই লীলা। বলভদ্র-ভট্টাচার্য্য-স্থানে সব লিখি নিলা ॥ « jē pȧthē jē grāmȧ̸ nȧdī śȧilȧ jāhā̃ hȧï līlā, Bȧlȧbhȧdrȧ-bhȧṭṭācāryyȧ-sthānē sȧbȧ̸ likhi nilā » *in all the ways, in all villages, rivers and hills, wherever there were any events, he wrote down all from Balabhadra Bhaṭṭācārya ;* etc.

The Past use of the Present Tense in Bengali.

689. The « -i » affix in the past is thus found in MB., although it is not so common ; and this can only be expected, considering that in OB. the non-l form is hardly obsolete, although the « -l- » has well-established itself. But in MB. and NB. we meet with a very common use of what is apparently the present tense in the past, in historical narrative generally : *e.g.*, NB. গেল বছর যখন আমি কাশী যাই (= গিয়াছিলাম) « gēlȧ bȧchȧrȧ̸ jȧkhȧnȧ̸ āmi Kāśī jāï (=giyāchilāmȧ̸) » *when I went to*

Benares last year ; ভারতে আর্য্যদের আগমন কথন হয় জানা যায় না « Bhārȧtē Āryyȧdērȡ āgȧmȧnȡ kȧkhȧnȡ hȧyȡ jānā-jȧyȡ nā » *it is not known when the first coming of the Aryans into India happened ;* সম্রাট আকবর প্রায় ৫০ বৎসর রাজত্ব করেন « sȧmrāṭ Ākbȧrȡ prāyȡ pȧñcāśȡ bȧtsȧrȡ rājȧtwȧ kȧrēnȡ » *Emperor Akbar reigned for nearly 50 years ;* etc., etc. In MB. (and also in NB.), this 'present' is very frequently used side by side with the ordinary « -ilȧ̃ » past, and is not distinguished from the ordinary present in any way as a present used especially for the past. This usage seems however to point to a continuance in MB. and NB. of the OB. passive participle without « -l- », used for the past tense. The regular form would be « -ita > -ia > -ī, -i », which is not uncommon in MB., as in the instances given above ; but it seems that when « -ila » became established as the characteristic past base in OB. and MB., the « -i » form was not properly understood : in the 1st person it could easily be confused with the 1st person present affix, and in connexion with the 3rd person the final vowel could be changed to « -ē » as in the 3rd person present ; and in this way the old passive participle adjective could formally merge into the present tense, retaining its old past sense. This gave rise to what at first sight looks like a past use of the present. Once this construction was accepted, in Early MB., substitution for the « -i » participle by the 2nd personal affix « -ȧ » and by the honorific « -ēntȧ, -ēnȡ » was a matter of course. The use of the present for the historical past is of course a most natural thing, being found in many languages, Sanskrit and the Prakrits and the NIA. languages included. But the presence of the « -i » past for all persons in MB. points to « -ia < -ita » ; and also the use of « -i » and the « -ēnȡ, -ȧ, -ē, -i » forms along with « -ilȧ » in the same sentence or proposition seems to indicate that the passive participle without « -l- » had something to do with the so-called 'present' tense for the past in MB. and NB.

Examples of this promiscuous employ of « -ilȧ » with the non -l forms can be found in the passages quoted in § 688, and further instances are given below :

ŚKK., p. 19, এ বোল সুণিআঁ নাগরী রাধা হাণএ সকল গাএ। যত নানা ফুল পান করপুর সব পেলাইল পাত্র॥ « ē bōlȧ suṇiȧ̃ nāgȧrī Rādhā hāṇȧē sȧkȧlȧ

gāē, jȧtȧ nānā phulȧ pānȧ kȧrȧpurȧ sȧbȧ pēlāilȧ pāē » *hearing this talk, winsome Rādhā struck all over her body; all the various flowers, betel leaves and camphor and all she scattered with her feet*; p. 240, হেন বুলী রাধা কলসী লআঁ জাএ গজগড়ি ছান্দে ...... পাইল রাধা কালীদহ-কূল « hēnȧ bulī Rādhā kȧlȧsī lȧā̃ jāē gȧjȧ-gȧṛi chāndē ... .. pāilȧ Rādhā Kālīdȧhȧ-kūlȧ » *saying this Rādhā took her jar and went with the gait like that of an elephant, and she reached the shore of Kālī lake ;* p. 24 , সকল গোআল যুবতী রহিলা যেহ্ন কনক পুতলী ॥ এখো পাঅ কেহো চলিতেঁ নারে বুলিতে নারে বচনে। « sȧkȧlȧ gōālȧ jubȧtī rȧhilā jēnhȧ kȧnȧkȧ-putȧlī : ēkhō pȧȧ kēhō cȧlitẽ nārē, bulitẽ nārē bȧcȧnē » *all the young girls of the cowherds stood still like images of gold, not one of them could walk even one step, nor could utter a word ;* etc., etc. ;

Kṛttivāsa, 'Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa,' p. 29, ফলমূল আনি দিল ঠাকুর লক্ষ্মণ ॥ পিণ্ডদান করেন রাম রাজীবলোচন। « phȧlø-mūlø āni dilȧ ṭhākurø Lȧkṣmȧṇø, piṇḍȧ-dānø kȧrēnø Rāmø rājībȧ-lōcȧnø » *worshipful L. brought fruits and roots, and lotus-eyed Rāma offered* piṇḍas ; p. 17, সীতারে কহিল, ফল করগা ভক্ষণ। ফল হাতে করি কহে, ধরহ লক্ষ্মণ ॥ » Sītā-rē kȧhilȧ, 'phȧlø kȧrȧgā bhȧkṣȧṇø' : phȧlø hātē kȧri kȧhē, 'dhȧrȧhȧ Lȧkṣmȧṇø » *he said to Sītā, 'eat (these) fruits' ; taking the fruits in his hand he said, 'hold, Lakṣmaṇa'* ; 'Uttarā-kāṇḍa,' p. 5, মঙ্গল দ্রব্য লঞা আইলা সখীগণ মেলি। কন্যার অধিবাস করে দিয়া হুলাহুলী ॥ অধিবাস সঙ্গে হৈল সিদ্ধ সব কাজ। হেমন্তে মেলানি করি চলে মুনিরাজ ॥ « mȧŋgȧlø drȧbyȧ lȧñā āilā sȧkhi-gȧṇȧ mēli, kȧnyārø ȧdhibāsø kȧrē diyyā hulāhulī : ȧdhibāsø sȧŋgē hȧilȧ siddhȧ sȧbø kājø, Hēmȧntē mēlāni kȧri cȧlē muni-rājø » *the girl-friends (of Umā) came in company, bringing auspicious articles, with the* hulu *sound (of joy) ; the* adhivāsa *with all the ceremony was complete, and the prince of sages (Nārada) left, taking farewell from Himavanta ;* etc., etc. ;

Chuṭī Khān's 'Mahābhārata,' p. 54, প্রবীর পড়িল হেন ঘোষে সর্ব্বজন। দূরে থাকি নীলধ্বজ শুনে ততক্ষণ ॥ হা হা পুত্র করি রাজা হৈল বাহির। « 'Prȧbīrø pȧṛilȧ' hēnȧ ghōṣē sȧrbȧ-jȧnø, dūrē thāki Nīlȧ-dhwȧjø śunē tȧtȧ-kṣȧṇø : 'hā hā putrȧ' kȧri rājā hȧilā bāhirø » *'Pravīra has fallen,' so shouted every one : then from a distance Nīladhwaja heard it ; the king came out with 'ah, ah, my son !'* ;

Kavikaṇkaṇa Mukunda-rāma (Vaṇgavāsī edition): p. 14, কোলেতে করিয়া রামা ছেলি করে পার ॥ প্রবেশ করিল ছেলি গহন কানন। « kōlētē kariyā rāmā chēli karē pāra : prabēśa karila chēli gahana kānana » *the lady took the goats across in her lap: the goats entered the dense forest*; p. 155, হাস্য পরিহাসে দোঁহে বসিলা দম্পতী। জিজ্ঞাসে ঘরের বার্ত্তা সাধু ধনপতি ॥ লহনা কহিল,‚ প্রভু তুমি ভাগ্যবান্। « hāsyа parihāsē dōhē basilā dampatī; jijñāsē gharēra bārttā sādhu Dhanapati: Lahanā kahila, 'prabhu! tumi bhāgyabān' » *the two, husband and wife, sat, in laughter and in jest; the merchant Dhanapati asked about the news of home*: *Lahanā said, 'my Lord! you are fortunate indeed'*; p. 175, তাহার পশ্চাতে আইল দাস নীলাম্বর। আদর করিয়া আইসে উজানী নগর ॥ « tāhāra paścātē āïla Dāsa Nīlāmbara, ādara kariyā āïsē Ujānī-nagara » *behind him came Nīlāmbara Dāsa, doing (proper) respect he came to the city of Ujānī*; p. 185, সম্মুখ দুয়ারে অগ্নি দিলেন খুল্লনা ॥ দুয়ারেতে যায় অগ্নি, সান্ধাইল ঘরে। প্রবল হইল অগ্নি জউয়ের উপরে ॥ জউগৃহে বাঢ়ে অগ্নি ক্রোশ পরিমাণ ॥ « sammukha duārē agni dilēna Khullana: duārētē jāy agni, sāmbhāïla gharē; prabala haïla agni jaü-ēra uparē, jaü-gṛhē bāṛhē agni krōśa-parimāṇa » *Khullanā set fire to the front door: the fire came through the door, and entered the house; upon the lac, the fire became strong, and the fire grew a* krōśa *measure within the house of lac*; etc., etc.;

Vaṅśī-dāsa, 'Padmā-purāṇa,' (ed. Rām-nāth and Dwārakā-nāth Chakrabarti): p. 207, আগুবাড়ি ওঝারে আনিল আনিল চন্দ্র ঘরে ॥ পরম গৌরবেতে করিল সম্ভাষণ। ধন্বন্তরি আগে আনে মড়া ছয়জন ॥ « āgu-bāṛi ōjhā-rē ānila Candra gharē, parama gaurabētē karila sambhāṣana; Dhanwantari-āgē ānē maṛā chaya-jana » *Candra advanced and brought the snake-doctor home, greeted him with great honour and they brought the six corpses before Dhanvantari*; etc.;

'Caitanya-caritāmṛta,' Madhya-līlā, Chap. 9: রাত্রিকালে রায় পুন কৈল আগমন। দুইজনে কৃষ্ণকথায় করে জাগরণ ॥ দুইজনে কৃষ্ণকথা হয় রাত্রিদিনে। পরম আনন্দে গেল পাঁচ সাত দিনে ॥ « rātri-kālē rāya puna kaila āgamana; dui janē Kṛṣṇa-kathāya karē jāgaraṇa: dui janē Kṛṣṇa-kathā haya rātri-dinē, parama ānandē gēla pāca sāta dinē » *the king came again at night time; both of them kept awake discoursing about Kṛṣṇa; there was*

discourse about Kṛṣṇa between them, night and day; some 5 or 7 days were thus passed in great bliss; Antya-līlā, Chap. 9: এত বলি ঘোড়া আনি রাজদ্বারে ধরি ...... এক রাজপুত্র ঘোড়ার মূল্য ভাল জানে। তারে পাঠাইল রাজা পাত্র-মিত্র সনে॥ সেই রাজপুত্র মূল্য করে ঘাটাইয়া। গোপীনাথের ক্রোধ হৈল মূল্য শুনিয়া॥ « ētå båli ghōṛā āni rāja-dwārē dhåri ...... ēka̸ rāja̸-putrå ghōṛāra̸ mūlyå bhālå jānē; tārē pāṭhāïlå rājā pātrå-mitrå sånē; sēi rāja̸-putrå mūlyå kårē ghāṭāïyā, Gōpīnāthēra̸ krōdha̸ håilå mūlyå śuniyā » *saying this and bringing the horse, they kept before the king's palace-gate: a prince knew well the price of horses; the king sent to him with his courtiers and friends; that prince fixed the prices very low, and hearing that (low) price, Gōpīnātha's anger rose*; etc., etc.

Such cases of indiscriminate use of the « -ila » and the present forms are exceedingly common in MB. Where continuous action is meant, it may be admitted that the form in use can very well be that of the present, since in the syntax of Bengali, action is viewed as happening before our eyes as much as possible. But we have also cases of finite or transitory action, and there the use of a present form would be difficult to justify even from the point of view of Bengali syntax. It is to be noted that with this so-called present past, the negative form which is employed is নাই « nāï », which seems to be itself a past form (see *supra*, p. 555).

In the 'Prākṛta-Pāiṅgala' we have a few instances of a form in « -ē » (for the third person), analogous to the Bengali 'present' past: *e.g.*, p. 334 (Bib. Ind. ed.) « jiṇi Kaṁsa viṇāsia kitti paāsia Muṭṭhi Ariṭṭhi vināsa karē; Jamalajjuṇa bhañjia paa-bhara ganjia Kālia-kula-saṁhāra karē, jasa bhuaṇa bharē...... »; p. 576, « bappaa ukki sirē jiṇi lijjia, tĕjjia rajja vaṇanta calē.... ». In the above cases, all the commentators are agreed (except in one or two instances) in regarding « viṇāsia, paāsia, bhañjia » etc. as well as the « -ē » forms—« karē, dharē, bharē, calē » as being passive participles in « -ia < -ita », with the instrumental form « jiṇi = yēna » as the subject (cf. *supra*, p. 124). The final « -ē » (instead of « -ī ») is due in the 'Prākṛta-Pāiṅgala' to reasons of rime or rhythm in some cases, but as the work was finally redacted in the second half of the 14th century, the influence of the present tense third person in altering

the final vowel as in Bengali is also quite conceivable here. With the forms in « -ē » as above, one can compare certain other forms in « -u », genuine Western Apabhraṅśa inheritances, in the 'Prākṛta-Pāiṅgala': *e.g.*, p. 570, « jiṇa vēa dharijjē...dantahi ṭhāu (= sthāpitā) dharā...daha-muha kappē (= kartitaḥ) ».

690. The non-l past form is found occasionally in Early Oṛiyā also, where it ends in « -i ». Thus Jagannātha-dāsa, 'Ūṣā-haraṇa' (Contai ed.): p. 6, « pȧrighȧ-prȧhārē bināsi, siṁhȧ yēsȧṇē pȧśu grāsi: pȧrighȧ-ghātȧ bȧjrȧ-prāyē, jībȧnȧ nāśilā thōkāē: kāhārȧ bhujȧ-dȧṇḍȧ chiṇḍi, pȧlāi gȧlē bȧḷȧ chāḍi: dēkhiṇȧ Aniruddhȧ-gȧti, nāgȧ-bȧndhȧnē mȧhārȧthī Aniruddhȧ-ku bēgē bāndhi: tā dēkhi Ūṣā kāndi » *he slew with a blow of his mace, as if a lion devoured a beast: the blow from the mace was as a thunderbolt, it destroyed the lives of some; the hands and arms of some were torn away, they ran away leaving the forces: seeing Aniruddha's devoir, the great warrior quickly bound Aniruddha with snake-bonds: seeing that, Ūṣā wept*; p. 9, « Kṛṣṇȧ upȧrē bāṇȧ bindhi » *the arrow pierced Kṛṣṇa*; p. 10, « sȧbhȧyē dȧśȧ digȧ cāhi » *looked at the ten quarters in fright*; p. 11, « jñānȧ pȧsilā nijȧ dēhē: uṭhi sȧmbhāḷi kȧḷēbȧrȧ » *senses came back into his body: getting up, he took care of his person*; ibid, 'Kaṅsa-janma': p. 2, « Kṛṣṇa-bȧiri-bhābȧ icchi » *desired the inimical attitude of Kṛṣṇa*; p. 16, « dēbē pȧlāï swȧrgȧ chāṛi » *the gods fled, leaving heaven*; 'Rukmiṇī-haraṇa,' p. 15, « jētē āyudhȧ hȧstē dhȧri, sȧbu chēdilē Nȧrȧhȧri » *Narahari (Kṛṣṇa) cut to pieces all the weapons that he took in hand*; ibid., « Kṛṣṇȧ dhȧïlē Rukmȧ-śirȧ: tȧt-kṣȧṇē tȧḷē tāku pāṛi, pȧñcȧ prȧkārē kāṭi dāṛhi: tā dēkhi Rukmiṇī sundȧrī, Kṛṣṇȧrȧ hȧstȧ bēgē dhȧri » *K. seized Rukma by the head; at once flinging him down on the ground, cut his beard in five places: seeing that, fair Rukmiṇī quickly took K.'s hand*; etc., etc. Examples are fairly common in Early Oṛiyā.

In Early Maithilī also, we have equally the non-l form: but it seems owing to the strong influence exerted by the Western Apabhraṅśa, the remains of Early Maithilī literature that we have show the non-l form with the characteristic Western « -u » (as much as in OB.). This « -u » form so far as Maithilī is concerned was purely literary, and has no

place in Modern Maithilī. Examples: Vidyāpati (VSPd. ed.), Pada 32, « sasana parasa khasu ambara rē, dēkhala dhani-dēha » *with the touch of wind the garment fell off, ho, the damsel's frame was seen*; Pada 40, « saba-jana ēka ēka cuni sañcaru, Śāma-daraśa dhani lēla » *all (her friends) moved about picking (pearls dropped from her necklace) one by one, and the damsel had her view of Śyāma (Kṛṣṇa)*; Pada 50, « ambara bighaṭu akāmika, kāmini karē kuca jhā̃pu suchandā » *of a sudden the garment slipped, and the lady with her hands covered her breasts with great grace*; ibid, « sundari rahu sira lāi » *the fair one remained hanging her head*; Pada 52, « candanē caracu payōdhara » *the breasts smeared with sandal-paste*; Pada 60, « takhanē upaju rasa, bhēlihu mōñē parabasa » *sentiment (of love) was born even then, (and) I became another's thrall*; Pada 75, « jakhanē duhu-ka dīṭhi bichūrali, duhu manē dukha lāgu: duhu-ka āsā-dīpa mijhāela, madana-ā̃kura bhā̃gu......bāma nayanā jaño bhēla dūtē, ō dāhina rahu lajāī » *when the two were out of (each other's) sight, sorrow afflicted the hearts of both; the lamp of hope of both went out, and the sprout of love was broken; ......the left eye was a messenger, but the right one remained in bashfulness*; Hara-gaurī Pada 9, « pāhuna āela, Bhabānī bhāga-chāla basaïē dia ānī » *the guest came and Bhavānī (Umā) brought the tiger-skin to sit upon*; etc., etc.

The non-l adjectival forms in Middle Bengali and New Bengali.

691. The non-l form gave OB. « -ī », *e.g.*, « calī »: with the definitive « -ā », Māgadhī Ap. « calia » became « caliā », and then by loss of the « -i- », it became « calā » by Early MB. times. A similar loss of the « -i- » occurs in the Western Hindī: cf. Hindōstānī—« calā », Kanaujī « calō », beside Braj-bhākhā « calyau̯ (= caliau) », 'Vernacular Hindōstānī' of Ambala « caliā » (cf. also Bāŋgarū of Karnal « kahyā » = Hindōstānī « kahā »). The « -i- » seems to be preserved in the perfect tense in Standard Bengali « càliyā-chē » and dialectal « càĭl-chē [tsoĭlse] < càli-chē », where « càliyā (càli) » is in all likelihood the passive participle (see *infra*, under 'Compound or Periphrastic Tenses').

In the ŚKK., the non-l form is rather rare, *ts.* forms in « -ita » and the « -l- » participle adjective being more common; but instances

do occur: *e.g.*, p. 259, চলী ভৈলী চন্দ্রাবলী « cali (= calitā) bhaili Candrābali » *C. was gone*; p. 381, বাহুতে কনক চুড়ী, মুকুতা রতনে জড়ী « bāhutē kanaka curī, mukutā ratanē jarī » *on her arms gold bracelets, encrusted with pearls and gems*; etc. (these two examples « cali, jarī » are feminine). Examples of the « -ā » form are plentiful in other MB. literature: to quote a few random instances, Kṛttivāsa, 'Uttarā-kaṇḍa,' p. 177, পথে সুআ কুকুর « pathē suā kukura̸ » *a dog lying on the way*; Vijaya-gupta, 'Padmā-purāṇa,' p. 12 তিতা বস্ত্র « titā bastra » *wet cloth*, p. 38 টুটা « ṭuṭā » *broken*, p. 55 ভাঙ্গা « bhāŋgā » *broken*, এড়া রুটী « ēṛā ruṭī » *cast-away bread* (= *leavings of a meal*), p. 58 তোলা জল « tōlā jala̸ » *water drawn* (*from well or tank*), p. 107 পোড়া কপাল « pōṛā kapāla̸ » *burnt forehead* = *bad luck*, p. 69 মরা মানুষ « marā mānuṣa̸ » *dead man*, p. 132 পাকা মূলা « pākā mūlā » *ripe radish*, p. 158 দন্তগুলি ছোলা « danta-guli chōlā » *the teeth were well-scraped*, etc.; VSP., p. 386 লেখা « lēkhā » *written*, p. 989 আবোলা « ābōlā » *not uttered*, p. 1057 হারা « hārā » *lost*, etc.; Chuṭī Khān's 'Mahābhārata,' p. 55 বাণ কাটা গেল « bāṇa̸ kāṭā gēla » *the arrow was cut into pieces*; etc., etc.

The « -l- » form in Middle Bengali.

692. Examples need not be adduced for the verb past tense, as « -il- » is *the* past base of Bengali. Passive participial adjectives in « -il- » were very much in evidence in MB. In the NB. the non-l adjective in « -ā » has practically superseded the earlier, more common « -il- » adjective (except in one or two phrases like গেল বছর « gēla bachara̸ » *last year* in the Standard Colloquial: in the dialects it is still living, in forms like জুড়াইল দুধ « juṛāïla̸ dudha̸ » *cooled milk*, সুতিল মানুষ « sutila̸ mānuṣa̸ » *sleeping man*, করাইল কাম « karāïla̸ kāma̸ » *done work*, ভুখিল ছাইল্যা « bhukhila̸ chāïlyā » *hungry child*, etc.). The « -l- » form continues in full vigour in Oṛiyā and in the Bihārī dialects as an attributive adjective.

Examples from OB.: Caryā 6, « bēḍhila hāka » *a tumult that has been surrounded*; 8, « gēlī (=gēlā?) jāma bahuḍaï kaisē » (printed text = বহু উই « bahu uï », but cf. Commentary translation = « vyāghuṭati ») *how can a birth that is past* (gēlī = gata-) *come back*? 14, « rathē-caḍilā bāha-bāṇa »

? *carriage-riding scholars*; 33, « dubila dudhu ki bēṇṭē ṣāmāya », see *supra*, p. 263.

From MB.: ŚKK., p. 26, ভাঁগিল নেহা « bhā̃gilȧ nēhā » *shattered love* (NB. ভাঙ্গা « bhāŋgā »); p. 45, আরতিল কাক « ārȧtilȧ kākȧ » *greedy crow* (from *ts.* noun « ārati », or < « āratta = ārakta »); পাকিল বেল « pākilȧ bēlȧ » *ripened* (*ripe*) *bael-fruit* (= NB. পাকা « pākā »); p. 54, পাইল নিধি « pāïlȧ nidhi » *received wealth* (= NB. পাওয়া « pāwā »); p. 99, ভুখিল বাঘ « bhukhilȧ bāghȧ » *hungry tiger* (< *tbh.* noun « bhukha »); p. 163, আউলাইল চিকুর « āülāïlȧ cikurȧ » *dishevelled hair*; p. 171, ভরিল যমুনা « bhȧrilȧ Jȧmunā » *full Yamunā*; p. 195, ফুটিল বান্ধলী ফুল « phuṭilȧ bāndhȧlī-phulȧ » *blooming* bāndhulī *flower* (cf. ফুটিত পদ্ম « phuṭitȧ pȧdmȧ » *blooming lotus*, with *ts.* « -ita », in the same page); p. 216, রোষিলি রাধা দিল খর বচন « rōṣili Rādhā dilȧ khȧrȧ bȧcȧnȧ » *angry Rādhā gave* (*spoke*) *sharp words*; p. 207, পাকিল দ্রাক্ষা « pākilȧ drākṣā » *ripe grapes*; p. 246, আসুখিল হইল « āsukhilȧ hȧïlȧ » *became unwell* (from *ts.* noun « asukha »); p. 304, মজিল চিত না জাএ ধরণ « mȧjilȧ citȧ nā jāē dhȧrȧṇȧ » *heart lost* (*in love*) *cannot be retained*; p. 370, দগধিলী রাধা জীএ তোর দরশনে « dȧgȧdhilī Rādhā jīē tōrȧ dȧrȧśȧnē » *Rādhā burnt* (*with love*) *as it were, will live* (*only*) *at thy sight* (*sts.* dagadha < dagdha); p. 392, বিষাইল কাণ্ড « biṣāïlȧ kāṇḍȧ » *poisoned arrow* (from noun « viṣa »); ibid., বজরে গঢ়িল বুক না জাএ ফুটিআঁ « bȧjȧrē gȧṛhilȧ bukȧ nā jāē phuṭiā̃ » *heart built of thunder-bolt does not burst* (NB. = গড়া gȧṛā); p. 398, কাটিল ঘাঅত লেম্বূ রস « kāṭilȧ ghāȧtȧ lēmbū-rȧsȧ » *lemon-juice in an incised wound*, etc.; from Kṛttivāsa, 'Uttara Kāṇḍa; p. 272, ভরিল সমাজে « bhȧrilȧ sȧmājē » *in full assembly*; ibid, 'Ayōdhyā Kāṇḍa'; p. 21, কাটিল কদলী যেন পড়ে ডালে মূলে « kāṭilȧ kȧdȧli jēnȧ pȧṛē ḍālē mūlē » *like a plantain tree that has been cut down, which falls with its branches and its roots*; Kavi-kaŋkaṇa, p. 118, ভুখিল বাঘিনী « bhukhilȧ bāghinī » *hungry tigress*; p. 160, রাহুর ভুখিল বেলা « Rāhurȧ bhukhilȧ bēlā » *at Rāhu's hungry time*; Vaṁśī-dāsa, 'Padmā-purāṇa,' p. 48, কুপিল নন্দী « kupilȧ Nȧndī » *angry N.*; p. 644, হারাইল ধন « hārāïlȧ dhȧnȧ » *lost wealth*; etc., etc.

The adjectival use of the « -l- » forms in OB. and MB., as well as in Early Maithilī (see below) establishes the passive construction as having originally obtained in place of the active one in the eastern languages.

When these « -l- » participles qualify feminine nouns (either subjects, as in the case of intransitive verbs, or objects, as in the case of transitive ones), in OB., in eMB., and in Early Maithilī, they take the feminine affix « -ī, -i » (see before, pp. 672 ff.): thus, in OB., « mēlili kāchi » (Caryā 8); « ghalili māli » (10); « buḍilī Mātaṅgī » (14); « lāgēli tāntī » (17); « lāgēlī ḍālī, sēji chāïlī, rāti pōhāïlī » (28); « ṭuṭi gēli kaṅkhā » (37); « lāgēlī āgi » (47); « gharinī canḍālī lēlī » (49); « phiṭilī ṣabarālī » (50): eMB. ŚKK., p. 72, কোণ পুরাণে কাহ্ন হেন শুণিলী কাহিনী « kōṇȧ purāṇē Kānhȧ hēnȧ śuṇilī kāhiṇī » *in what Purāṇa, O Kānha, has such a tale been heard* (passive construction lingering in MB., with transitive verb); p. 9, বড়ায়ি চলিলী আন পথে « bȧṛāyi cȧlilī ānȧ pȧthē » *the old dame went by another way*; p. 14, সে কি রাধিকা ভৈলি সীতা সতী নারী « sē ki Rādhikā bhȧilī Sītā sȧtī nārī » *is it that R. has become a chaste wife (like) Sītā*; p. 22, রাধা সিআঁ বসিলি শয়নে « Rādhā siā̃ bȧsilī śȧyȧnē » *R. having come sat down on the bed*; p. 144, মথুরা লড়িলী বড়ায়ি হআঁ আগুআনী « Mȧthurā lȧṛilī bȧṛāyi hȧā̃ āguānī » *the old dame moved (towards) Mathurā, being the leader*; p. 145, বুলিতেঁ লাগিলী বড়ায়ি « bulitē̃ lāgilī bȧṛāyi » *the old dame began to say*; ibid., গেলী রাহী « gēlī Rāhī » *Rādhikā went*; p. 156, হেন গুণী মনত চঢ়িলী রাধা নাএ « hēnȧ guṇī mȧnȧ-tȧ cȧṛhilī Rādhā nāē » *thus pondering in mind, R. got into the boat*; p. 266, জিলী পদুমার ঝী « jilī Pȧdumārȧ jhī » *Padmā's daughter lived (again)*; etc., etc. In Late MB., and in NB., as the « -l- » form lost its original adjective nature, and became more and more a verb, this affixation of the feminine « -ī, -i » went out of use. The same thing has happened in Maithilī, though to a lesser extent.

Instances of the « -l- » adjective from Early Oṛiyā: 'Dhruba-carita,' p. 11, « āpȧṇā ȧrjilā kȧrmȧ āpȧṇē bhuñjȧï » *one tastes (the results of) one's deeds done by oneself*; p. 73, « Dhrubȧrȧ arjilā bibhūti » *merits earned by Dhruva*; 'Rukmiṇī-haraṇa,' p. 11, « ōṣṭhȧ pācilā phȧḷȧ bimbȧ » *lips (like) ripe* (i.e. *red*) bimba *fruit*; etc., etc. It is common also in Modern Oṛiyā.

Instances from Early Maithilī: Vidyāpati, (VSPd. ed.) Pada 37, « titala basana » *wet clothes*; 9, « nahāïli gōrī » *bathing fair woman*;

62, « mūruchali ahañō » *am one that has fainted*; 41, « nagara bharalā » *a well-filled city*; 21, « kāmini kōnē gaṛhalī » *by whom (this) woman was created?* (fem. affix « -i »); Hara-gauri Pada 17, « Śaŋkarē Gōrī karē dhari ānalī maṇḍapa-mājhē » *Gaurī was brought to the middle of the pavilion by Śankara holding her hand*; etc., etc.

Western Hindī shows adjectives in « -l- » which are extended forms from nouns: *e.g.*, « lajīlī (lajjā), sawādila (svāda), adōkhila (dōṣa), haṭhīlī (haṭha), raŋgīlā (raŋga), caṭakīlā (caṭak *splendour*), chaïla (chavi) » etc. occur in Bihārī's 'Sata-saı'; and similar forms like « lāḍilī » *petted* (√laḍ: > Bengali লাডলী « lāḍlī »), « bhīgīlā » *wet*, « kaṭīlī » *cut*, « rasīlā (rasa) », « ghāyala (ghāta) », « gaïla » *lane* (gata) etc. are fairly common in Braj-bhākhā and other Early Western Hindī literature. The extension of the passive participle form occurs, but that is rare.

(2) The Past Conditional or Habitual.

693. The Past Habitual or Conditional occurs in most NIA. speeches. Of the Eastern languages, Assamese, however, does not show it. This past base is simply the old Present Participle, the Oṛiyā forms (retaining as they do the full « -nt- »: see next section) are clear on this point: OIA. « -ant-, -ayant- » > MIA. « -anta-, -enta- » > OB. « -anta-, -enta- » > MB. ইত « -it- » (cf. Hoernle, Gauḍian Grammar, §§ 298-300, §§ 506 ff.). To denote the conditional or habitual, « -it- » is inflected with the personal endings as an ordinary past form. The conditional or finite use of the present participle occurred in Second MIA. (cf. Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 123). Both the conditional and habitual uses of the present participle seem to be connected with the sense of when, *while, whilst, when that* etc., which is inseparable from this form when it is not frankly attributive: and this sense of duration implying almost a condition is emphasised in the locative absolute with the present participle, a construction which is found in the language of the Rig-Veda. The conditional and independent use of the present participle could thus normally evolve out of it. Cf. *e.g.*, the Pāli Jātaka formula, « atītē Bārāṇasiyaṁ Brahmadattē rajjaṁ kārentē », followed invariably by a past verb.

OB. as in the Caryās has the locative absolute with the present participle: *e.g.*, Caryā 42, « muḍhā acchantē lōa na pēkhaï » *people do not see while they are ignorant*; quotation in Commentary to Caryā 48, « ghara acchantē mā jāṅga (= jāha? jāw̃a?) baṇē » *when there is a home, go not* (*let us not go?*) *to the forest*; etc. But an example of the past conditional or habitual tense does not occur in the Caryās. In Early MB., this habitual or conditional past is fully established as a tense; and judging from its occurrence also in Early Oṛiyā and in Bihārī, it may be inferred that this temporal employment goes back to Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa.

Examples from MB.: ŚKK., p. 164, ডুবিআঁ মরিতোঁ যবে না থাকিত কাহ্নে « ḍubiā̃ mȧritõ jȧbē nā thākitȧ Kānhē » *I would have died by drowning if Kṛṣṇa were not* (*there*); p. 256, জীয়ন্ত থাকিত যবে নান্দের˙নন্দনে। এত খনে আবসই হৈত দরসনে « jīyȧntȧ thākitȧ jȧbē Nāndērȧ nȧndȧnē, ētȧ khȧnē ābȧsȧï hȧitȧ dȧrȧsȧnē » *if the son of Nanda were living, by this time certainly we would have seen him* (lit. *his viewing would have taken place*); p. 223, জানিতোঁ নাসিতোঁ, যাইতোঁ, « jānitõ, nāsitõ, jāïtõ » *I would know (if I had known), I would not come, I would go*; p. 284, দিতোঁ « ditõ » *I would give*; p. 307, চাহিত « cāhitȧ » *I would ask*; etc., etc.; Kṛttivāsa, 'Uttarā-kāṇḍa,' p. 103, আমি যদি থাকিতাঙ « āmi jȧdi thākitāṅa̸ (= thākitām) » *if I had remained*; Kavi-kaŋkaṇa, p. 128, প্রতিদিন ক্ষিতিনাথ অঙ্গে বুলাইত হাত, চন্দনে করিয়া বিভূষিত। স্ুবর্ণ পিঞ্জর পর পুষিতেন নৃপবর « prȧti-dina̸ kṣiti-nātha̸ ȧŋgē bulāïtȧ hāta̸, cȧndȧnē kȧriyā bibhūṣitȧ: subȧrṇȧ-piñjȧrȧ-pȧra̸ puṣitēna̸ nṛpȧ-bȧra̸ » *everyday the lord of earth would rub with his hand on its body, adorning with sandal* (*paste*); *the good king would tend it in a cage of gold*; etc., etc. Examples are copious in MB.

694. Forms in the other Magadhan speeches:

Oṛiyā	Maithilī
1. cȧlȧnt-i—cȧlȧnt-u;	1. dēkhit-ī;
2. cȧlȧnt-u—cȧlȧnt-ȧ;	2. dēkhit-ah, dēkhit-ẽ;
3. cȧlȧnt-ā—cȧlȧnt-ē.	3. dēkhaït, dēkhit-athi.
(The affixes are those of the verb simple past.)	(Besides a number of forms with pronominal affixes.)

Magahī	Bhōjpuriyā
1. dēkhat-ī, dēkhait-ī, -ū;	1. dēkhat-ī, (fem.) dēkhat-yū;
2. dēkhait-å, dēkhait-aī;	2. dēkhat-ē, -as, -is; *pl.* -ah;
3. dēkhaĭt, dēkhaĭt-athi-n.	3. dēkhit, dēkhat—dēkha(i)t-an.
(Besides forms with affixed pronouns.)	(Besides a few other forms for the third person.)

Assamese expresses the past conditional by affixing the word « -hĕtĕn » to the inflected « -il- » past form: « kårilŏ-hĕtĕn, kårilŏ-hăk-hĕtĕn » etc. This « hĕtĕn » occurs in Early Assamese as « hēntē » (as in « pāïlō-hēntē » *I would receive* in 'Ādi-caritra,' p. 67), and it is undoubtedly the present participle of « √ah, ha » *to be*, in the locative absolute, « *ahantahi > *ahēntahi > hēntē », a variant of the other form « håntå, hātå » (see above, p. 739).

The « -it-, -at- » Future in the Modern Magadhan Speeches.

695. In Maithilī and Magahī, there is the use of the present participle form in « -t- » for the Future. In both these forms of Central Magadhan, the « -t- » future has ousted « -b- » future (for which see *infra*) in the 3rd person: in Maithilī there are also alternative « -t- » forms for the 1st and 2nd persons. Thus—

Maithili, 1st person: « dēkhat-iaĭ, dēkhit-åhŭ (dēkhat-iaĭ-nhĭ) »;
2nd person: « dēkhat-iaĭ (dēkhat-iaĭ-nhĭ) »;
3rd person: « dēkhat (dĕkhåt-aĭ) », fem. « dēkhati », besides forms with the pronouns affixed — « dekhåt-aĭ-nhi, dēkhå-tah, dēkhathu, dēkhathūnhi, dēkhathīnhi », fem. « dēkhatīhi ».

Magahī, 3rd person, only: « dēkhat (dēkhåt-aĭ) », besides « dēkhatåhin, dēkhåtan, dēkhåtathī, dēkhåtin, dēkhåtathin, dēkhåta-thīn(i) ».

Leaving apart the extended forms, with the pronominal affixes, the simplest form for the 3 person future in both Maithilī and Magahī is « dēkhat »: thus, « sē dēkhat » *he will see.* Here we have the simple participial base apparently: < « sē *dĕkkhanta » = *he seeing.* But in the

past conditional it is « sē dēkhait », which seems to represent an old oblique form, a locative absolute apparently : « tasmin *dṛkṣati (base *dṛkṣant-) > *tahī dĕkkhantē, dĕkkhanti > sē dēkhati, dēkhait (by epenthesis) ».

In dialectal Bengali, of Eastern Bengal (specially in the East Vaŋga area), there is also a future use of the « -t- » forms : thus, in East Sylhet Bengali, we have 1 pers. দেখ্‌তাম « dēkhtām » *I shall see*, also *I would see, if I saw*; 2 pers. দেখতায় « dēkhtāy », দেখতে « dēkhtē » ; 3 pers. দেখ্‌তো « dēkhtō », দেখ্‌তা « dēkhtā » (LSI., V, I, p. 226). From the future, an imperative use also seems to be found occasionally in East Sylhet : *e.g.*, আপত্তি করলাম, তিল কাটত না « āpåtti kå'rlām, til̥ kāṭ̥tå nā » *I objected, 'don't cut the sesamum'* (LSI., V, I, p. 232). Similar use is found in Tippera, in Noakhali, and in Chittagong : *e.g.*, দিত না « ditå nā » *he will not give*, ক'রতাম ন « kå'rtām nå » *I shall not do.* The following peculiar construction is also noticeable, with the « -t- » conditional or future, to denote purpose or desire : আমি যাইতাম চাই « āmi jāïtām̥ cāï » *I want to go* (besides যাইতে, যাইবার « jāïtē, jāïbār̥ » as in Standard Bengali), তুমি যাইতায় চাও « tumi jāïtāy cāo » *you want to go*, হে যাইত চায় « hē jāïtå cāy » *he wants to go*, honorific তাইন যাইতা চাইন « tāin jāïtā cāin » (as in Eastern Sylhet : LSI., V, I, p. 227). Cf. also দিতাম পাইর্‌তাম না « ditām pāïrtām nā » *shall not be able to give*, কইর্‌তাম দিতাম ন « kåïrtām ditām nå » *shall not allow (them) to do* (as in Noakhali), আঁই যাইতাম্‌ লাগ্‌গিলাম « āmi jāïtām lāggilām » *I began to go*, তুঁই যাইতা লাগ্‌গিলা « tũi jāïtā lāggilā » *you began to go*, হিতে যাইতে লাগ্‌গিল্‌ « hitē jāïtē lāggil » *he began to go* (as in Chittagong : cf. Basanta Kumar Chatterji in VSPdP., 1326, p. 114, = Standard Bengali « jāïtē lāgil- » for all persons). Here we have simply the present participle adjective inflected as a tense even when it is not a finite verb. Such use is found in South-East Bengali of several centuries ago : thus in the Chittagong poet Ālāol of the 17th century, we have a line like কুবোল সহিতাম নারি « kubōl̥ såhitām̥ nāri (= nā pāri) » *I shall not be able to endure bad words* (VSP., p. 1142). The « -t- » future is also found in Mayang or Bishnupuriyā (LSI., V, I, p. 424), which seems to be an old extension of Sylhet Bengali in the Tibeto-Burman tracts of the east. With the « -r- » affix (see *infra*, 'Pleonastic Affixes'), Sylhet Bengali and

Mayang, again, have some forms with the « -t- » conditional or future to indicate the present or future (LSI., V, I, pp. 226, 423, 424).

This future use of the present participle in the Bengali dialects of the extreme east is not shared by the other forms of the language, and seems only to be a local development. But the point is not clear. It is plain that in Central Magadhan, the future use of the present participle made a start with the third person, and Magahī did not go beyond it. The future use of the third person is found in the 14th century Maithilī of Vidyāpati quite plentifully, but mainly in the third person. It cannot be surmised definitely whether this idiom originated in the Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa period as a form inherited equally by Central and Eastern Magadhan.

Mārkaṇḍēya in his 'Prākṛta-sarvasva,' notes that in Nāgara (i.e., Western) Apabhraṅśa, the present participle is used for all the tenses: thus, « sarvadā śatṛ: 'hontō' = bhavan, babhūva, bhaviṣyati vā » (XVII, 62, Vizagapatam ed., p. 119). This note is interesting: « hontō » is actually the source of the Gujarātī « hatō », Rājasthānī « thō » and Western Hindī « hatau, hutau, hatō, thō, thā » *was* (Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' §§ 113, 123), and of the Gujarātī and Western Hindī (Hindōstānī) present participle « hōtō » and « hōtā » besides; and further, the present participle affix « -ant- » has given the Western Panjābī, and Sindhī affix « -nd- » for the future base. These are all Western languages. But how far the future use of the « śatṛ » of Sanskrit characterised Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa cannot be known.

(3) The Future Tense.

The OIA. Sigmatic or Inflected Future in NIA.

696. The future was formed by adding « -sya- » (with or without the additional vowel « -i- ») to the root in OIA. This inflexional or sigmatic future is preserved in many forms of NIA. as « -s-, -ś-, -h- », in W. Panjābī, Rājasthānī (Jaipurī and Mārwāṛī), Gujarātī and W. Hindī (Braj-bhākhā, Kanaujī, Bundēlī), and partially in E. Hindī (in the 3rd person only in Awadhī and Baghēlī, and in all the persons in Chattisgaṛhī;

the « -b- » future also occurs in the E. Hindī dialects, but never in the 3rd person). Of the Magadhan languages, Bhōjpuriyā preserves it in the 3rd person only, and in 2nd person as future precative; Magahī, 3rd person (beside the « -t- » future), and in the 2nd person as future precative; in Maithilī and in NB., it is found in the 2nd person as a future imperative (see *supra*, p. 908); and in Assamese and Oṛiyā, it seems to have been entirely lost.

The sigmatic future at one time was present in the East, and traces of it continued down to eMB. The OIA. sibilant has survived as a sibilant in Gujarātī, in some of the Rājasthānī dialects, in Western Panjābī (the MIA. « -ss- » < OIA. « -sy- » doubtless being retained as a single « -s- » in the latter: cf. *supra*, pp. 549-550, p. 79.). Thus: Gujarātī 1. « mārīś (māras)—mārīśũ (mārsu) », 2. « mārasē (mārse) — mārasō (mārsō) », 3. « mārasē (mārsē) » = OIA. « mārayiṣyāmi », etc.; Jaipurī 1. « mārasyũ — mārasyā̃ »; 2. « mārasī — mārasyō »; 3. « mārasī — mārasī »; Lahndā 1. « mārēsā̃ — mārsāhā̃, mārsā̃h », 2. « mārēsē̃ — mārēsō », 3. « mārēsī — mārēsin ». In the rest, where the « -sy- » form is preserved, it occurs as « -h- »; and this change of « -s- » to « -h- » is an unexplained problem in MIA. and NIA. phonology (see *supra*, pp. 549-550, p. 783). Thus, Māṛwāṛī 1. « mārahũ — mārahā̃ », 2. « mārahī — mārahō », 3. « mārāhī—mārahī »; Braj-bhākhā 1. mārihaũ̮—mārihaĩ̮ », 2. « mārihai̮—mārihau̮ », 3. « mārihai̮—mārihaĩ̮ »; Awadhī 3. « mārihai̮ (> mārē) — mārihaĩ̮ », Bhōjpuriyā 3. « mārī — mārihē, mārihen », etc. The « -h- » is thus further lost intervocally in the Eastern languages: thus, « mārişyati » > MIA. « mārihaï, mārihiï » > NIA. « mārihi, mārī » (as in Bhōjpuriyā).

In Early MB. we have cases of the sigmatic future for the third person also. A number of instances occur in the ŚKK., and a few could be culled from 15th century Bengali: after which period it died out evidently when the intervocal « -h- » was slurred, and the form became confused with the present indicative (or the passive present, which itself was merging into the present active). No instance of the sigmatic future in the first person has been found, either in OB. or in MB.; and no

case of third person occurs in the Caryās ; only of the second person (see *supra*, p. 908).

ŚKK., p. 65, যবেঁ তোরে মারিহে পরাণে। তবেঁ তোক রাখিব কোণ জনে॥ « jåbẽ tōrē mārihē pårāṇē, tåbẽ tōkå rākhibå kōṇå jånē » *when he will strike you in life, then who will protect you ?* ; p. 100, কাঁদিআঁ জাণায়িবোঁ কাঁশে। পাছে কাহ্নাঞিঁ মোকে না দিহে দোষে॥ « kā̃diā̃ jāṇāyibō̃ Kā̃śē, pāchē Kānhāñī mōkē nā dihē dōsē » *I shall lament and inform Kaṁsa, and Kṛṣṇa will not (= should not) blame one after that* ; p. 180, হাথ দিতেঁ লিহে কলিআঁ « hāthå ditē̃ lihē kåliā̃ » *the black (stain) will smear (itself) on placing the hand* ; p. 251, কেহো যবে বেকত করিহে এহা কাজ। আহ্মার খাঁখার তবেঁ তোহ্মে পাইবেঁ লাজ॥ « kēhō jåbē bēkåtå kårihē ēhā kājå, āmhārå khā̃khārå tåbẽ tōmhē pāïbẽ lājå » *when someone will make this affair known, then (there will be) blame for me, and you will have shame* ; p. 26', নিষধ রাধাক যতনে॥ আর বার হেন না করিহে। পুরুষের আখি নিবারিহে॥ « niṣådhå Rādhākå jåtånē: ārå bārå hēnå nā kårihē, puruṣērå ākhi nibārihē » *carefully forbid Rādhā, that she will not do like this again, she will avoid a man's eyes* ; p. 323, শুণিআঁ কি বুলিহে বলভদ্র ভাই « śuṇiā̃ ki bulihē Bålåbhådrå bhāï » *what will brother B. say on hearing (this) ?* ; p. 324, শুণী সব দেব গণে কি বুলিহে আহ্মারে « śuṇī såbå dēbågåṇē ki bulihē āmhārē » *what will all the gods say to me hearing this ?* ; p. 336, যবেঁ কাহ্ন না মিলিহে করমের ফলে। হাথে তুলিআঁ মো খাইবোঁ গরলে॥ « jåbẽ Kānhå nā milihē kåråmērå phålē, hātē tuliā̃ mō khāïbō̃ gåråle » *if, through the fruits of* karma, *Kṛṣṇa will not be obtained, then I shall eat poison with my own hands* ; cf. Kṛttivāsa, 'Uttarā-kaṇḍa,' p. 59, column 117, আইসুক ভৃগুরাম তবে সি প্রাণ জাইহে « āïsukå Bhṛgurāmå, tåbē si prāṇå jāïhē » *let B. come, then indeed life will depart.*

The « -itavya > -b- » Future in NIA.

697. The characteristic suffix for the future base in Bengali as well as Assamese and Oṛiyā is « -ib- », = « -ab- » of Bihārī and of Eastern Hindī. About the origin of this affix, there is no difficulty: it comes from the OIA. future passive participle gerundive in « -tavya- » or « -itavya », in Second MIA. « -(i)avva-, -(i)abba-, -ĕbba » and other

forms (Pischel, 'Gramm. der Pkt.-sprachen,' § 570). This affix does not occur in the Rig-Veda, and it is rare in other Vedic literature: it is a new formation, and replaces the Vedic gerundive « -tua » or « -tva ». In MIA. and in Classical Skt. it became much more evident. In Early MIA. it has the force of an imperative: *e.g.* Aśōkan, Rock Edict I Girnar, « na prajuhitavyaṁ na ca samājō katavyō »; Sarnath, « iyāṁ sāsanē viṁnapayitaviyē », etc., etc. There is here a vague mandatory sense, with an express future implication. The simple future notion evolved gradually; side by side with it, the old notion of an action which is to be done continued, and was modified into simply the notion of an act. In NIA. both the uses of this form occur: as a future passive participle (which finally became the future tense), and as a verbal noun. Thus, Gujarātī has verbal nouns in « -vũ », « karvũ = kariavvaũṁ, *karitavyakaṁ, kartavyakam », Rājasthānī (Mārwāṛī) in « -bō », « mārabō = *māriabbaũṁ, māritavyakam », and Western Hindī (Braj-bhākhā) « māribaŭ, māribaŭ », (Kanaujī) « māribō »; Marāṭhī has a subjunctive base in « -āv- », *e.g.*, impersonal « myā uṭhāvẽ » *I should rise*, lit. *it is to be risen by me* (= *mayā ut-sthātavyam), active « mī uṭhāvā »; and the Eastern languages, Eastern Hindī, Bihārī, and Bengali-Assamese and Oṛiyā, have the verbal noun in « -ab-, -ib- » as well as « -ab-, -ib- » as the base of the future tense, with personal terminations added.

As it has been noted before, the « -(i)tavya- > -iabb- > -ib- » is not a native *tbh.* form in the East (*supra*, pp. 374, 375, 486-487). In the Eastern dialect, whether 'Old Ardha-Māgadhī' or 'Old Magadhī' of the First MIA. stage, as we can see from Aśōka inscriptions, OIA. « -vya- » became « -viya- », not « -vva- » (as for instance at Girnar). This First MIA. « -viya- » could only give « -vī, -ī, -i » in the Modern Prācya languages. The change « -(i)tavya > -(i)abba » is a later, post-Transitional MIA. feature in the eastern dialects, and « -iabba » is either a *semi-tatsama* form introduced from Sanskrit in the Transitional period (before the softening and final dropping of the intervocal « -t- » in « -itavya » was carried out), or was an imposition from some Western dialect which normally changed « -vya- » to « -vv- » and then to « -bb- ».

The « -(i)tavya » > « -ib- » was originally a verbal adjective, and the construction with a transitive verb was in the passive, the « -ib- » form qualifying the object in that case. This old usage is still in force in OB., as in the examples from Caryā 29 below.

Cases of « -ib- » future in OB.: Caryā 5, « tumhē hōiba » (= yuṣmābhir bhavitavyam); 7, « kariba nivāsa » (= nivāśaḥ kartavyaḥ); 10, « tōē sāma karibē (= ? kariba ; ? < kariabbaï = * kariabbaē = kartavyakaḥ) ma (= maĩ) sāŋga » (= tvayā samaṁ kartavyō mayā saŋgaḥ); 14, « jāïba puṇu jiṇaüra » (= yātavyaṁ punaḥ jina-puram); 23, « tumhē jāïbē̃ »; 28, « lōḍiba » (= Comm. « anvēṣayitavyaḥ); 29, « maï dibi piricchā » (= mayā dātavyā pṛcchā: dibi = *diabba, + fem. -ī); 36, « kariba »; 39, « thākiba, khāïba maï »; 40, « kahiba » (kathayitavyaṁ); etc.

It will be noted that in the Caryās, the form is « -ib- », and not « -ab- » as in Central and Western Magadhan, showing that the language of the poems belong to the East Magadhan group. Like « -illa- : -alla- », this affix, « * -iabba, * -iĕbba, * -ĕbba » in Mag. Ap., ranged itself into two groups « -ibba- : -abba- », the Eastern Magadhan speeches adopting the former.

The affix for the 1st person future in many Bengali dialects (both in MB. and NB.) show « -m- », as « må, -mu », and « -ŋ- = -w̃- » as « -ŋå, -ŋ », instead of « -bå, -bō, -bū, -bō̃, -bōhō̃ ». This is merely a phonetic change, a softening of « -b- » in connexion with the nasal to « -w̃-, -m- », which has been discussed before (pp. 531-532). This « -m- » has been wrongly referred to the Sanskrit affix « -maḥ » for the 3 pers. plural indicative present by some Bengali writers on Bengali philology.

[G] Personal Affixes

[I] Active (Kartari), Passive (Karmaṇi) and Impersonal (Bhāvē) Constructions (Prayōga) in NIA.

698. The personal affixes of the present or radical tense in NIA. are the phonetically decayed forms of those of OIA. Affixation for the participial tenses is a NIA. development. The future in Bengali and other

Magadhan languages, and in NIA. generally when it is of participial origin, followed the fortunes of the past. The formation of the past tense in typical NIA. of the first few centuries of the 2nd millennium A.C. agrees in principle with that of MIA. But subsequently, or it may be from the very beginning of the NIA. stage, there were new developments in some of the various groups of IA. The central language, W. Hindī, together with Eastern Panjābī, is most conservative, and has resisted innovations in the formation of the past, keeping true to the MIA. principle. The past tense in these speeches retains its MIA. character as the passive participle adjective qualifying the nominative when it is intransitive, and the object when it is transitive, the subject in the latter case being in the instrumental—the past of the transitive verb being thus a true passive albeit the construction of the phrase in nominal. Besides these active (intransitive) and passive (transitive) constructions for the past (« kartari » and « karmaṇi prayōgas »), the central speech has preserved (though dialectally) the old neuter or impersonal construction (bhāvē prayōga) for the intransitive verb, and has further extended this neuter construction to the transitive verb (cf. LSI., IX, pp. 50-52). Thus, OIA. « Kṛṣṇaḥ calitaḥ (calitakaḥ) » > MIA. « Kaṇhō caliaō, Kaṇhu caliaü » > NIA. (W. Hindī, Braj-bhākhā) « Kānha calyau̯ » (Active Construction); OIA. « Kṛṣṇēna pustikā paṭhitā, * Kṛṣṇa-karṇēna pustikā paṭhitikā » (=MIA. idiom with instrumental postfix « -karṇa » and feminine in « -ikā ») > MIA. « * Kaṇha-(k)aṇṇē(ṇa)ṁ pȍtthiā paḍhiiā (paḍhīā), * Kaṇha-aṇṇēṁ, Kaṇha-aṇṇahī pȍtthia paḍhīa » > NIA. (Braj-bhākhā) « Kānha-nai̯, -nẽ pōthī paṛhī » (Passive Construction) ; OIA. « Kṛṣṇēna (* Kṛṣṇa-karṇēna) calitam (calitakam) » > MIA. « Kaṇha-(k)aṇṇē(ṇa)ṁ caliaaṁ, caliauṁ » > NIA. « * Kānha-nẽ calyau̯ », not found in Standard Hindōstānī or Braj-bhākhā, but occurring in Vernacular Hindōstānī (Neuter Impersonal Construction) ; and on the basis of this last, a new formation with transitive verbs (Impersonal Construction with the Transitive Verb) was established in NIA., as in W. Hindī (Braj-bhākhā) : *e.g.*, « Kānha-nẽ Rāhī-kaũ̯ dēkhyau̯ », of which the OIA. translation, word for word, would be « Kṛṣṇēna Rādhikāyāḥ-kṛtē dṛṣṭam » for « Kṛṣṇēna Rādhikā dṛṣṭā ».

This MIA. principle of « karmaṇi, karttari » and « bhāvē » constructions, together with the NIA. extension, is substantially preserved in Rājasthānī, in Gujarātī, in Marāṭhī, in Western Panjābī, and in Sindhī, despite certain innovations. Rājasthānī in general agrees with W. Hindī, but its congener Gujarātī has confused the transitive impersonal construction with the transitive passive one, by making the past participle form qualify the object in the former construction as much as in the latter: *e.g.*, « tēṇē rāṇīnē jōī » *by-him with-reference-to-the-queen she-was-seen*, instead of « jōyũ » *it-was-seen.* In this confusion some Rājasthānī dialects agree with Gujarātī.

Marāṭhī despite its affixing « -l- » to the passive participle has on the whole kept true to the MIA. standard: it has the active construction with intransitive verbs, and the passive with transitive ones, besides the impersonal with transitives. Its great innovation is adding personal affixes to the intransitive verbs (and following that, to some transitive verbs also: LSI., VII, p. 26), by which the past intransitive (also transitive in some cases) has become a regular inflected active past form, as much as in the Sanskrit perfect aorist or imperfect, or in the Bengali « -il- » past. Thus, « mī uṭhal-ō̃ » for « mī uṭhalā » *I rose* (i.e. « aham utthita-laḥ + mē, mayā », instead of « aham utthitalaḥ = utthitaḥ », active), « myā rāṇī pāhilī » (= « mayā rājñī dṛṣṭā », passive), but « myā rāṇī-s pāhilẽ » (= « mayā rājñi-viṣayē dṛṣṭam », impersonal). The extension of the active construction to the transitive verb in some cases (*e.g.*, « mī bōlalō̃ », or « bōlilō̃, bōlilā̃ » *I said*, as in the 'Jñānēśvarī,' instead of the passive « myā bōlalā, bōlalī » etc. or impersonal « myā bōlalẽ ») shows that the old system has not been kept intact.

The Pahāṛī speeches on the whole agree with W. Hindī, and in some cases with Rājasthānī-Gujarātī in mixing up the impersonal and the passive. The Eastern Pahāṛī speech, Khaskurā, on the other hand shows a mixing up of the passive and active, by putting the subject in the instrumental, and the passive participle instead of qualifying the object is conjugated like a verb, taking affixes corresponding to the subject: *e.g.*, « mai̮-lē pāp garẽ (garyẽ, garyā̃ = garya- < karia, *karita, kṛta + mē) »

I sinned, lit. *by-me sin done-by-me* or *did-I*). The MIA. principle is thus obscured here. (Cf. LSI., IX, pp. 26, 37, 147, 294, 328, 398-399, 466, 489, 572, 678, 695, 727, 783, etc., etc.)

The languages of the extreme west, W. Panjābī and Sindhī, both maintain the adjectival character of the passive participle, modifying it according to the gender and number of the object. But at the same time W. Panjābī employs pronominal affixes to emphasise the proper subject of the transitive verb (really instrumental), in addition to that of the intransitive; and Sindhī regularly adds these affixes to the intransitive (cf. LSI., VIII, Part I, pp. 270-271, and Trevor Bomford, 'Language spoken in Western Panjab,' JASB., 1895, p. 317, for W. Panjābī; LSI., VIII, Part I, pp. 67-68, for Sindhī). The use of pronominal suffixes in these western speeches is not confined to the passive participle only, but to other forms of verbs, and to nouns as well (LSI., VIII, Part I, pp. 42, 261), and is a special development in these, which is unknown to other cognate NIA., or to MIA. and OIA. The affixed pronoun in the passive participle or verb past base is to some extent necessitated in these speeches to ensure definitenes of the subject, as the instrumental post-position is frequently dropped (as in Panjābī, both Western and Eastern), or is non-existent (as in Sindhī, in which the oblique is employed for the instrumental). The affixation is merely formal, and does not imply any alteration in the old passive conception of the transitive past.[1]

[1] The use of the pronominal affix with nouns (*e.g.*, W. Panjābī 'ghar-am' *my house*, Sindhī 'piu-mē' *my father*), as well as dative and accusative use of the affixed pronouns (*e.g.*, W. Panjābī 'Sahiban mut-ēi khatt' *S. has-sent-to-thee a-letter*, 'kitu-s mōṭā' *he-made-it fat*, 'bukhār hī-s' *fever is-to-him*, etc.) in these western languages, as well as in the extra-Indo-Aryan (Dardic) Kaśmīrī, resembles the Iranian enclitic pronouns which one finds, *e.g.*, in Persian, in Paṣtō, and in Balōc (cf. Geiger's 'Grundriss der iranischen Philologie': C. Salemann, 'Mittel-persisch,' p. 291; P. Horn, 'Neu-persische Schriftsprache,' p. 118; Geiger, 'Die Sprache der Afghanen,' p. 217; 'Die Sprache der Balutschen,' p. 240). The whole of the Indo-Iranian area from Persia right up to the frontiers of the old Śaurasēnī (W. Hindī) area,—including the W. Panjābī (and probably also E. Panjābī in early times) and Sindhī tracts (among areas occupied by the NIA. speeches), the Dardic tracts, and those occupied by the Iranian speeches—seems to have been an area where

699. In the Magadhan languages, as well as in Eastern Hindī, on the other hand, the construction has become purely active, and the old MIA. principle has been completely ignored. The subject of a past sentence is in the nominative now at the present day, whatever might have been its nature originally. Traces of an instrumental affix may be found in the subject (*e.g.*, « -ē » in Assamese and Bengali), but the instrumental idea is now entirely absent. The personal forms, which (as in Sindhī and W. Panjābī) doubtless originally emphasised the instrumental-nominative, have in the Eastern languages lost their enclitic, emphasising character—have become personal inflexions pure and simple. Judging from indications in the earlier as well as later phases of these eastern speeches—OB., MB., NB., Early Maithilī, etc., as well as Early Awadhī and Modern Awadhī, and from comparison with other NIA. speeches and with the habits obtaining in MIA., we can surmise that the personal affixes were not added to the past passive participle (and to the future passive participle) in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa, and that this affixation was not indispensable in the early stage of the neo-Māgadhan speeches. Thus, Māg. Ap. in all likelihood had « *haũ (? haï), tuṁ, śē calilla(a) » (=aham, tvam, saḥ calitaḥ) and « *amhi, tumhi, tē calilla(a), calillahi » (= vayam, yūyam, tē calitāḥ), beside « *maī, amhahī, taī, tumhahī, tẽ, tēhī rāa dĕkkhilla(a) » (= mayā, asmābhiḥ, tvayā, yuṣmābhiḥ, tēna, tāiḥ rājā dṛṣṭaḥ), and « *maī, amhahī, taī, tumhahī, tẽ, tēhī raṇṇī dĕkkhillī » (= mayā, asmābhiḥ, tvayā, yuṣmābhiḥ, tēna, tāiḥ rājñī dṛṣṭā). Beng. made the first « mui, āmi, tui, tumi, sē, tēhā calila » and « mui etc. rāya, rājā dēkhila (rāṇī dēkhili) » and then by affixation, « mui dēkhil-i, -ā-hõ, -õ, -ũ, -ām ; tui dēkhil-i, -is ;

the old Aryan enclitic pronouns were retained as living forms, and were later turned into suffixes: and these suffixes therefore were different in origin from the personal affixes of the Eastern languages (*e.g.*, OIA. 'mayā kṛtam, kṛtam mayā, kṛtam mē' > Lahndā 'kitu-m'; Old Persian 'mana kartam' > Middle Persian [Pahlavī] 'man kart, am kart,' and 'kart-am' > New Persian 'kard-am': [cf. Horn, *op. cit.*, p. 148]: compared with this, Early Bengali মুই কৈল্যু 'mui kailum' *I did* is a different thing, originating in NIA. times from 'maï kaïlla'; and Hindī 'main-nē kiyā' is of course entirely different, showing no kind of personal or pronominal affixation).

tumi dēkhil-a, -āhā ; sē dēkhil-anti, -enta, -ēn, -āin, -āñi (calil-ī, calil-āhõ etc.) ». (Besides, the « bhāvē prayōga » with the object in the dative with « -kē » etc. was evolved : see *supra*, pp. 897-898.) Affixation was not fully established in Bengali even in the 15th century, as we can see from MB. literature, where the base form in « -ilå » is frequently used for all persons : and in fact, in some dialects even now the base form is used for the third person (*e.g.*, Standard Bengali « sē dēkhilå », Dacca « sē dēkhlå, dēkhlō », *he saw*, base only, but Calcutta Bengali « sē dēkhl-ē » with « -ē » suffix for the third person ; so Dacca « sē kåĭrbå, kōrbō » *he will do* beside Standard « sē kårib-ē », Calcutta « sē kōrbē »). Similar affixation has taken place in other Magadhan, and in Eastern Hindī (*e.g.*, Awadhī : 1. « dēkhēũ, dēkhiũ, *pl.* dēkhĭ, dēkhā, dēkhan, dēkhēn » ; 2. « dēkhisi, dēkhēs, *pl.* dēkhēn, dēkhā, dēkhī » ; 3. « dēkhisi, dēkhai̯, *pl.* dēkhin-i, dēkhēn » etc.).

Pronominal affixation apparently was carried on independently in each of the various groups of dialects in the Magadhan area,—in West Magadhan (Bhōjpuriyā), in Central Magadhan, in the various Bengali and Assamese dialect groups, in Oṛiyā. But some common tendencies were shared by all or most of them. The most remarkable development has been in Central Magadhan (Maithilī and Magahī), which display a greater richness and variety in the matter of pronominal affixation than any other NIA. language—by which two or even three pronominal forms can be tagged on to the verb base. Thus we have Bengali মারিলাম, ‡ মারিলুম or ‡ মারিলি « māril-ām, ‡ māril-um, ‡ māril-i » *I, we beat* (past), = Oṛiyā « māril-i, māril-ũ », Assamese « māril-õ », Bhōjpuriyā « māral-ī », Maithilī « māral-ahũ, māral-ī » ; but also we have Maithilī « māral-i-au̯-k » *I struck you*, or « māral-i-ai̯-nhĭ » *I struck him or them* (honorific object). We have here practically cases of polysynthesis, of long sentence words resulting from affixation. In this matter there may have been a strong influence of Kōl on Central Magadhan in the formative period of Maithilī and Magahī : with forms like « mār-al-i-au̯-k » or « mār-al-i-ai-nhĭ », we can compare Kōl (Muṇḍārī) « om-ad'-iñ-ae » *he-gave-it-to-me* and « lel-k-iñ-ako » for « * lel-ked'-iñ-ako » *they-saw-me*. The affixation in Eastern Magadhan is simpler, and approximate rather that of modern Dravidian

(*e.g.*, Bengali. « pâṛ-il-ām » *I read* = Tamil « paḍ-itt-ēn », root + tense affix + personal termination: see *supra*, p. 175).

700. Grierson, in two noteworthy papers to the JASB. for 1895 ('Suffixes in the Kāçmīrī Language' and 'Radical and Participial Tenses in the Modern Indo-Aryan Languages') has tabulated the various affixes of NIA. and suggested their etymologies. The Eastern languages have these affixes for the verb past tense, and the future tense; the Western languages have also the pronominal adjuncts; the Southern language Marāṭhī partially employs them. All this is opposed to the Midland language, W. Hindī. In this Grierson finds a point in support of the the theory of Inner and Outer Indo-Aryan groups (see *supra*, *Appendix A* to *Introduction*, pp. 165-166; JASB., 1895, p. 351). But the conjugational system cannot be assumed to prove much, as has been said before. The languages started in the East without the personal terminations, and in later times only they entered into the habit of affixation; whereas it seems likely that in the Western languages the enclitic has persisted from OIA. times (or might have been due to the influence of the contiguous Iranian), and were at once the cause and the effect of the absence or rare use of the instrumental post-position. Grierson derives all the affixes of the past verb in Bengali etc. (equally with those in other languages) from pronouns. But in some cases at least, they were merely extensions of the affixes of the present or radical tense. Bengali, Assamese and Oṛiyā, again, show a development distinct from Maithilī, Magahī and Bhōjpuriyā within the Magadhan family.

Except in the 3 sg., there is no distinction in Bengali-Assamese in the affixes of the intransitive and transitive verbs past tense. In Oṛiyā, the same affixes, sg. « -ā », pl. « -ē » are found for the verbs of both the kinds.

The affixes may now be discussed.

[II] Affixes for the Past Tense.

701. MB. and NB. forms are given below. The affixes are added to the base in इल् « -il- » of which the « -i- » is dropped in most NB. dialects after influencing the preceding vowel.

First Person: অ « -ȧ »; ই « -i »; উম্, উঙ্, উঁ (লুম্, লুঁ > নু), ওম্, অম্, ওঁ, ওহোঁ, আহোঁ, ওহো, আহো, ও « -um, -uŋ, -ũ (-lum, -lũ > -nu), -ōm, -ȧm, -õ, -ōhõ, -āhõ, -ōhō, -āhō, -ō »; আম, আঙ, এম্ « -ām, -āŋ, -ēm »;

Second Person: অ « -ȧ »; ই « -i »; ইস, এসি, এস « -is, -ēsi, -ēsø »; উ « -u »; আ, আহা « -ā, -āhā »; এ, এঁ, এহেঁ « -ē, -ẽ, -ēhẽ »;

Third Person: no affix, simply ending in -ইল্ « -ilø »; অ (ও) « -ȧ, (-ō) », for both transitive and intransitive verbs; আ « -ā »; এ « -ē » for transitive verbs only, dialectally; আক, ওক, এক « -ā-kø, -ō-kø, -ē-kø- », for both transitive and intransitive verbs; besides অন্তি, আন্তি, অন্ত, আন্ত, এন্ত, এন, আইন, আঞি, আঁই « -ȧnti, -ānti, -ȧntȧ, -āntȧ, -ēntȧ, -ēnø, -āïnø, -āñi, -ãi », honorific.

Standard NB., literary and colloquial, recognises only the following:—

First Person: আম « -ām », colloquially also এম, উম « -ēm, -um », and in poetry occasionally নু « -nu »;

Second Person: non-honorific, ই « -i »; ordinary, এ « -ē »; poetical আ « -ā »; honorific এন « -ēnø » (with আপনি « āpøni »);

Third Person: অ « -ȧ »; এক « ēkø » (rather archaic); এ « -ē » dialectally for transitive verbs; poetical আ « -ā »; besides honorific এন « -ēnø ».

(1) The Affixes for the First Person Past.

702. The affix অ « -ȧ ». This is the simple base form, and is found in MB. and OB.: আমি চলিল « āmi cȧlilȧ » *I went*, আমি, মুই রাখিল « āmi, mui rākhilȧ » *I kept*; cf. OB. Caryā 35 « maï bujhila » *I understood* (see *supra*, p. 808). The source of this ইল « -ilȧ » is Māgadhī Ap. « -illaa, -illaŵa (< -ila-ka) », MB. « -ilȧ, -ilȧ », in NB. pronunciation often ইলো « -ilō, -lō ». This simple base is not found in NB., although it is common in eMB., becoming less common in lMB., and found but infrequently in post-17th century MB. As indicated above, the absence of affix means preservation of the OIA. conditions.

In OB., the « -ila » base had a feminine for « -ilī, -ili », according as the subject of an intransitive verb or the object of a transitive one was feminine. Early MB. carried on this feminine affixation, but it has died out from eMB. times. Examples have been given above, p. 958.

703. The affix ই « -i ». This is now confined to the dialects of West Rāḍha, and to 'S.-W. Bengali,' and in any case is regarded vulgar. It was fairly common in MB. It seems originally to have been a (West) Rāḍha form. Although used for both singular and plural, the evidence of Oṛiyā shows it to have been originally singular: Oṛiyā « mũ åsil-i », pl. « āmbhē āsil-ũ » *I came, we came*; « mũ dēkhil-i, āmbhē dēkhil-ũ » *I saw, we saw*. The affix seems only to be an extension of the present (singular) « -i » to the past tense (*supra*, pp. 934, 935).

704. The affixes উম্, উঙ্, উঁ (লুম, লুঁ > নু) ওম্, অম্, ওঁ, ওহোঁ, আহোঁ, ওহো, আহো, ও « -um, -uŋ, -ũ, (-lum, -lũ > -nu), -ōm, -åm, -ō̃, -ōhō̃, -āhō̃, -ōhō, -ō ». These form one group, and in their formation, two affixes seem to have converged: the « -ō̃ » of the present (=OB. -aw̃a < MIA. -ama < OIA. -āmaḥ: *supra*, pp. 934-935), and the old first personal pronoun nominative « * haũ, håu » as in OB. (pp. 807-808 *supra*) agglutinated to the past base (in « -ilå, -ilā »); « * haũ » seems to have been added to the present base (see *supra*, p. 934), and an extension of it to the past was a matter of course. Of the fuller forms, ইলাহোঁ « -ilā-hō̃ » occurs in eMB. (as in the ŚKK.), and ইলোহোঁ « -ilō-hō̃ » is found in the Early Assamese; and this and * ইলহোঁ « -ilå-hō̃ » seems also to have occured in MB. and the other forms, with loss of nasalisation, are found in MB. and Early Assamese. As can be expected, « * haũ > hō̃ » as the nominative pronoun should occur with the intransitive verb; and that is what we find from eMB. In the ŚKK., the ইলাহোঁ « -(ilā-)hō̃ » form occurs with six verbs, all intransitive: আছিলাহোঁ « āchilāhō̃ » *I was*, আইলাহোঁ, আয়িলাহোঁ « āïlāhō̃, āyilāhō̃ » *I came*, জিলাহোঁ « jilāhō̃ » *I lived*, পড়িলাহোঁ « pāṛilāhō̃ » *I fell*, বাঢ়িলাহোঁ « bāṛhilāhō̃ » *I increased*, হয়িলাহোঁ, হৈলাহোঁ « håyilāhō̃, hǎilāhō̃ » *I was* (to which we may add a seventh intransitive form showing « -hō̃ », although in a different tense—মরিতাহোঁ « måritāhō̃ » *I would die*): Kṛtti-vāsa similarly has তপস্যা করিল আমি নহিলাহোঁ অমর « tåpåsyā kårilå āmi, nåhilāhō̃ åmårå » *I performed austerities, but did not become immortal* ('Uttarā-kāṇḍa,' p. 29); নিমন্ত্রণে গেলাহোঁ « nimåntråṇē gēlāhō̃ » *I went to an invitation* (ibid, p. 15); also হইলাহোঁ « håïlāhō̃ » (pp. 26, 30, 36). MB. « jīlāhō̃, påṛilāhō̃ » etc. would thus agree with Skt. « jīvitō' haṁ, patitō'ham ».

The ŚKK. uses « -õ » (at times « -ō » by dropping the nasalisation) with both transitive and intransitive verbs. This apparent comploy of the full « -hõ » form with intransitives only was not maintained in Assamese: in the Early Assamese of the 15th and 16th centuries, we find it employed with transitive verbs also—*e.g.*, Dēvêndra Nāth Bēz-baruwā, 'Asamiyā Bhāṣā Ārū Sāhityar Burañjī,' Jorhat, Saka 1833, pp. 75, 173, « kårilōhõ » *I did*, p. 89, « låbhilōhõ, påṛhilōhō » *I received, I studied*, p. 138, « cinilōhõ » *I recognised*, p. 169, « bulilōhõ » *I said*. In Early Maithilī, the corresponding « hũ » form seems to be restricted to the intransitive: *e.g.*, Vidyāpati has « bhēlihu » *I was*, « mōñē cukalihu » *I ceased*, « achalihũ » *I was*, « gēlihu » *I went*, etc. (Pada 63); but in later Maithilī, « -hũ » is found for both the kinds of verbs. It has apparently become « -ũ » in Magahī. From the 14th century, the « -hõ » and the « -õ » forms had merged together, and the former occurs in the ŚKK. as a survival only (*e.g.*, for *one* « āchilāhõ » there are some *six* cases of « āchilõ »; « āilõ » occurs 11 times beside « ā(y)ilāhõ » 9 times, and other intransitive verbs show only the « -õ » form). The Oṛiyā « -ũ » of the plural seems to represent the « -õ (<-āmaḥ) ». The OB. « acchilẽ » (see *supra*, p. 808) seems to be scribe's error for « āchila », or it might be for « āchilõ »; in the latter case, the affixation for the past in imitation of the present could be said to have begun from OB. times.

The form « -ilāhõ » thus converged into « -ilõ », but « -ilāhõ » could also give « -ilāw̃ō », and these would easily result in the MB. and NB. forms « -ilũ, -iluŋ, ilum, -ilōm, -ilåm, -inu » etc., since in MB. « m » final and intervocal interchanges with « w̃ », written ঙ « ŋ »; and MB. forms like « -ilõ, -ilũ » could develop the off-glide « w̃ » (-ilõw̃, -ilũw̃), which would easily resolve into « m ».

705. The affixes আম, আঙ, এম্ « -ām, -āŋ, -ēm ». It is not unlikely that « -ām » has partly evolved from « -āhõ » as above (-ilāhõ > -ilāw̃ō, -ilāw̃ > ilāŋ, -il-ām). But this « -ām » should rather be affiliated to আমি « -āmi » *I (we)*, affixed to the past base, for this reason that in all the spoken dialects, where « -ām » occurs, the « -m » is retained intact, and there is no trace of a nasalised form « *-ilã » or « *-inã » such as

we might expect to be present in MB. or NB. if « * -ilā̃ < -ilāhō̃ » were the only source.

By Vowel Harmony, « -ilām » gives « -ilēm », which is regarded as a refined form, and is frequently used in literature and formal discourse.

706. A plausible etymology for the « -āmi, -ām » affix would be the OIA. substantive verb « asmi »: the use of the passive participle with « asmi » in the active sense is found in MIA. and medieval Skt. (*e.g.*, « viditō'smi, vismṛtō'smi » etc.: cf. E. J. Rapson, 'Specimens of the Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions discovered by Dr. Stein at Niya in Chinese Turkestan: Tentative Transcriptions and Translations,' British Museum, 1903, p. 7). The Sinhalese past tense is formed on the same plan by affixing forms of « √ as », present tense, to the passive participle (Geiger, 'Litteratur u. Sprache der Sinhalesen,' § 60). The same method seems to occur in the Bengali perfect tenses (see *infra*, 'Compound or Periphrastic Tenses'). But « asmi » does not occur as « āmi » either in Bengali or in other Magadhan: the equivalents of « asmi » in Bengali are « āchi » (* acchāmi) and « hāï » (* asāmi). A source like « paṭhita + asmi » is untenable for the NB. « paṛilām », not only because of the non-continuance of OIA. « asti, asi, asmi » in Bengali, but also because of the fact that personal affixation is late in the language, and is either pronominal, or is by analogical extension of affixes from the present.

Hoernle explained the « -ām » affix as being the Skt. « -āmi », present sg. affix: according to him, Bengali has preserved the original present indicative termination « -āmi », in forms like « pāṛ(h)ilām » = Māgadhī « * paḍhidāmi ». But this derivation is inadmissible: MIA. « -d- » does not become « -l- » in Bengali (see *supra*, p. 433), and « -m- » intervocal of OIA. occurs in NIA. only as the nasalisation of the contiguous vowel.

(2) The Affixes for the Second Person, Past.

707. The affix অ « -å » is the simple base form without any personal termination, found in MB. for the 2nd person as much as for the other two persons, but is now obsolete.

The affix ই « -i » is of obscure origin. It occurs with the past in « -il- » and in the future in « -ib- ». It is not found in the radical tense and with the past conditional. Bengali-Assamese alone among Magadhan speeches has it. The fact that it is contemptuous, being used with the familiar « tui (tōrā) » form of the 2nd personal pronoun, shows that it was originally a singular affix. The corresponding affix in Oṛiyā is « -u », *e.g.*, « tu thĩl-u » *thou wert*, « tu dēkhil-u » *thou didst see*. The Central Magadhan languages have confused the plural and singular; but it seems that the 2 pers. affix « -ē » in Magahī (as in « hal-ē » *thou wert* or *you were*, « dĕkhal-ē » *thou didst see* or *you saw*, beside « halẽ, dēkhal-ẽ »; Maithilī does not possess the « -ē » form, but the nasalised one only) and in Bhōjpuriyā (as in « dēkhal-ē, dēkhal-as » singular, « dēkhalåh < *dēkhalahu » plural) is connected with the Bengali « -i », it being exceedingly probable that the « -ē » was formerly « -a-ï » (cf. Maithilī « dĕkhalaī » beside « dĕkhalẽ, 2 personal forms).

There is the other singular 2 personal affix « -is, -s » (see p. 979 below) with which the « -i » cannot be connected. In the absence of any other indication as to its source, it can only be referred to the 2 sg. imperative in « -hi, -a-hi » (see *supra*, p. 904), which would give « -i, -aï (-ai̯, -ē) » by loss of « -h ». The Oṛiyā « -u » similarly can be best explained as the 2 sg. imperative in « -hu » (*supra*, p. 906). This « -hi » lost its original function as an imperative affix, and became associated, first, it would seem, with the future base, and then with the past: we should note that « -i » is the only 2 personal contemptuous or singular affix for the future, whereas « -is » may be used for the past; and « -i » is not found with the past habitual (« cålib-i, dib-i », but « chil-is » beside commoner « chil-i », and « cålit-is, dit-is »; but we never find « cålib-is, dib-is »): this apparently shows that « -i » became first definitely attached to the future base, and then it was extended to the past; and the use of the future and the imperative should be taken into consideration in this connexion. There is an « -ahi » affix (< OIA. -asi) for the 2 sg. present tense in Western Apabhraṅśa, whence the imperative « -ē, -aĭ » affix in the Western languages, *e.g.*, Hindōstānī « tū kar-ē » Gujarātī « tũ

kar-ē », and Mārwāṛī « t(h)ũ kar-ǎĩ » (< tũ kar-ahi); but this present « -ahi » apparently did not occur in Māg. Ap., and is not represented in Bengali, which has only « -as, -is » < « -asi ».

708. The affixes ইস, এসি, এস « -is, -ēsi, -ēs » are contemptuous in sense, being used with « tui, tōrā », and were consequently originally singular. They represent the OIA. « -asi » which is preserved in the radical tense. The affix « -asi » has been partly extended to the past base, but the future did not take it up, apparently deciding for the « -hi > -i » from the imperative. The forms « -is » etc. are exceedingly rare with the past tense in NB., the employ of it with the « -il- » past being only occasional. MB. instances also are rare. In NB. it may be used with the past of « √ āch » *to be*, as ছিলিস « chil-is » *thou wert*, both by itself as well as in the past progressive and perfect tenses, *e.g.*, যাচ্ছিলিস « jācchilis » *thou wert going*, গিয়েছিলিস « giyēchilis » *thou hadst gone*, দিয়েছিলিস « diyēchilis » *thou hadst given*; but the « chil-i » form would be preferred. We may similarly occasionally hear নিলিস, দিলিস « nil-is, dil-is », but such forms would not be regarded as normal in the Standard Colloquial. It seems that analogy tried to attach « -is » to the past base, but has failed so far, although apparently this analogical use began early. We have thus in Kṛttivāsa (' Uttarā-kāṇḍa,' VSPd. ed., col. 124) ব্রহ্মবধ করিয়া তুমি লুকাইলিস ডরে « brȧhmȧ-bȧdhȧ kȧriyā tumi lukāïlis ḍȧrē » *killing a Brahman, you hid in fear* (here we see the improper use of « tumi », instead of « tui », with an « -is » form). I have not found « -is » with the past in the ŚKK., but apparently there is one case in the Caryās, *e.g.*, Caryā 37, « jaïsanē acchilēsa taïchana (= taïsana) accha » = ? *as thou wert, so be thou*; in Caryā 39, we have « baṅgē jāā nilēsi parē bhāgēla tōhāra biṇāṇā » *thy science* (vijñāna) *fled away after thou didst take a wife in Vaṅga*: here « nilē si » may be either an « -ēsi » form, or it is « nilē » (conjunctive in « -ilē ») + « si » emphatic particle, as in Caryā 20—« jaubaṇa mōra bhailē si pūrā » *on my youth being mature*. The « -ēsi » would thus seem to have been attached to the past as early as OB. The vocalism in « -ēsi, -ēsa » seems to be due to a combination of the base form in « -a » + « -isi » (see p. 935): « *acchilla-isi > *āchilais(i) > āchilēs(a) ».

709. Grierson explained the « -i » as an instrumental pronominal enclitic: « mār-il-i » = *struck-by-thee* (karmaṇi prayōga), « cal-il-i » *gone-by-thee* (bhāvē prayōga); and the « -is » was explained by him (as an affix for the past habitual derived from the present participle) as being 'the direct pronominal suffix for the nominative'—« -s- » and « -i- » being respectively nominative and oblique forms of a second personal pronoun (JRAS., 1895, I, p. 371). There cannot be any question of a 2nd personal pronoun in « -s- » from the existing specimens of IA., and Grierson considered this « -s- » (as in Bengali « -is » in « mār-it-is » etc.) 'as a termination borrowed either from the first or the third person,' but at the same time the possibility of « -is » being the OIA. « -asi » is admitted by him (*op. cit.*, p. 374). The « -s- » form of the first person occurs in Lahndā and Sindhī, and in the Dardic Kaśmīrī: it is a singular form, if derived from OIA. « asmad »; but the whole question is rendered extremely problematical (*op. cit.*, p. 365 for the « -s- » for the 1st person). The use of the 3rd person « -s- » (<Prakrit « sē » *his*, which is an enclitic: Grierson, *op. cit.*, p. 347) for the 2nd pers. is hardly more satisfactory as an explanation. The well-known « -asi » which has survived in the radical sense should not therefore be ignored. And as for regarding « -i » as an oblique form of the 2nd personal pronoun, and referring it to the MIA. « bhē » or « uyhē » (JASB., 1895, p. 374, p. 346), there is this great difficulty that in Bengali-Assamese, which alone preserves the « -i », the form is contemptuous and as such cannot originally have been a plural suffix, whereas the MIA. « bhē, uyhē » are definitely plural ones.

710. The affix উ « -u » is found dialectally in 'South-West Bengali' and in North Central Bengali, and is distinctly of Oṛiyā affinity: কৈলু্ « kăilu » *thou didst do*, গ্যালু্ = গেলু্ « gyālu = gēl-u » *thou didst go*, etc. It is singular in origin, and can only be referred to the imperative in « -hu, -u » (see above, p. 906). It is found in the present also, *e.g.*, আছু « āchu » *thou art*.

711. The affixes আ, আহা « -ā, -ābā » were originally plural, being used with « tumi (tōmărā) », the old plural of the 2nd person, and never

with « tui ». They seem to be the same affix as the « -aha » of the radical 2nd plural (see *supra*, p. 935). The past base to which this 2nd person pl. affix was added (in Bengali-Assamese) apparently was extended by the definitive « -ā »: « calilā + -aha > * câlilāha, câlilāhā, * calilāā, câlilā » (cf. « khāhā, jāhā » for the imperatives: *supra*, pp. 903, 907). The « -ā » might, again, be simply the base in definitive « -ā », without the personal termination « -âhâ ». The « -āhā » form occurs in eMB. (ŚKK.) and in Early Assamese side by side with « -āhă, -ā ». Late MB. has only « -ā »; and as a result of Vowel Harmony, through influence of the « -i » of « -il- », this « -ā » can be altered to « -ē » in NB., as in the Standard Colloquial চ'ল্লে « cōllē » < « câlilā » *you went* (*supra*, pp. 400-401). Among ŚKK. forms in « -āhā » may be quoted আছিলাহা « āchilāhā » *you were*, গেলাহা « gēlāhā » *you went*, পড়িলাহা « pârilāhā » *you fell*, হয়িলাহা « hâyilāhā » *you became*; cf. imperative ওলাহা « ōlāhā » beside ওলাহ্ « ōlāhâ » *take down, put down*. In Modern Assamese, the affix is « -ā », honorific; and Oṛiyā has retained it as « -â (< -âhâ) ». Cf. Maithilī simple form for 2nd person past « dĕkhalâh < dĕkhalahŭ », and Bhōjpuriyā « dĕkhalahŭ », where we have the « -ahu » form as in the imperative.

712. The MB. forms এ, এঁ, এহেঁ, « -ē, -ẽ, -ēhẽ » make one group. Judging from the ŚKK., the nasalised form « -ẽ » is the proper one for this affix, and this is only shortened from the older and fuller « -ēhẽ ». In the ŚKK., it is either « -ēhẽ », or « -ẽ »: and it is rarely « -ē » without the nasalisation: thus আণিলেঁ, আণিলেহেঁ « āṇilẽ, āṇilēhẽ » *you brought*, এড়িলেহেঁ « ēṛilēhẽ » *you abandoned*, কইলেঁ « kâïlẽ » *you did*, করায়িলেঁ « kârāyilẽ » *you caused to make*, গঢ়িলেঁ « gâṛhilẽ » *you built*, নিলেহেঁ « nilēhẽ » *you took*, সাধিলেহেঁ « sādhilēhẽ » *you performed*, চাহিলেঁ « cāhilẽ » *you looked at*, etc. No instance of « -ẽ, -ehẽ » with intransitive verbs occurs in the ŚKK.: originally it was probably used with transitive verbs. « -ēhẽ > -ẽ > -ē » is thus its development in NB. (Of course, in NB. the « -ē » can also be from « -ilā » by Vowel Harmony; see preceding paragraph.) This affix is unknown to Assamese and Oṛiyā. But Maithilī « -ẽ, -aī », Magahī « -ẽ, -ahī » (« dĕkhalẽ, dĕkhalaī; dĕkhalẽ, dĕkhalahī ») seem to be the same affix.

The source of this « -ēhẽ, -ẽ, -ē » is obscure. The full form being « -ēhẽ », connexion with the Prakrit enclitic 2nd pers. pl. « -bhĕ, -uyhē » as suggested by Grierson (JASB., 1895, pp. 374, 346) is not impossible, but « bhē, uyhĕ » are otherwise unknown. It is a politer form than the « -i, -is » ones, both in MB. and NB. Is it that here we have the instrumental of the respectful or polite form for the pronoun of address « ahā̃, ahaī », which is still current in Maithilī? (see *supra*, pp. 850-852). The fact of « -ēhẽ, -ẽ > -ē » not being found with intransitive verbs in the ŚKK. should be recalled: « āṇilēhẽ » can therefore very well be from MIA. « *āṇilla- » + « *ahāhī, *ahẽhī » = instrumental pl. of « ahā- » (= OIA. ānīta-la- + āyuṣmadbhiḥ).

[3] The Affixes for the Third Person, Past.

713. The oldest Bengali had three forms for the passive participle as used with the pronoun third person or with the noun : « -ila (< -illa) », the simple base without any affix; « -ilaŵa, -ilaa (< -illa-a, i.e., -illa- + -ka) », with an extension by the pleonastic « -ka > -a » (*supra*, pp. 652-653); and « -ilā (< -ila + -ā) », strengthened by the definitive « -ā » (*supra*, pp. 658 ff.). The NB. equivalents of these are respectively, ইল্, ইল, (ইলো), ইলা « -ila̸, -ilå (-ilō: MB. -ilå), -ilā ». All the three are found: « -ila̸ » is dialectal, occurring in North Bengali and North Central Bengali (with both transitive and intransitive verbs), as well as in Eastern Vaŋga dialects (Sylhet, Kachar, Mayang, Chittagong and Chakma, where « -ila̸ » seems to be preferred with intransitive verbs); « -ila̸ » is also restricted to the intransitive verb in Modern Assamese; « -ilå » is found in the « sādhu-bhāṣā » and in the East Bengal dialects with both transitives and intransitives, and in the Standard Colloquial with intransitive verbs (see *supra*, p. 974); while « -ilā » is now archaic and poetic for NB., and is found commonly in MB. and in Early Assamese, and in Oṛiyā « -ilā » is the only form in which this affix occurs for the 3rd person singular (« -ilā » however, occurs in Eastern Vaŋga, in Mayang as honorific, i.e. plural).

All these three forms « -ila > -ila̸; -ilaa, -ilå > -ilå; -ilā » lack a personal or pronominal termination and this colourless form was accepted for

the third person. Doubtless there were slight shades of difference between the three; « -å » and « -ā » forms were possibly more emphatic. Also the base form without any affix, « -ila > -il », retained its old adjectival nature unmodified in connexion with intransitive verbs, and this distinction is largely maintained now. In the Caryās, we find both « -ila » (= « -ila » as well as « -ilaa, -ilawa ») and « -ilā » (see *supra*, p. 947).

714. The affix এ « -ē »: occurs in West Bengali (including the Standard Colloquial), North Bengali and Assamese, with transitive verbs only: *e.g.*, Standard Colloquial সে চ'ল্ল, সে গেল, [ʃe ʧollo, ʃe gælo] *he walked, he went*, North Bengali চলিল্, গেল্ [tsolil, gel], Assamese « si cålil, si gål », but for *he gave, he ate*, we have Standard Coll. সে দিলে, খেলে [ʃe dile, khele], North Bengali দিলে, খাইলে, খালে [dile, khaile, khale] besides দিল্, খাইল্ [dil, khail], and Assamese « dilē, khālē ». The Bihārī dialects show a similar differentiation (see *supra*, p. 93). No such differentiation between intransitive and transitive verbs is found in the East Bengal dialects, in which typical forms would be [tsoïllo, tsollo; gelo] and [dilo, khailo], or as in Chittagongese [tsolil, gel] and [dilo, khailo].

The restriction of the « -ılē » affix to the transitive verb past tense in a continuous tract embracing Rāḍha, Varēndra and Kāma-rūpa, and excluding Vaŋga (E. and S.-W.) and Caṭṭala (S.-E. Vaŋga), is noteworthy: equally noteworthy is the occurrence of the « -ila > -il » for the intransitive in Varēndra (partially), in Kāma-rūpa, and in E. Vaŋga and Caṭṭala. The « -ē » affix occurs in the future 3rd person (-ib-ē) for all verbs, in the both « sādhu-bhāṣā » and in the Standard Colloquial, but not in East Bengal dialects, in Assamese, in Oṛiyā, which use the « -å » (-ibå, -bå). The usage in the future does not help us here.

The explanation seems to be as follows. The intransitive past is in its origin a verbal adjective qualifying the subject: here no special verbal suffix was necessary, for the adjectival nature remained long with intransitive, right down to eMB. (see *supra*, p. 958,—the feminine adjectival « -i » continued to be used with both the kinds of roots). Hence the simple « -ila > -il », or « -ilaa > -ilå > -ilå, -ilō », was enough for it. But the

transitive past was not like that, and its nature developed into that of a proper verb with an object. So too the future form, both transitive and intransitive, partook more of the nature of the verb. In some of the dialects of the Bengali group, an affix gradually came to be attached to these. And that affix we find in NB. as « -ē » for both transitive past, and transitive and intransitive future.

The « -ē » was never a literary favourite in MB., the simple « -ȧ » or « -ā » base being commonly employed for the past third person. The composite « sādhu-bhāṣā » here followed the MB. preference for « -ȧ » in the past tense, but not in the future. But nevertheless, the « -ē » is found in MB. works—in the ŚKK., for instance. Thus, as 3 personal forms, we find in the ŚKK., for *he did*, কৈলে, কইলে « kȧilē, kȧïlē » 4 times, করিলে « kȧrilē » once (= NB. Standard Coll. ক'র্‌লে, ক'ল্‌লে [korle, kolle]), while কইল, কয়িল « kȧ(y)ilȧ » occurs 17 times and করিল « kȧrilȧ » 6 times (= NB. ক'র্‌ল, ক'ল্‌ল [korlo, kollo]); for *he received*, পাইলে « pāïlē » (= NB. পেলে [pele]) occurs once, but পাইল « pāïlȧ » (= NB. পেল [pelo]) 7 times; for *he sent*, পাঠাইলে, পাঠায়িলে « pāṭhā(y)ilē » (= NB. পাঠালে, [paṭhale]) 3 times, পাঠাইল, পাঠায়িল « pāṭhā(y)ilȧ » (= NB. পাঠাল [paṭhalo]) 4 times; for *he said*, বুইলে « builē » (cf. NB. ব'ল্‌লে [bolle]) once, বুয়িল, বুয়িল « bu(y)ilȧ » (cf. NB. ব'ল্‌ল [bollo]) 28 times; for *he gave* দিলে « dilē » once, দিল « dilȧ » 10 times; for *he took*, নিলে « nilē » 5 times, নিল « nilȧ » 6 times, and আণিলে « āṇilē » *he brought* is found once. The « -ē » for the 3rd person thus goes back to the 14th century. It is not, however found in the Caryās.

This « -ē » affix I take to be the « -ē » of the radical or present tense, 3rd person, extended to the past transitive base: দেখিল « dēkhilȧ » *seen, he saw* changed to দেখিলে « dēkhil-ē », NB. দেখ্‌লে « dēkhl-ē », on the analogy of দেখে « dēkh-ē » *he sees*; but an intransitive form like গেল « gēlȧ » = *gone*, fem. গেলি « gēli », sufficiently retained its adjectival nature not to require a verbal affix. We should note that the plural affix « -ȧnti, -ȧntȧ, -entȧ » was similarly extended to the past verb, *as an honorific form merely* (see *supra*): « -ē » was the characteristic 3rd pers. affix, and the plural as an honorific form was less frequent. This

extension of the « -ē, -ånti » etc. was accomplished possibly during the transition from OB. to eMB.: it was established by the end of the 14th century, and if the ŚKK. does not use it exclusively, it is because the literary speech tends to preserve the older tradition (in keeping to the older, unaffixed « -å » form).

A partial agreement with Maithilī may be noted. In Maithilī, in the honorific, the transitive past base takes the affix « -thi » (< -anti) of the present honorific (= original plural), because its nature is that of a verb: « dēkhala-thi » *saw*. But the intransitive past base (with its adjectival nature) to denote the honorific takes the affix « -āh(a) » which is found with *nouns* and *adjectives* in Early Maithilī: « sūtal-āh(a) » *slept*. (This « -āha » is very common in the 'Varṇa-ratnåkara' MS., see *supra*, pp. 102-103: it seems to be the Māg. Ap. genitive in « -āha » extended to form the plural, like « -rā » of Bengali, « -kā » of Bhōjpuriyā).

In the Standard Colloquial, some intransitive verbs are seen to employ the « -ē » affix, in apparent contradiction to the rule that it is confined to transitives only: thus নাচলে « nāclē » *he danced*, কাঁদলে « kådlē » *he wept*, হাঁটলে « håṭlē » *he walked*, খাটলে « khāṭlē » *he laboured* (but খাটল « khāṭlå » *it fitted*). Cases like these can be explained as a phonetic development out of « -ilā » forms of MB. — <« nācilā, kāndilā, hānṭilā, khāṭilā » etc. (see *supra*, pp. 400-401): but the proper explanation is that these verbs are really transitives with cognate objects like নাচ, নাচা, নাচন « nāc∅, nācā, nācån∅ », কাঁদা, কান্না, কাঁদন « kådā, kānnā, kådån∅ » etc. understood and sometimes expressed. The « -ē » is thus never extended to intransitives in the dialects in which it is employed. On the other hand, through the influence of the « sādhu-bhāṣā » and of East Bengal dialects, the « -å » from is now being used at times by Standard Colloquial speakers with the transitive also—*e.g.*, পেল, খেল, দেখ্‌ল, দিল « pēlå, khēlå, dēkhlå, dilå » *he obtained, ate, saw, gave*, beside the proper « -ē » forms.

The credit of first noticing the difference between the intransitive and transitive past bases in Bengali as well as of suggesting explanations belongs to Grierson (JASB., 1895, pp. 366, 374, 350; LSI., V, I, 1903, p. 13, foot-note; cf. also 'Prabāsī' for 1329, Pauṣa, pp. 382 ff.). In

the JASB. article, a form like মারিলেক « māril-ē-(kǝ) » *he killed* Grierson sought to explain (on the analogy of Maithilī forms with affixed object and subject pronouns)as being from « * māril-ai-ka »,being either <« *māril-āya-ka » = *killed-this*(object)-*by-him*, where « āya » was the (Western) Apabhraṅśa equivalent of Skt. « idam », and « ka » was a third personal pronoun with instrumental power having affinities in Kaśmīrī; or < « * māril-ahahī-ka » = *killed-that*(object)-*by-him*, where « ahahī » was the oblique of « aha », the (Western) Apabhraṅśa equivalent of Skt. « adas ». But there is nothing in MB. and OB. to warrant such derivations. We have the « -ēka » affix with intransitive verbs from the eMB. period. Grierson formulated another explanation in the LSI.: খালে « khālē » *he ate* = « khāïlā » *eaten* + « -hi » *by him, by them*. But this « -hi » as an enclitic instrumental pronoun cannot be otherwise assumed from MB. and OB.

715. The « -kǝ » affix in the forms অক, ওক, এক « -ākǝ, -ōkǝ, -ēkǝ » in the past tense is pleonastic: possibly it was polite or honorific in Early Bengali. This is discussed below, under ' Pleonastic Affixes,' pp. 989 ff.

716. The honorific forms —অন্তি, আন্তি, অন্ত, আন্ত, এন্ত, « -ànti, -ānti, -àntà, -āntà, -ēntà » and এন, আইন, আঞি, আঁই, « -ēnǝ, -āïnǝ, -āñi, -āĩ » have been extended from the present tense by adding to the past base in « -ilà ilā ». As has been explained before, they form two groups—the verbal « -anti » and the nominal « -āna, -ana, -ān-i, -an-i », the latter having ousted the former (see *supra*, p. 936). In the eMB. of the ŚKK., we find the verbal « -nt- » forms only: কাঢ়িলান্ত « kāṛhilāntà » *took off*, চাহিলান্ত « cāhilāntà » *looked at*, গেলান্তি « gēlānti » *went*, কহিলান্ত, কহিলেন্ত « kàhilāntà, kàhilēntà » *said*, etc.; and there are no « -n(i), -ñi » forms, which came in later. Early Assamese has « -àntà » — « thàilàntà, bhàilàntà » *was (were)*, « kàilàntà » *did*, etc. Maithilī and Magahī also have « -thi (< -anti) » (*supra*, p. 937) : but in Maithilī « -thi » occurs only with transitive verbs (Maithilī « dēkhalǝ-thi », but « calal-āhǝ », whereas Magahī has both « dēkhalǝ-thī, calalǝ-thī »).

In later MB., « -nt- » and « -n- » occur side by side in the texts. « -ēntà, -àntà » are the common affixes in Chuṭī Khān's ' Mahābhārata ' (VSPd. ed.): and « -ēnǝ » is already well-established in Kṛttivāsa. The

nominal « -n- » form may thus be said to have successfully invaded the domain of the verb in the 15th century. In the 'Padmā-purāṇa of Vaṅśī-dāsa (17th century: Maimansing), « -āĩ (< -āni) » is almost the rule for the past third person honorific: *e.g.*, p. 43, পুলস্ত্য কহিলাঁই « Pulāstyā kāhilāĩ » *P. said*; p. 71, কহিলাঁই মেনকাসুন্দরী « kāhilāĩ Mēnākā-sundārī »; p. 98, ব্রহ্মা চলি আইলাঁই « Brāhmā cāli āĩlāĩ » *B. came away*; p. 109, ধরিলাঁই « dhārilāĩ » *caught*; p. 185, দিলাঁই « dilāĩ » *gave*; p. 194, বলিলাঁই « bālilāĩ » *said*; p. 196, ভাবিলাঁই « bhābilāĩ » *thought*. The « -āni, -āñi, -āĩ » form is still current for the honorific in E. Vaṅga.

The nominal « -n- » figures in Bhōjpuriyā (*e.g.* « rahal-an » *was, were* = Bengali রহিলেন « rāhil-ēnᵅ », « dekhal-an, dekhal-ani » *saw* = Bengali দেখিলেন « dēkhil-ēnᵅ »). In Assamese « dēkhilā-hāk » *you saw*, « dēkhilō-hāk » *we saw*, the affix « -hāk » is found with the 2nd and 1st person to form the plural, and this also is undoubtedly the nominal « -na, -nha » with pleonastic « -ka ». In Maithilī and Magahī, the nominal « -nh- » is added to the verb, but commonly with a dative-accusative (and not nominative-instrumental, or simple plural) force: *e.g.*, Maithilī « dēkhathi » *he* (honorific) *sees* (< *they see*), but « dĕkhathī-nhi » (honorific) *he sees* (< *they see*) *them* (i.e. *a respected person*), and « dēkhiai̯-nhi » *sees them* > *sees a respected person*: and so with the past tense—« dĕkhalᵅ-thi » beside « dĕkhalᵅ-nhi » (here active « -nhi » as an equivalent of « -thi »), « dĕkhalᵅ-k-ai̯ » (object), « dĕkhalᵅ-thi-nhi » (object). In the intransitive, « -nhi » is used for the indirect object only. So Magahī « dĕkhalᵅ-thī », « dĕkhalᵅ-thī-n » (object « -n- »). Oṛiyā too adds the plural affix (found with the noun) to the past and future bases of the verb, but it is not « -n- » of the genitive, but « -ē- » < « -ahi » of the instrumental (see *supra*, p. 724): *e.g.*, sg. « dēkhilā », pl. « dēkhil-ē » *saw*; sg. « hōilā », pl. « hōil-ē » *were*.

[III] The Affixes for the Future Tense.

These are exactly on the lines of the past, and detailed treatment is not necessary.

717. The forms for the First Person in MB. and NB. are: অ (ও), অহোঁ, ওঁ, (বোঁ, বুঁ > মু, ম্, ও), আম « -ā (-ō), -ōhō̃, -ō̃ (-b-ō̃, -b-ũ > -mu, -m,

-ŋ = ঙ), -ām ». The base in « -ā » —ইব « -ib-ā » —occurs in OB. and MB. (including the ŚKK.), and has been adopted as the « sādhu-bhāṣā » form, without any personal affix. In the ŚKK., « -ō̃ » is the affix for the first person, and « -āhō̃, -ōhō̃ » do not occur there; but the « -hō̃ » forms may be attested for eMB. from Early Assamese « hăibō-hō, dibō-hō » beside « hăibō, dibō » (= New Assamese « hăm, dim ») *I shall be, I shall give.* The eMB. « -ō̃ » may have been also the result of « -awa̐, -ama ». In any case, it would seem to have extended from the past; and in the past, already in the 14th century, « -ilā-hō̃, -ilō-hō̃ » had given « -il-ō̃ ». The Early MB. « -ō̃ » lost its nasalisation through confusion with the base in « -ā », and the Standard Colloquial « -ō » (-bō), is commonly written ব « -bā » following the « sādhu-bhāṣā » spelling. The « -m-, -ŋ- » forms have been noted before (p. 967). The affix « -ām » is found in Maimansing, and is evidently the same form as in the past (see *supra*, pp. 976-977).

718. The affixes for the Second Person are (in addition to the base form অ « -ā » in MB. and OB.) : ই « -i » contemptuous or familiar; উ « -u » contemptuous and familiar, in MB.; এ, এঁ, এহেঁ « -ē, -ē̃, -ēhē̃ » polite, of which the shortened form « -ē » alone occurs in NB. ; and আ, আহা « -ā, -āhā » polite and ordinary (besides এন্ « -ēnă » with আপনি « āpăni » honorific, from 3rd person).

Of these, « -i » and « -u » are the same as in the past tense (pp. 978-980). « -ēhē̃ » is found in the ŚKK., *e.g.*, উঠিবেহেঁ « uṭhibēhē̃ » *you will rise*, করিবেহেঁ « kăribēhē̃ » *you will do*, রুষিবেহেঁ « ruṣibēhē̃ » *you will be angry*, etc.; also the contracted « -ē̃ » and the denasalised « -ē » are found there; and in the same work « -ibēhē̃ » occurs as a contrached « -ibhē̃ » in বহিভেঁ « băhibhē̃ » *you will carry* (p. 175). This « -ēhē̃, -ē̃, -ē » has also apparently been extended from the past. So, too, « -ā, -āhā », also polite forms. « -ā » is found in MB.—চলিবা, করিবা « călibā, kăribā »; and this « -ā » might by Vowel Harmony give the Standard Colloquial চ'লবে, ক'রবে [ʧolbe, korbe]. These last two forms (-ā, -āhā) are not found in the ŚKK., but the « -āhā » can be attested from Early Assamese : *e.g.*, « kăribāhā » (as in p. 852 *supra*). The « -ā » affix is now quite common in East Bengal dialects: the Standard Colloquial prefers « -ē ».

719. The affixes for the Third Person are : অ « -å » (< -aa,-å) the base, in OB. and MB. (found at the present day in East Bengali and in Modern Assamese); এ « -ē », in the « sādhu-bhāṣā » and in the Standard Coll. (= same as the « -ē » of the 3rd person past : some influence of the « -ē » in the 3rd person sigmatic future of eMB.— « -hē » —described before at p. 965 —is very likely here : « -ibē » is found in the ŚKK., in both transitive and intransitive verbs, and also in Early Assamese); and the honorific অন্ত, এন্ত, এন্, আন্ধি, অন্ধি etc. « -ånt å, -ēntå, -ēnḁ, -āñi, -åñi », as in the past tense. Besides, there is the affix এক « -ēkḁ » with pleonastic « -ka », found in the ŚKK. and in Early Assamese, and also in the NB. « sādhu-bhāṣā » and in West Rāḍha dialects : this is discussed below.

[IV] THE AFFIXES FOR THE CONDITIONAL OR HABITUAL PAST.

720. They also agree with those for the other two participial tenses. There are some restrictions : for the 1st person, ই « -i » does not occur; for the 2nd person contemptuous (= old singular), ইস্ « -is » is used, and never (or rarely in some dialects) ই « -i » or উ « -u »; and for the 3rd person, similarly, এ « -ē » is not found.

[H] PLEONASTIC AFFIXES.

[I] THE PLEONASTIC AFFIX « -KA ».

721. The pleonastic affixes added to the tense forms are noteworthy in Bengali as in the other Magadhan languages. The most common of these affixes is « -ka ».

In NB., the forms for the 1st person are free from the pleonastic affix, at least it is not added directly to the verb; but it is added to the 2nd person past and future (ordinary, with « tumi »), and to non-honorific 3rd person past and future (and in some dialects to the 3rd person past habitual), as well as 3rd person imperative, and but rarely to the 2nd person imperative : *e.g.*, তুমি দিলেক, দিলাক, দিবেক, চ'লবেক « tumi dil-ēkḁ, dil-ākḁ, dibē-kḁ, cå'lbē-kḁ » (never, however, « tui dibi-kḁ, cå'lbi-kḁ) » ; সে দিলেক, চ'ললেক, দিবেক, চ'লবেক « sē dilē-kḁ, cå'llē-kḁ, dibē-kḁ, cå'lbē-kḁ » ; সে দিক্, চলুক « sē di-kḁ (< diu-kḁ), cålu-kḁ ». Except in the case of 3rd person

imperative, the use of « kå » is regarded as archaic in the « sādhu-bhāṣā » and is to a great extent dialectal in Bengali.

Of the present-day dialects, that of West Rāḍha has a marked preference for the « -ka », commonly in the third person : and it is found also in North Bengali (which has a special employ with the 2nd person polite imperative = original passive?: *e.g.*, দ্যাখেক « dyākhēkå < dēkhē-ka = ? *dēkhiai + ka », p. 130, LSI., V, I; so রাখেক « rākhēkå < ? * rākhiai + ka », p. 179, ibid; also cf. p. 216, in Haijong dialect: see *supra*, p. 918), in Mayang (where it seems to occur as « -gā »), and in Chittagong (in the Chakma dialect, rather rarely). It is found pretty frequently in MB., from the ŚKK. downwards, generally with the third person, occasionally with the second, and very rarely with the first. Already in the ŚKK. we have forms like ধরিলেক « dhårilēkå » *caught*, চাহিলেক « cāhilēkå » *looked*, হিফিলেক « hiphilēkå » *cast*, নহিবেক « nåhibēkå » *will not be*, করিবেক « kåribēkå » *will do*, লৈবেক « låibēkå » *will take*, etc. In the ŚKK., it is noteworthy that the « -ka » has also been found with the 1st person future and with the 3rd person present—this sort of use with the first and third person is not noticed ordinarily: thus ŚKK. নিবোঁক « nibõ-kå » *I shall take* (p. 287), and পোড়েক « pōṛē-kå » *burns* (p. 110). In the NB. Standard Colloquial, however « -ka » may be used with negatives in all persons and tenses as a detached word, without any special force, unless it be of some sort of finality: *e.g.*, দেবো না ক' « dēbō-nā-kå » *I shan't give*, সে দিলে না ক', দেয় নি ক' « sē dilē-nā-kå, dēy-ni-kå » *he didn't give*, তুমি দিও না ক' « tumi diō nā kå » *you won't give*, নাইক' = নাহি-ক' « nāï kå < nāhi-kå » *is not, are not*; in cases like the above, the negative phrase may be taken as one group-word to which the affix is added.

The « -ka » for the 3rd person imperative is already well-establised in the ŚKK., although the older form without the affix is still equally common (see *supra*, pp. 903, 907).

The « -ka » is absent in the Caryās as a verbal affix.

722. Of the other Magadhan Languages, Bhōjpuriyā alone seems not to employ it with the past and future bases. It is fairly common in Early Oṛiyā, specially with the past in the 3rd person (sg. « -ilā-kå »,

pl. and sg. honorific « -ilē-kå »): but Oṛiyā never used it with the 3rd person imperative. The « -ka » affix for the verb, however, has fallen into disuse in Modern Oṛiyā. So, too, Early Assamese shows as much preference for the « -ka » as Bengali; *e.g.*, 'Ādi-caritra,' p. 3, « bhåilēkå » beside « bhåilå » *was*; p. 7, « bōlåntōkå » *they say*, « thākåntōkå » *they are*; p. 9, « thākibēkå » *they will be*, « bulibēkå » *they will say*; p. 20, « nå-hi-k-åntå » *they are not*; p. 28, « nā-hi-k-ay » *is not*; p. 36, « thåilēkå » *was*; p. 43 « yōgāïlēkå » *supplied*, etc., and elsewhere « nu-hi-k-ō » *I am not* (cf. Standard Coll. Bengali नइ क' = नहिक' « nå(h)ï-kå » *I am not*, नाहि क' « nā(h)i-kå » *he is not*). All this usage is curtailed in Modern Assamese, where we find the « -ka » only with the 3rd person imperative, as in Bengali: *e.g.*, « kår-ō-kå » *let him do*. The unstableness of the « -ka » in Oṛiyā and Assamese is remarkable: and it is almost equally unstable in MB. and NB., being commonly attached to the imperative only.

The « -ka » features also in Central Magadhan. Its use in Magahī is rather restricted, it being found only in the 3rd person past both transitive and intransitive. The root « √ha » *to be* in Magahī also occurs as « √ha-k », for all the three persons. But in Maithilī « -ka » has a greater importance. It is added to the 3rd person of the simple past tense of the transitive verb (« dēkhala-k » beside poetic or earlier « dēkhala » *he saw*), where it apparently refers to the subject; but in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons, it can be added pleonastically where the verb-form takes the pronominal affixes referring to the non-honorific object: *e.g.*, 1st person: « dĕkhal-ī, dĕkhala-hũ, dēkhalå » *I saw* (simple form), « dĕkhal-i-ai, dĕkhal-i-a(h)u; dĕkhal-ai, dĕkhal-a(h)u » *saw* (with affixed « -ai, ahu » referring to the object in the 3rd and 2nd persons); and optionally, the latter group can have « -ka », as « dĕkhal-i-ai-k, dĕkhal-i-au-k; dĕkhal-ai-k, dĕkhal-au-k »; so 2nd person « dĕkhal-åh » beside « dĕkhal-ahå-k »; and 3rd person « dĕkhala-k » *he saw* (simple), « dĕkhal-k-ai, dĕkhal-k-au » (with object pronoun « -ai, -au »), beside optionally « dĕkhalå-k-ai-k, dĕkhal-k-au-k » (in which two « -k- » affixes occur: the first « ka » refers apparently to the 3rd person subject, and the second « ka » is simply pleonastic). Early Maithilī as in literature does not show these curious extensions

the form for the 3rd person was simply in « -ala »—« dēkhala », and not « * dēkhala-ka », as in Modern Maithilī. This we find in the old poetry, in Vidyāpati, in the 'Varṇa-ratnākara.' The affixation of the pleonastic « -ka » etc. thus developed along independent lines in Maithilī.

723. The usage in MB. and NB. and in Maithilī shows that the « -ka » is not restricted to a single person: it is found with all the three. We have a very popular pleonastic « -ka » affix in Bengali with other parts of speech also: we find it with nouns (*e.g.*, plural affixes গুলাক « gulā-kạ » beside গুলা « gulā », আদিক > দিগ « -ādi-kå > -di-gå » beside আদি > দি « ādi > -di », একটুক্ « ēkạ-ṭu-kạ » *a little* beside একটু « ēkạ-ṭu »; etc.), and dialectally it is found with conjunctions (*e.g.*, কিন্তুক্ for কিন্তু » kintu-kạ = kintu » in North Bengali). This « -ka » is always handy to give a point, a supposed elegance to a form in the speech of the uneducated classes in many dialectal areas: we see that in the case of learned Sanskrit words. The pleonastic « -ka » with verb forms appears to be the same affix noted under 'Formative Affixes,' No. 36 (pp. 682-683). It came specially to be associated with the 3rd person past and future in Bengali because there was no prominent affix for these finite verb forms—nothing comparable with the « -āhō̃, -ō̃, -ām » etc. of the first person, or with « -is, -āhā, -ēhē̃ » of the second. Sometimes it was thought to be quite a polite form too. The same apparently was the reason for the other Magadhan speeches: and if Maithilī restricted it to the transitive past 3rd person (*e.g.*, « dēkhalak » beside « calal »), it was because the past intransitive still retained a great deal of the original adjectival nature.

The link vowel of the pleonastic « -ka » in the 3rd person already occurs as « -ē » (and not « -ā » or « -å ») in the ŚKK In the future, the 3 pers. affix was « -ē », and « -kå » was simply added to it. In the past, it was apparently the transitive verbs in « -ē » in the 3rd person that first took up the « -ka » (we should compare with the state of things in Maithilī in this matter): in the few instances of « -il-ē-ka » that we find in the ŚKK., there is no case of an intransitive verb. From the transitive it was apparently extended, as « -ē-ka », to the intransitive forms from the 15th century onwards.

724. Grierson, basing his observations on the modern Maithilī use of « -ka » for the 3rd person past of the transitive verb, explained this « -ka » both as an instrumental pronoun referring to the subject (*e.g.*, « dĕkhal-k-ai » *seen + by him* [k] + *object* [ai]), and as a nominative pronoun (*e.g.*, « dĕkhal-ī-au-k » = *seen + by me* [ī] + *for you* [au] + *he* [k]: JASB., 1895, p. 350). But an *ensemble* view of the whole question would certainly connect other facts with what we see in Maithilī, and make the simple explanation of the « ka » as the pleonastic affix as the more likely one, rather than regarding it as a problematic 3rd personal pronoun « -ka ». Grierson found support in postulating the 3rd personal pronoun « k- » from the Assamese forms « bōpāi » *my father*, « bāpā » *your father*, and « bāp-ē-k » *his father*: but another explanation may be suggested for these forms: « -āi (bōp-āi) » may be compared with the affix of endearment found in Bengali personal names (for which see *supra*, 'Formative Affixes,' No. 9, p. 662); « -ā (bāp-ā) » for the 2nd person is an affix of respect, such as we find in the Assamese 2nd personal forms of the verb; and « -k (bāp-ē-k) » is just the pleonastic affix, perhaps originally added as a polite form, to the naked word « bāp ».

Among other NIA. speeches, the Jaipurī form of Rājasthānī has a fondness for this pleonastic « -ka » which can be compared with the Magadhan usage (LSI., IX, II, p. 35).

725. The « -ka » affix has had a very important place among the affixes of IA. Already in OIA., from post-Vedic times, this affix was employed with a variety of forces (cf. Franklin Edgerton, 'The *k*-suffixes of Indo-Iranian,' Part I, Leipzig, 1911). It seems to have been re-introduced in MIA., evidently through the influence of a large percentage of the Skt. *tss.* and *stss.* which showed it. The pleonastic use of it has been exhaustively noted by Pāṇini. We find that the « -ka » could be used in Skt. pleonastically, or with a sense of contempt, pity, littleness, or unfamiliarity, in connexion with all sorts of forms—inflected pronouns and inflected verbs (mainly 3rd pers. sg.), as well as indeclinables, in addition to noun bases (cf. Pāṇini, V, iii, 71-78, 85, 86): *e.g.*, the instances given by the grammarians,

« uccaiḥ : uccakaiḥ ; śanaiḥ : śanakaiḥ ; tvayā : tvayakā ; yuvayōḥ : yuvakayōḥ ; yuṣmāsu : yuṣmakāsu ; jalpati : jalpataki ; pacati : pacataki ; pāti : pātaki ; svapiti : svapitaki ; ēhi : ēhaki » ; etc. It is not unlikely that a revived « -ka,-kka » should develop in MIA. and NIA. a similar employ as a pleonastic.

[II] THE PLEONASTIC AFFIX « -RA ».

726. Ān affix « -ra » occurs in dialectal NB. and in MB. In NB. this is found in West Rāḍha (*e.g.*, in the Sarākı dialect of Ranchi) in connexion with the conjunctive in « -i(y)ā » : *e.g.*, যাইআর « jāiāra̸ = jāïā-ra̸ » *having gone*, খাইআর « khāïā-ra̸ » *having eaten*, উঠিয়ার « uṭhiyā-ra̸ » *having risen* (LSI., V, I, pp. 88, 89); it is found also in the dialects of East Vaṅga—in Sylhet, Kachar and Mayang dialects, in Tipperah, Noakhali and Chittagong. The usage in East Vaṅga is more extensive : the « -ra » occurs not only with the conjunctive, *e.g.*, Chittagong দিয়ারে, করিয়ারে, আইয়ারে « diyā-r-ē, kåriyā-r-ē, āïyā-r-ē » *on having given, on having done, on having come*, Mayang « ēilā-rā » *on having come*, but also with the present (radical) and the past conditional (< present participle) tenses, to indicate continuous or progressive action : *e.g.*, E. Sylhet যাইয়ার, যাইত্রাম, যাইরাম « jāïyā-ra̸, jāït-r-ām, jāï-r-ām » *I go, I am going* (beside যাইতেছি « jāïtēchi » as in Standard Bengali); কর্ত্রা « kåra̸t-r-ā̩ » *is* or *are doing*; যাইত্রায় « jāït-rā-y » *you are going* (beside যাইতেছ « jāïtēchå ») ; হয়র « håyå-ra̸ » *is happening*; and Mayang « pait-rā » *are getting*, « jā-r-gā » *he goes*, « tumi-te āho-r-ai (= āïsa-r-āy) » *you are coming*, « sōre dākāite hin kŏrtā-r-ā » *thieves and robbers are making destitute*, « āmi kākuti kŏriyā-r » *we pray*, « bāpŏk gum jā-r » *the father sleeps*, « tā huōr rākhe-r » *he tends swine*, « bōk paiyā mōring-kŏrau-r-i » *I am dying of hunger*, etc., etc. (LSI., V, I, pp. 419 ff.); Chittagong করির beside করি « kåri-ra̸, kåri » *I (we) do*, করর beside করস « kårå-ra̸, kårås » *you do*, করের beside করে « kårē-ra̸, kårē » *he does, they do*, খাইর, খাই « khāï-ra̸, khāï » *I eat*, খাওর « khāo-ra̸ » *you eat*, খায়ের, খার « khāyēra̸, khā-ra̸ » *he eats*, আঁই উয়াসে মরির « āi uāsē måri-ra̸ » *I am dying through starvation*, আঁই তোঁয়ার খেজমৎ করিয়ের « āi tōāra̸ khēzmåt kåriyēra̸ » *I am doing service for you*, etc.; and Chakma « måråŋ-åra̸ » *I am dying*, « gåråŋ-åra̸ » *I am doing*, « bhābē-ra̸ » *he is thinking*, etc.

The MB. examples are all found in the ŚKK., and the « -ra » there occurs, not with the conjunctive, but with the finite tense forms—present, past and future, as well as imperative: thus: p. 39, আছের « āchē-rå » *is*; p. 195, শোভের « śōbhē-rå » *is beautiful*; p. 69, বাজের « bājē-rå » *sounds*; p. 152, গেলির « gēli-rå » *it went* (=gēlā-rå?); p. 2, চিন্তির « cinti-rå » *he deliberated* (non-l past in « -i »: *supra*, p. 947); p. 50, বেঢ়িলের « bēṛhilē-rå » *it surrounded*; pp. 50, 193, 279, দিবোঁর « dibō̃-rå » *I shall give*; p. 84, হৈবের « håibē-rå » *it will be*; p. 334, কহিআরোঁ « kåhiā-r-ō̃ » *let me narrate*; p. 11, কহিআর « kåhiā-r-å » *do tell*; p. 72, খাআর « khāā-r-å » *do eat*; pp. 16, 115, 319, 336, 394 দিআর « diā-rå » *do give*; p. 38, দিআরু « diā-r-u » *let him give*. In the imperative forms, the base seems to be the non-l passive participle in « -iā », to which « -rå » is added, and the whole is treated as a base to which the personal suffixes are attached. Cf. the Sylhet and Mayang forms, and the Chittagong idiom তুই দিয়ারে মুই দিয়া « tui diyā-r-ē mui diyā » *on your giving, I would give*, or *if you have given, then I have given also* (VSPdP., 1326, p. 251).

727. The fact of this « -ra » occurring in the two extreme dialect areas of Bengali—in Early West Bengali, in modern dialectal West Bengali, and in modern extreme Eastern and South-Eastern Bengali—would suggest that it was a common Bengali affix, but its development has been localised in certain tracts. It seems to occur sporadically in other dialects also in MB.: *e.g.*, Vijaya-gupta's 'Padmā-purāṇa' (Barisal), ধূপের ধোঁয়া দিয়ারে বাসিত করে কেশ « dhūpērå dhōā diyārē bāsitå kårē kēśå » *perfumes hair with incense smoke* (VSP., p. 186).

The « -ra » affix apparently occurs in other NIA., outside Bengal and the Magadhan area. We find it in Rājasthānī (*e.g.*, Mārwāṛī « hūya-r, whē-r » *having become* beside « hūy-naĭ, hō, hō-kar, whētō-kånaĭ », « māra-r » *having struck* beside « mār-kar, mār-naĭ, mārū-naĭ »; Central Rājasthānī, Jaipurī etc., « whai-r, hō-r » *having become*, « māra-r » *having struck*; Mēwātī « hō-r, mār-ar »), where the affix « -ra » is added to the conjunctive participle; we find it in Pahārī, *e.g.*, Khas-kurā « gārē-ra » *having done*, « bhayē-ra » *having been* (where the « -ra » has been explained as a conjunction meaning *and*, which is added to the oblique form of the passive

participle), beside the « -i » conjunctive « gari, bhai » *having done, having been* (LSI., IX, IV, p. 36); Sirmaurī « khā̃y-rō » *having eaten* (where « -rō » seems to the a post-position : LSI., ibid., p. 465); also « -rō » in other Pahāṛī dialects (LSI., ibid., pp. 570, 602).

The etymology of the Bengali « -ra » is puzzling, and probably the source is not one, but many. In the NB. conjunctives, whether of West Rāḍha or of S.-E. Vaŋga, it can very well be post-positional in origin, from « pârɔ, pâr-ē » *after*, used in an adverbial sense. We have Modern Bengali instances like W. Rāḍha যায়ে বাদে « jāyẽ bādē » *after having gone* (where « bādē » *after* is the Perso-Arabic « baʿd ») = Standard Colloquial গিয়ে পর « giyē pârɔ » : Cf. Haijong dialect (Maimansing) উঠিয়ামি « uṭhiyā-mi » *after getting up*, দেখিয়ামি « dēkhiyā-mi » *on seeing* where « -mi » is the locative affix (see *supra*, p. 751) ; we can also compare Marāṭhī « uṭhilyā-var » *on having risen*, « sōḍilyā-var » *on having left*, where « var = par ». The « -ra » in Khas-kurā, explained by Grierson as meaning *and* (< apara), can similarly be a postpositional form. In the present forms, in Bengali, the « -ra » can very well be the conjunction « āra, āara, aara < apara » *and* : « karē-rɔ » *does and = does, continues to do, is doing*. So, too, in the MB. past and future. But the addition of it to a verbal base, and then tagging on personal suffixes to it (as in the MB. imperative 1. « kâhiā-r-ŏ », 2. « kâhiā-r-â », 3. « diā-r-u » and in NB. of E. Sylhet 1. « jāït-r-ām, jāï-r-ām » 2. « jāït-r-āy », 3. « jāït-r-ā », and Mayang 2. « āho-r-ai », 3. « kŏrtā-r-ā ») is a unique phenomenon. I would suggest that here the « -r- » is the contracted form of « √kâr », and the affix is simply the verbal auxiliary added on to the root : « kâhiārŏ < *kahiā + karŏ » = « kathitaṁ karōmi » *I make it described*, for « kathayāmi » *I describe it* ; « diāru < *diyā + karu » = « dattaṁ karōtu » for « dadātu » : « jāït-rām = * jāïta + karŏ, * karām » (Bengali « √kâr » + affix « -āmi ») = *going I do = I go on, I am going* ; and a form like « jāï-rām » or « āhō-r-āi » shows a combination of a regular conjugation in the present + the « -r- < √kâr » and personal affixes combined. The genitive affix « kara > -ârɔ » implying connexion may also have something to do with it.

[III] THE PLEONASTIC AFFIX « -LI » OF MB.

728. The affix লি « -li » occurs in the ŚKK. less than half a dozen times with the future or precative imperative : *e.g.*, করিহলি « kårihå-li » *you will do* ; দিহলি « dihålī » *you will give* ; গাঅ গড়াহলি « gåå gåṛāhåli » *you will roll* (*your*) *body* ; চলিহলি « cålihåli » *you will go*. An equivalent of this affix has not been found in any NB. dialect Bhōjpuriyā among Magadhan speeches has an « -l- » form which is added to the old present (or radical) tense to form a present definite or future (LSI., V, II, p. 52). In some of the Rājasthānī dialects, in Marāṭhī, in Khas-kurā, and in Gaṛhwālī and Kumāūnī (Central Pahāṛī), the future is also expressed by an « -l- » form.

The MB. « -li », occurring as it does with an original future form to strengthen its force, seems to be equally a future-indicating suffix, as in the other NIA. speeches, and to be identical with that. Various derivations of this « -l- » suffix have been suggested (cf. Beames, 'Comp. Gramm.,' II, p. 163 ; Bhāṇḍārkar, 'Wilson Lectures,' p. 272 ; Hoernle, 'Gauḍian Grammar,' §§ 501, 509 ; Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' p. 241). The derivation suggested by Bloch for this suffix seems to be the most likely one : it is the passive participle of a Prakrit root « lē » *to take* (corresponding to the Skt. « √ lā » : cf. similar alternation between Prakrit and NIA. « √ dē » and Skt. « √ dā »), such as we find, for instance, in Hindōstānī « lī-ā », in Brajbhākā « lī-naŭ », in dialectal Bengali লিলে « li-l-ē » (= in Standard Bengali নিলে « ni lē » with merging of নী « √ nī » and লহ « √ låh < √ labh » in it). This « * lī (a) > li » would seem to be added pleonastically, and in MB. it is used in both genders. Cf. similar future use of « gā, gaŭ (< gata) » in Western Hindī (and in Maithilī).

[IV] THE PLEONASTIC AFFIX « KHAN » OR « KHUN ».

729. The colloquial of Calcutta and the surrounding districts uses the word খন « -khånⱥ » or খুন « -khunⱥ », or অখন, অখুন « -åkhånⱥ, -åkhunⱥ » after vowels, pleonastically with all persons in the past and future tenses : *e.g.*, যাবো-(অ)খুন, দিলুম-খুন, হবে-(অ)খুন « jābō-(å)khunⱥ,

dilum-khunɔ̸, hȧbē-(ȧ)khunɔ̸ » *I shall go, I (we) gave, it will be.* There is just a suggestion of the finality or instantaneous completion of the action : here the force of the OIA. « kṣaṇa » *instant,* its source, is preserved. Its origin has been given *supra,* p. 857, under 'Adverbs of Time in খন « khȧnɔ̸ ».' It seems to occur also in Magahī, in forms like « kailɔ̸kai-khan » *did,* « kahalɔ̸kai-khan » *said,* « chōṛalɔ̸kai-khan » *gave up,* « choṛaulɔ̸kai-khan » *caused to give up,* « ailai-khan » *came,* besides « kariai-khan » *I do, I shall do,* etc. (as in the 'Gospel of St. Mark, in Magadhi,' Calcutta, 1890 : a form which does not occur in Grierson).

In dialectal Bengali (Khulna, Jessore, etc.), this form has been reduced to « nē » (< ȧnē < ȧȧnē < ȧhȧnē [ɔxɔne], =ȧkhȧnē) with the future only : দেবোনে « dēbō-nē » *I shall give,* যাবানে « jābā-nē » [zabane] *you will go,* etc.

[V] The Pleonastic Affix '-ṬĀ.'

730. The Mayang dialect apparently uses a pleonastic affix « tā » : thus, « eil-tā » *he came* « eilā-tā » *they have come,* « peilāng-tā » *I got,* « koraurī-tā » *I am making* « ose-tā, āse-tā » *is,* beside « eil » *he came,* « dekhilo » *he saw,* « nā-peil-gā » *did not get,* « korauri » *I do,* « āse » *is,* etc. This « -tā » is found with nouns and pronouns also (LSI., V, I, pp. 419 ff.).

Mayang does not distinguish between cerebrals and dentals, as much Assamese, and this « -tā » can well represent a cerebral « -ṭā ». This « -ṭā » apparently is the 'Enclitic Definitive' noted at pp. 780-781, and at p. 686. Its use with verbs is not noticed elsewhere in Bengali, but it seems to be present in Oṛiyā as « -ṭi », especially in Early Oṛiyā : *e.g.,* « tu jibu-ṭi » *will you go ?* (cf. LSI., V, II, p. 381, Expletive Additions) : Early Oṛiyā, 'Dhruva-caritra' (Contai ed., p. 16) « pāïbȧ-ṭī kȧhi » *where will one get it ?*; 'Bhāgavata, Vastra-haraṇa' p. 8, « nȧrȧkē pȧṛibȧ-ṭi jāï » *will fall in hell* ; 'Rukmiṇī-haraṇa,' p. 3, « sē dhȧrmē bȧñcȧ-ṭi-ki sukhē » *live happily in that* dharma (cf. Oṛiyā « ṭikē » = Bengali একটু, টুক্ « ēkɔ̸-ṭu, -ṭu-kɔ̸ », p. 780) ; 'Rāsa-līḷā,' p. 8, « āmbhȧrȧ pūrilā-ti kāḷa » *my time is over* ; etc.

[VI] The Pleonastic Affix « -ḌA ».

731. In the OB., the two forms « gāi-ḍa » *sang* and « sanāiḍa » *signified* occur (Caryā 2). They represent OIA. causative passive participles « gāpitam » and « saṁjñāpitam » + the pleonastic affix « -ṭa > -ḍa » = « -ṛa » in NIA. (=Formative Affix No. 46, pp. 689 ff., *supra*). Use of this pleonastic affix for verb-forms is known in other NIA., although this figures no longer in that connexion in Bengali (of Rājasthānī dialects, LSI., IX, II, pp. 30, 59).

[I] The Participles.

[I] The Present Participle.

732. The present participle occurs in Bengali in two forms : in the base-form in অন্ত « -àntà », and in the locative in ইতে « -itē ». It represents the OIA. active present participle in « -ant- » (the « śatṛ » of the Indian grammarians). These have been discussed under 'Formative Affixes,' Nos. 3 and 28. Other instances of the « -àntà » form may be given : পড়ন্ত « pàṛ-àntà » *falling*, নিবন্ত « nib-àntà » *dying out* (*as a flame*), উঠন্ত « uṭh-àntà » *rising*, জ্বলন্ত « jwàl-àntà » *burning*, সাজন্ত « sāj-àntà » *fitting*, ফুটন্ত « phuṭ-àntà » *blossoming*, *boiling* (*bubbling*), অফুরন্ত « à-phur-àntà » *unending*, etc. The affix « -àntà » is an archaic survival (doubtless a literary one) for Bengali, with the « -n- » fully retained : it ought to have been *আঁৎ « -ā̃t- » : we actually find « -ā̃t- » in some rare instances in MB. : *e.g.*, VSP., p., 658, জীয়ঁত « jīyā̃tà » *living*. The participle as an attribute of the subject of a sentence, *e.g.*, as in Hindōstānī (cf. Platts, 'Hindustānī Grammar,' p. 332), is not found in Bengali. The Assamese equivalent is « -ō̃t- » : « kàr-ō̃t-ā » *doer*, « càl-ō̃t-ā » *walker*, « di-ō̃t-ā » *giver*, etc. Oṛiyā has a form in « -u, -ũ » as in « kàru, kàrũ » (which is different in origin from the « -àntà » participle,) as the present participle absolute (see *supra*, p. 678). In Maithilī, the affix occurs as « -ăit », fem. « -ăit-i », in Magahī as « -ăit, -at, -it » (feminine with « -ī » added); and in Bhōjpuriyā the same forms as those of Magahī occur.

The absolute or attributive use of the « -àntà » participle is found only with one root in the Caryās: thus in 18, we have « jīvantē maalē̃

(=maïlē) ṇāhi bisēsō » *there is no difference between the living and the dead*, where it is instrumental ; also in 49, « jīvantē maïlẽ nāhi bisēṣa » ; and in 23, « jivantē bhelā bihaṇi maēla » *died without having been a living one*, where it is apparently nominative. The form is also restricted in use in eMB., but a few instances are found : thus ŚKK., p. 256, জীয়ন্ত « jīyȧntȧ » *living*, p. 276, মারন্তা « mārȧntā » *one who strikes*.

733. The present participle in ইতে « -itē » represents the proper Bengali transformation of the MIA. « -anta » to « -ita- »—the native line of development in the language, represented in the Past Conditional or Habitual also. It is an inflected form—a locative absolute, and it indicates the condition under which an act is done. In dialectal Bengali, the uninflected form occurs either in forming the progressive tense (*e.g.*, কর্‌তাছে [kɔrtase] < করিত্‌+আছে « kȧrit+āchē » in Maimansing Bengali), or to indicate either the simple participle, or when repeated a condition (*e.g.*, আসিৎ আসিৎ « āsit āsit » *while coming* in Manbhum, Khāriā-ṭhār dialect: LSI., V, I, pp. 93, 94). A locative of the present participle in « -it- » with the common postpositional affix for the locative case, *viz.*, ত « -tȧ », seems to feature in the progressive tense in dialectal North Bengali: see *infra*, under 'Compound or Periphrastic Tenses.' By repeating the « -itē » form, continuity of the conditional or concurrent event is indicated : thus, আমি যাইতে সে আসিল « āmi jāïtē sē āsilȧ » *on my going* (lit. *I going*), *he came* ; আমি যাইতে যাইতে সে আসিল « āmi jāïtē jāïtē sē āsilȧ » *while I was going, he came* ; আমি খাইতে খাইতে বলিব « āmi khāïtē khāïtē bȧlibȧ » *I shall narrate while eating* ; তার এমন ভাই থাক্‌তে সে কষ্ট পায় « tārȧ ēmȧnȧ bhāï thāktē sē kaṣṭa pāy » *with such a brother living, he suffers* ; সে নাচিতে নাচিতে আসে « sē nācitē nācitē āsē » *he comes dancing* ; গান গাইতে গাইতে সুতা কাটে « gānȧ gāïtē gāïtē sutā kāṭē » *spins while singing*, etc. The « -itē » form practically is in adverbial relation to the finite verb. This adverbial employ with an oblique form of the present participle is found in other NIA. speeches: *e.g.*, Early Assamese « -ȧntē » (fairly common) ; Oṛiyā « ȧntē », *e.g.*, (« kȧrȧntē » *whilst doing*, also *on doing*, *about to do* : cf. « cȧlȧntē mēdinī kȧmpȧï » *the earth trembles while he walks*, as in Jagannātha-dāsa) ; Maithilī « -itahī », (*e.g.*, « dekhitahī » *on seeing*) ; Hindōstānī

« -tē » (see Platts, 'Hindustānī Grammar,' pp. 333, 335), *e.g.*, « sārī rāt talaphtē kaṭī » *the whole night passed in restlessness* (lit. *I being agitated*), « ḍartē ḍartē maĩ pās giyā » *I approached (it) in great fear (fearing much)*, « ham gātē gātē sītī haĩ » *we* (fem.) *keep singing while we stitch*: in all the above, the oblique form is a locative; but in Old Western Rājasthānī, the source of Gujarātī and Mārwāṛī, where also this adverbial participle occurs, and in Marāṭhī similarly, the oblique form seems to be an absolute plural genitive (Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 124: but Jules Bloch and V.K. Rājawāḍē suggest the MIA. absolutive in « -tvā-nam, -ttāṇaṁ » as in Pali and Ardha-māgadhī as the source of the Marāṭhī as well as Gujarātī « -tā̃ »: 'Langue Marathe,' p. 260).

In the Caryās, the locative or adverbial participle occurs in a number of instances: *e.g.*, « (15) jāntē, jāantē *while going*; (16) buḍantē *while sinking*; (20) biārantē *while discussing*, (23) païsantē *while entering*; (30) suṇantē *on hearing*; (31) cāhantē cāhantē *while seeing*; (39) amiā ācchantē bisa gilēsi *while there is nectar thou swallowest poison*; (42) mūḍhā acchantē lōa na pēkhaï *while he remains a fool a man does not see*; dudha majhẽ laḍa ṇacchaṁtẽ dēkhaï =? dūdha mājhẽ laḍa āchantẽ na dēkhaï *he does not see the butter (fat) while it is the midst of the milk*; (44) aṇa cāhantē āṇa biṇaṭhā *while asking for the one, the other is destroyed*; (50) jāgantē *while keeping awake* »; cf. also (6) « taraṅgantē = ? turaṁ gantē » *going quickly*; and « ghara acchantē mā jāṅga baṇē », *supra*, p. 960.

MB. instances: ŚKK., p. 11, পাছে পাছে জাইতেঁ পথ হারাইল আহ্মি « pāchē pāchē jāïtē patha hārāïla āmhi » *I lost the way while going after (her)*; p. 15, বাহুত বলয়া শোভে পাএত নুপূর। চলিতেঁ চলিতেঁ তোর রুণুঝুণু বাজে॥ « bāhu-ta balaya śōbhē, pāē-ta nupūra: calitẽ calitẽ tōra ruṇu-jhuṇu bājē » *armlets grace (your) arms, on (your) feet anklets: while walking, these your (trinkets) tinkle*; p. 27, তাক সোঁঅরিতেঁ মোর মনে বাঢ়ে তাপ « tāka sõaritẽ mōra manē bāṛhē tāpa » *sadness grows in my mind while I remember it all*; p. 355, যেবা কিছু দুখ দিলোঁ পার হৈতেঁ নাএ « jēbā kichu dukha dilõ pāra haitẽ nāē » *all the trouble I gave (thee) while crossing in the boat*;

ibid, না শুনিলোঁ তোর বোল লআঁ জাইতেঁ পাণী « nā śunilõ tōrā bōlā lāā jāitẽ pāṇī » *I did not listen to thy words while fetching water* ; p. 376, চাহিতেঁ চাহিতেঁ পাইল আচম্বিত « cāhitẽ cāhitẽ pāilā ācāmbitā » *while seeking* (*looking for*), *found of a sudden* ; etc., etc. ; Kṛttivāsa, 'Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa,' p. 24, কান্দিতে কান্দিতে যান ভরত শত্রুঘন « kāndite kāndite jānā Bhārātā Śātrughānā » *Bharata and Śatrughna go weeping* ; VSP., p. 709, নকুলক দেখন্তে সকল যায় মরি « Nākulā-kā dēkhāntē sākālā jāyā māri » *all go dead while seeing N.* ; ibid, p. 182, দুই চক্ষু থাকিতে « dui cākṣu thākitē » *while the two eyes exist* ; etc., etc.

This adverbial or locative absolute present participle goes back to OIA., and occurs throughout the history of IA. : cf. Rig-Veda, I, 184, « ucchántyām uṣási » *at Dawn as it shines forth* > *when Dawn shines forth* (Macdonell, 'Vedic Grammar for Students,' § 205) ; see also *supra*, p. 959.

From MB. times, the adverbial present participle in « -itē » has been confused with the infinitive in « -itē », for which see *infra*, under 'Verbal Nouns and Infinitives.'

[II] THE PAST (PASSIVE) PARTICIPLE.

734. The Bengali Passive Participle comes from the OIA. « -(i)ta », fortified either by « -ā » or by « -il-, -il-ā ». We have thus two types, the « -ā » type, and the « -l- » type, of which the latter is obsolete in the Standard Colloquial. They have been fully discussed under the 'Past Tense,' *supra*, pp. 940-959. In NB., the perfect tenses are made with a verb form in ইয়া « -iyā » + the auxiliary substantive verb « āch » (and « thāk ») : করিয়াছি « kāriyā-chi » *I have done*, করিয়াছিলাম « kāriyā-chilām » *I had done*, করিয়া থাকিব « kāriyā thākibā » *I shall have done*. In Early Bengali, this « -iyā » occurs as ই « -i », and also as ইআঁ, ইয়াঁ, ইঞা « -iā̃, -iyā̃, -iñā » etc.,—and the nasalised forms are still in use in West Bengali dialects.

This « -iyā » form is commonly explained as the conjunctive form = *having done*, but in the periphrastic combination of the tense, it is likely that it is the passive participle rather than the conjunctive indeclinable (see *infra*, under 'Compound or Periphrastic Tenses').

That the « -iyā, -i » form represents the Passive Participle also (in addition to the conjunctive) is seen from its adjectival or adverbial employ which has occasionally a present participial force: thus, মাঝে লক্ষ্মীর মূর্ত্তি, দুই পাশে দুই হাতী শুঁড় উচু করিয়া দাঁড়াইয়া « mājhē Lakṣmīrȧ mūrtti, dui pāśē dui hātī śūrȧ ūcu kȧriyā dāṛāïyā » *in the middle the figure of Lakṣmī, on two sides two elephants standing with trunks raised high*; শিব নাচি নাচি যায় « Śibȧ nāci nāci jāy » *Śiva goes dancing*; Kṛttivāsa, 'Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa,' p. 20, কান্দিয়া কান্দিয়া রাণী আইল বাহির « kāndiyā kāndiyā rāṇī āïlȧ bāhirȧ » *the queen came out weeping*: cf. কান্দিতে কান্দিতে যান ভরত শত্রুঘন at p. 1002. The transition in significance from the passive participle adjective to the active present participle can easily happen through intransitive verbs.

Causative and Denominative verbs form their passive participle in আন, আনো « -ānȧ, -ānō », which is discussed below under those verbs.

[J] The Conjunctives.

735. There are two Indeclinable Conjunctives, or Gerunds, in Bengali, one ending in ইয়া « -iyā » (> Standard Coll. এ « -ē » with mutation of preceding vowel), the other in ইলে « -ilē » (> Standard Coll. লে « -lē », with accompanying mutation through influence of the « -i- »). Both mean *having done*, or *having finished*: but « -iyā » indicates merely a *succession of actions or events* done by or with reference to the *same* subject, while « -ilē » implies a *condition or precedence in a succession of acts* performed by the same subject or by different subjects: *e.g.*, আমি আসিয়া দেখিলাম « āmi āsiyā dēkhilām » *having come, I saw =I came and saw*; সে আসিলে (এলে) পরে আমি দেখিলাম « sē āsilē (ēlē) pȧrē āmi dēkhilām » *I saw after he came*; আমি সময় মত ফিরলে যেতে পারি « āmi sȧmȧyȧ-mȧtȧ phirlē jētē pāri »=*I may go if I return in time*; খেয়ে নাও, খেলে পর হাঁটতে পারবে « khēyē nāŏ, khēlē pȧrȧ hāṭtē pārbē » *eat (your fill), you will be able to walk if you eat (enough)*; আমি গেলে তুমি যেও « āmi gēlē tumi jēō » *you will go if I go (after I have gone)*; দিলে দেয় « dilē dēy » *gives when one gives him*, পেলে দেয় « pēlē dēy » *gives if he gets* beside পেয়ে (পাইয়া) দেয় « pēyē=pāïyā dēy » *gives after he gets*, etc., etc. There are other points of difference in the idiomatic use of these two forms (cf. Milne, 'Bengali Grammar,' pp. 180-189), but

the outstanding fact is that « -ilē » is conditional with reference to the same subject or different subjects, and « -iyā » is sequential with the same subject.

[I] THE CONJUNCTIVE OR ABSOLUTIVE IN ইলে «-ILĒ ».

736. The conjunctive in ইলে « -ilē » is based on the passive participle in « -il- », and it is occasionally an adjective and occasionally a noun, like the « -(i)ta- » participle in Sanskrit and also like its cognate « -al- » form in Bihārī. It is adjectival in character when it occurs absolutely with a noun or pronoun : *e.g.*, রামে মার্‌লেও ম'রবে, রাবণে মারলেও ম'রবে « Rāmē mārlē-ō mōrbē, Rābānē mārlē-ō mōrbē » *he* (*Kālanēmi*) *will die, whether Rāma kills him or Rāvaṇa*; আমি তাকে দিলে তবে সে বাঁচে « āmi tākē dilē tābē sē bā̃cē » *he would live only if I give him*; and it is a verbal noun where it occurs with the genitive, *e.g.*, আমার না দিলে কিছু আসে যায় না, কিন্তু তোমার দেওয়া চাই « āmār nā dilē kichu āsē jāy nā, kintu tomār dēwā cāï » *it doesn't matter* (lit. *nothing comes or goes*) *through my not giving, but you should give* (lit. *your giving is wanted*) ; or where it forms an absolute clause word : *e.g.*, দিলে হয় « dilē hāy » *it would be well to give, it won't be bad to give*, lit. *if there were a giving, it may be* (*good*); cf. Standard Colloquial (dialectal) আমার আদেখলায় = * আদেখিলাএ « āmār ādēkhlāy < * ā-dēkhil-ā-ē » *me not seeing, during my not seeing.*

« -il-ē » is a locative form, and as a locative it has an absolutive or conditional force. It can be compounded with other verbs in « -itē » and in « -iyā », to express, in the former case, a subjunctive or purposive gerund (*e.g.*, করিতে গেলে « kāritē gēlē » *if one is do, when one is to do*, খাইতে দিলে « khāïtē dilē » *when one gives to eat, if one is given to eat*), and, in the latter case, to denote a past conditional (*e.g.*, খাইয়া গেলে « khāïyā gēlē », *after one has eaten* or *after one has started to eat on*, or, *after one has finished eating*, দেখিয়া নিলে « dēkhiyā nilē » *after one has finished seeing*, etc.). Unlike the conjunctive in « -iyā », it cannot be repeated to indicate repetition or continuity : *e.g.*, করিয়া করিয়া, ক'রে ক'রে « kāriyā-kāriyā, kōrē-kōrē » *having done again and again*, but not « kārilē-kārilē », the reason apparently being that as a past base « -ilē » is already perfective and final, and continuous or imperfect action cannot be well expressed by it. This

doubling of the « -iyā » or « -i » conjunctive is found OB., and also its equivalent form in MIA. and OIA. (*e.g.*, **saṁsmṛtya saṁsmṛtya, pItvā pItvā**, etc.)

Instances of the conjunctive in « -ilē » from OB. and MB.: (Caryā 2) « rāti bhaïlē » *when it is night*; (5) « sāṅkama-ta caḍilē » *after getting upon the bridge*; (20) « -jaubaṇa mōra bhaïlē si pūrā » ? *as soon as my youth was mature*; ŚKK., p. 84, নান্দ গোপ শুনিলেঁ হৈবের কোণ গতী « Nānda-gōpȧ śuṇilē hȧibērȧ kōṇȧ gȧtI » *what will be the fate (then), when the cowherd Nanda hears?*; p. 98, তপত দুধ নালে ন পীয়ে, জুড়াইলে সোআদ তার « tȧpȧtȧ dudhȧ nālē nȧ pIē, juṛāïlē sōādȧ tārȧ » *hot milk is not drunk through a straw, its taste (comes) when it is cooled*; p. 107, বল কইলেঁ জানায়িবোঁ রাজাএ « bȧlȧ kȧïlẽ jāṇāyibõ rājāē » *shall make the king know if you use force*; p. 297, যে বুধি করিলেঁ রহে আহ্মার জীবন « jē budhi kȧrilē rȧhē āmhārȧ jIbȧnȧ » *by doing such contrivance by which my life can endure*; p. 299, হেন কাম করিলেঁ নাসিবোঁ তোর পাশে « hēnȧ kāmȧ kȧrilē nāsibõ tōrȧ pāśē » *shan't come near you if you do such a thing*; etc. etc.

The conjunctive use of the locative form of the « -il- » base is found in other Eastern Magadhan: *e.g.*, Oṛiyā « dēkhilē » *if one had seen, when one has seen*; Assamese « hȧl-ē, hȧl-ȧt » (= Bengali « hȧilē, * hȧilē-tē »). In Maithilī, Magahī and Bhōjpuriyā, the ablative of the verbal noun in « -al- » is used: *e.g.*, Maithılī « carī nahI bhēṭȧlā-sā » *through not getting fodder*, « ghumalā-sā kI lābh ahī » *what profit is there from wandering about* (Grierson, ' Maithilī, Grammar,' p. 48: the adjectival « -al- » is rather restricted in Maithilī, see Grierson, pp. 113-114, and hence the locative absolute use of it is not found in Maithilī, corresponding to Bengali সে এলে « sē ēlē » *on his coming*, etc.); Bhōjpuriyā « paṛhalē, paṛhalē-sē » (Hoernle, ' Gauḍian Grammar,' § 488). With the locative use of the « -il- » participle in Bengali we may compare the Hindōstānī oblique use of the past participle to denote a condition or sequence (see Platts, ' Hindustānī Grammar,' pp. 337-338: *e. g.*, kyũ itnI rāt gayē tum āyē « *why have you come at this late hour of the night*, lit. *when so much of the night is gone*: = কেন এত রাত গেলে তুমি এলে « kēnȧ ētȧ rātȧ gēlē tumi ēlē »), « pahar din caṛhē, maĩ utrā » *when the sun had risen to one watch, I came down* = বেলা এক পহর হ'লে « bēlā

ēkẽ pāhārẽ hōlē »). Compare also Marāṭhī « cālalyā-s », dative of the perfect participle in « -l- », =*having walked.*

The use of the passive participle locative, absolutely, with a noun or pronoun in the locative, to indicate the conjunctive, is found in OIA. and MIA.: *e.g.*, « dṛṣṭē sūryē, punar api bhavān vāhayēd adhva-śēṣam » (Mēgha-dūta) : « alē, lāa- śālaē haggē ; gōṇā maḷē (=maḍē), aṇṇē kiṇiśśaṁ ; pavahaṇē bhaggē, avalaṁ ghaḍāïśśaṁ ; tumaṁ maḷē (=maḍē), avalē pavahaṇa-vāhakē huviśśadi » *I say, I am the king's brother-in-law ; if the oxen are killed, I shall buy others ; if the carriage is broken, I shall have another built ; if you die, then there will be another carriage-driver* (Mṛcchakaṭika) ; etc., etc.

[II] THE CONJUNCTIVE IN ই « -I », ইয়া « -IYĀ », ইয়াঁ « -IYẴ ».

737. In the « sādhu-bhāṣā », the gerund or conjunctive is formed by adding « -iyā » to the root : চলিয়া « cāl-iyā » *having gone,* রাখিয়া « rākh-iyā » *having kept* : in the Standard Colloquial, this « -iyā » is contracted to « -ē », and there is mutation of the preceding vowel : চ'লে [cole], রেখে [rekhe]. In MB., especially in West Bengal texts, « -iyā » also occurs in a nasalised form, side by side with the non-nasalised one, and this is written ইয়াঁ, ইঞা, ঞা, ইঞাঁ « -iyẵ, -iñā, -ñā, -iñẵ » etc. This nasalised form was a living one in some forms of West Bengali, and at the present day it occurs as (ই)য়েঁ, ইয়্যাঁ « -(i)yẽ, -iyyẵ » [iẽ] in the West Rāḍha dialects. In addition to this « -iyā, -iyẵ », MB. (and the NB. language of poetry) has another form—in « -i » ; *e.g.*, চলি, রাখি « cāl-i, rākh-i ». The Caryās show all the three, as « -iā, -iẵ, -i (-ī) » : thus, « -i, -ī » : « (1) pāṇḍi *having spread* ; (2) duhi *having milked*, cauri *having stolen,* thira kari *making steady* ; (4) cāpī *having prssed,* cumbī *having kissed* (6) chāḍī *giving up* ; (7) dēkhi *having seen,* gaï *having gone* ; (9) païsi *having entered* ; (15) chāḍī ; (16) suni *having heard* ; (21) uṭhi *having got up* ; (22) raci raci *building again and again* ; (26) dhuni dhuni *carding (cotton) again again* », etc., etc. ; « -ia » : « (1) diṭa (=diḍha) karia *making firm,* pucchia *questioning* ; (5) phā(ḍ) ḍia *splitting* ; (10) bhañjia *breaking* ; (15) bujia *having closed* ; (39) nāsia *destroying* », etc. ; « -iā » : « (2) dēkhaïā= ? dēkhiā *having seen,* bāhiā

walking (<*bearing*) ; (11) māriā *having killed* ; (12) tōḍiā *destroying*, kariā *having done* ; (35) bhaṇiā *having spoken* ; (50) laïā *having taken* » ; and « -iā » : « (26) laïā *having taken*, (50) diā *having given* (= instrumental postposition) » ; etc.

In South-East Bengali (Chittagong and Chakma dialects) there is an affix নে « -nē » (-iā-nē), or নই « nåï » (-i-nåï) which figures in connexion with the « -iyā -i » conjunctives : *e.g.*, আইয়ানে « āïyā-nē » *having come, on coming* (Chittagong : LSI., V, I, p. 313), and « jēi-nåï » *having gone*, « ēi-nåï » *having come* (=āïsi-nåï), « jāgi-nåï » *having kept awake*, « håi-nåï » *having become*, « di-nåï » *having given*, « dēi-nåï » *having seen* (=dēkhi-nåï), « bēi-nåï » *having sat down* (<bahi-nåï, basi-nåï), etc. (LSI., V, I, pp. 324 ff.). This « -n- » affix seems to be connected with the « -ā, -ñā, -yā » of OB., MB. and dialectal NB. (W. Bengali). We can compare the Early Oṛiyā conjunctive affix « -iṇå », found plentifully in literature (*e.g.*, Jagannātha-dāsa's 'Bhāgavata, Kaṅśa-janma': « emåntē śuṇi Śukå yåti, hāsiṇa rājā-ku kåhånti » *hearing this, the sage Śuka after having smiled, says to the king* : ibid., 'Rāsa-līḷā,' « påśiṇå gålē ēhi bāṭē, dēkhiṇå cåhånti ucāṭē » *entering, they went by this way ; seeing, they look sadly* ; 'Rukmiṇī-haraṇa,' « kånyāku kårāïṇå snānå » *afer having bathed the bride* ; « bhājiṇå sårbē kålē cūrå » *breaking, they pulverised everything*, etc., etc., occurring side by side with the other Oṛiyā conjunctive affix « -i », the one which in actual use now. But apparently this « -iṇå » form is obsolete now.

In the other Magadhan speeches, the « -i » affix is the only one which obtains, and in the Bihārī dialects this « -i » conjunctive is strengthened by the conjunctive of « √ kar »—« kar-i » (also in Oṛiyā, where it often becomes « kiri », *e.g.*, « dekhi-kiri » *having seen*), « kar », or by a dative postposition « kai̯, kā, kē ». The « -i » conjunctive features in other NIA. : the « -i » is sometimes dropped (as in Awadhī and Hindōstānī), but generally it is reinforced by « kari, kar » or by some post-position.

So far as Bengali is concerned, we have thus these forms : « -i ; -i-ā ; -i-ā » ; and connected with the last is S.-E. Bengali « -i-nē, -iā-nē ; -i-nåï, -iā-nåï », and Oṛiyā « -iṇå ».

In the Māl Pāhāṛiā dialect of Western Bengali (Santal Parganas), the word হেনক « hĕnâkə̂ » is added to the conjunctive, which sometimes retains the nasalisation characterising this West Rāḍha speech : *e.g.*, গুটিয়াঁই হেনক « guṭiyā̃i hĕnâkə̂ » *having collected*, উঠি-হেনক « uṭhi-hĕnâkə̂ » *having risen*, গঁয়ে-হেনক « gā̃yē-hĕnâkə̂ » *having gone*, আসি-হেনক « āsi-hĕnâkə̂ » *having come*, etc. (LSI., V, I, pp. 99, 100). This word « hĕnâkə̂ » occurs also with the noun : *e.g.*, চাল্‌চলন-হেনক « cālə̂-câlânə̂-hĕnâkə̂ » *following (bad) ways, through bad ways.* This « hĕnâkə̂ » is obscure, but it may be a verbal noun from « √hâ—hââ̂nə̂ » (= Standard Bengali হওন « hâōnə̂ ») put in the dative and used postpositionally (cf. the change of « √kâr » to « √ kēr » in the same dialect). In any case, the conjunctive with « hĕnâkə̂ » stands apart in Bengali dialects.

738. The conjunctive has always had a most important place in the history of IA., and in giving this place to this form in IA., Dravidian influences seem to have something to do. In the Vedic speech, the conjunctive is formed by « -tví, -tvā́, -tvā́ya », which are old cases of a verbal noun stem in « -tu » (this « -tu » also figures, in the accusative and dative « -tum » and « -tavē », as infinitive affixes in OIA.), and by « -yā, -yă (-t-yā, -t-ya) » (Whitney, 'Sanskrit Grammar,' §§ 989 ff.). The « -tví, -tvā́, -tvā́ya » group occurs with the root not compounded with a preposition, adverb or substantive, and the « -(t)yā, -(t)ya » group occurs with the root when it is so compounded : but this rule was not adhered to in many early Skt. works (Whitney, 'Sanskrit Grammar,' § 990, 2), and was entirely ignored in MIA., no discrimination along that line being made in their use. In addition to these affixes, it can be assumed, from the statements of grammarians (*e.g.*, Pāṇini, VII, i, 48) and from the forms actually in use in Early MIA. (Pali, Aśōkan Prakrits), that other ones—« -tvī-nam » and « -tvā-nam », and probably also « tū-nam » —were also in use in OIA., although they have not been found in Vedic and Skt. literature. In Early MIA., the affixes employed are : (Pali) « -tvā, -tvāna, -tūna, -ya » (the last often assimilated with preceding consonants), « -iya » (with a developed « -i- », from the preceding one), and « -yā-na, -iyā-na » (a comparatively rare form, with « -na » added to « -ya », or « -yā », by analogy of « -tvā :

-tvā-na » : cf. W. Geiger, 'Pali Grammatik,' §§ 208 ff.), as well as « -tuṁ » of the infinitive (in a few rare cases: E. Müller, 'Pali Grammar,' p. 128); and (Asōkan) « -tpā < -tvā », « -ti = -tti < -tvī », « -tunaṁ », « -ya, -tya » (assimilated), besides « -tu » (= « tuṁ » of the OIA. infinitive, transferred to the conjunctive: cf. A. C. Woolner, 'Asoka Inscriptions, Text and Glossary,' Calcutta, 1924, I, p. xxxvii). In Second MIA. the forms employed or noted are: « -tvā > -ttā, -tā (after nasals) »; « -tvā > * -tu(v)ā > -dua »; « -tvānam > -ttāṇaṁ »; « -tvānam > * -tuvāṇaṁ > -tuāṇaṁ »; « -tūṇa(ṁ) > -dūṇa > -ūṇa(ṁ) »; « -tvī > -ppi, -pi, -vi »; « -tvīnam > -ppiṇu, -piṇu, -viṇu »; « -tya > -cca »; « -ya > -ia » (also assimilated forms); and also « -(i)yāṇa(ṁ) », like the Pali « -(i)yāna »; and through a blend of « -tvā » and « -tyā, -tya », there is « -ccā », and through contamination with « -tvāṇa(ṁ) > -ttāṇa(ṁ) » and « -yā > -yāṇaṁ », there arose also the further extended form « -ccāṇa, -ccāṇaṁ »; besides, there is « -āē » (< OIA. -āva), as well as « -ya > -ia > -i » as in Apabhraṅśa (Pischel, 'Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen,' §§ 581-594). And in addition to all these, a form « -dāṇi » is given by Vararuci (X, 16) for Māgadhī (this « -dāṇi » is probably for « -ttāna », with « -d- » on the analogy of « -dūṇa < -tūna »).

Of all these forms found in Second MIA. through the whole of the Indo-Aryan tract, the employ of particular ones in different parts of the country can roughly be noted. The « -tvī(naṁ) > -ppi(ṇu), -vi(ṇu) » form occurred in the Gujarātī-Rājasthānī area (cf. H. Jacobi, 'Bhavisatta-kaha,' p. 42; 'Sanatkumāra-carita,' p. 18; Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 131, 1). The « -tūna > -dūṇa > -ūṇa » affix was current in Mahārāṣṭrī (but the Modern Marāṭhī « -ūn » for the conjunctive, with the dental « -n- », does not represent the Mahārāṣṭrī « -ūṇa », but is another form, « -ō-n-i, -au-n-i » in Early Marāṭhī, of nominal origin, in which « -n-i » is a post-position: cf. Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' pp. 261-262). The affix which seems to have been commonly employed in the North-East, in the Midland, and in the North-West, and also in the South-West, in the Late MIA. period, was « -ya > -ia, -i », and probably also « -ī ». The MB., Oṛiyā, Assamese, Bihārī, as well as Eastern Hindī and Western Hindī « -i » is

obviously derived from it: also the OB. strengthened form « -ī » ; and « -ia » occurs also as an archaic literary form in OB. It also seems very probable that the extended form of « -ya », namely, « -iyāna, -(i)yāṇa(ṁ) » (as in Pali and Ardha-māgadhī, the latter an eastern speech : Pischel, § 592) was current in the form of Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa prevailing in Bengal : and this « -(i)yāṇa (ṁ) » can easily give the dialectal Bengali ইয়াঁ « -iyā̃ », ইঞা « -iñā̃ »: cf. MIA. « tāṇa(ṁ) » > তাঁ « tā̃ », « tēṇa(ṁ) » > তেঁ « tē̃ » (*supra*, p. 373). In S.-E. Bengali, the nasal could well be preserved (cf. East Bengali তান « tān̐ » honorific genitive < « tāṇa[ṁ] = tēṣām »); and this « -iyāṇa(ṁ) » form (of which « *-iṇa, - ina » is evidently a contraction), looking like a verbal noun, was put in the locative in Chittagong Bengali and in Chakma (-iyān-ē, -in-aï). Cf. the use of « -mi » in Haijong: দেখিয়ামি « dēkhiyā-mi » *having seen*, etc. (*supra*, pp. 751, 775). We cannot postulate any post-positional form « -inai » for the S.-E. Bengali (like the suffix in Gujarātī « karī-nē » *having done*, « thaī-nē » *having been*): such a post-position (« -nai < kaṇṇahī- < karṇa- »: Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 131, § 71) is unknown to Bengali. The Oṛiyā « -i-ṇa » is simply by analogical addition of the « -ṇa » to the « -i » form : MIA. « *calia, caliyāṇa(ṁ) » probably gave rise to a similar juxtaposition in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa « cali, caliṇa(ṁ) ». The Bengali strong form, and the most characteristic one, *viz.*, « -iā, -iyā » is apparently the « -i » form fortified either with the definitive « -ā » or with the « -ā » from « -iyāṇa(ṁ) > -iā̃ ».

739. Tessitori derived the Gujarātī conjunctive in « -ī » (as in « cālī-nē » *having walked*, « mārī-nē » *having struck*) from the passive participle in « -ia » (nom. « -iu », locative « -ii », whence « -ī »), rather than from the Apabhraṅśa absolutive in « -i » ('Grammar of OWR.,' § 131). This is quite likely, and the use of the postpositional affixes is indeed a strong support. It is even probable that in the North Indian languages, where the conjunctive has been fortified by a postposition (like « kē » in Hindōstānī), the passive participle form had exerted some influence. But « OIA. *cal-ya > calia > calī, cali > NIA. cali, cal » is a perfectly normal development. And even the OB. form in « -ī », « cāpī » *having pressed*, etc., can represent a MIA. « -ia »: it can be well surmised

that in some dialects of Apabhraṅśa, Se3ond MIA. « -ia » became « -ī » in the NIA. (cf. *supra*, 'Phonology,' pp. 302-303, 307), side by side with « -i » by simple dropping off the « -a » in this most commonly used affix.

740. The lavish use of the conjunctive is a noteworthy characteristic of Bengali, as of other NIA. speeches. Tibeto-Burman (Boḍo) influence has been suggested in this connexion (J. D. Anderson, 'The Origin of Bengali,' JRAS., 1911, p. 524). Dravidian influence is equally likely, or perhaps likely to a greater extent, from MIA. times (see *supra*, p. 175). For NIA., this is a characteristic inherited from MIA. There is nothing unnatural in a Bengali sentence like ভোরে উঠে, স্নান সেরে চারটি খেয়ে নিয়ে, জিনিষগুলো সঙ্গে বেঁধে নিয়ে গাড়ীতে চড়িয়ে দিয়ে, পথে তার বাড়ী হ'য়ে তাকে তুলে নিয়ে, সময় থাক্‌তে ষ্টেশনে পৌঁছে টিকিট ক'রে আটটার গাড়ী ধ'রে চ'লে যেও « bhōrē uṭhē, snāna̸ sērē cār-ṭī khēyē-niyē, jinisa̸-gulō såŋgē bẽdhē-niyē gāṛī-tē cåṛiyē-diyē, påthē tāra̸ bāṛī hå'yē tā'kē tulē niyē, såmåya̸ thāktē ṣṭēśånē pãuchē, ṭikiṭ kå'rē āṭ-ṭā-ra̸ gāṛī dhå'rē cå'lē jēō » (with 15 conjunctives and only one finite verb) = *get up early, finish your bath, have some breakf.st (of rice, etc.), bind up the articles and take them with you, put them down on the top of the cab, go to his house on the way and pick him up, arrive at the station in time, buy your ticket and catch the 8 o'clock train and leave*: and such « -iyā > -ē » sentences have their prototype in MIA. —in Pali and in Classical Sanskrit : *e.g.*, Pali, « cōrā kujjhitvā,...tiṇhēna asinā brāhmaṇaṁ dvidhā chinditvā, maggē chaḍḍētvā, vēgēna anubandhitvā, tēhi cōrēhi saddhiṁ yujjhitvā, tē sabbē pi mārētvā, dhanam ādāya puna dvē kōṭṭhāsā hutvā, aññamaññam yujjhitvā, aḍḍhatiyāni purisa-satāni ghātētvā, ētēna upāyēna yāva dvē janā avasiṭṭhā ahēsuṁ tāva aññamaññam ghātayiṁsu » (Vēdabbha Jātaka); and Sanskrit, « atha sa brāhmaṇas tam paśuṁ rākṣasam matvā bhayād bhūmāu nikṣipya dā vaṁ nirbhartsya gṛham uddiśya prasthitaḥ », or « sa duṣṭāśayō bakaḥ kramēṇa tān pṛṣṭham ārōpya jalāśayasya nātidūrē śilāṁ samāsādya tasyām ākṣipya svēcchayā bhakṣayitvā bhūyō' pi jalāśayam samāsādya jalacarāṇām mithyā-vārttā-sandēśāiḥ manāṁsi rañjayann (= rañjayitvā) āhāra-vṛttim akarōt » (Pañca-tantra).

741. The conjunctive in « -iyā » is frequently used as an adverbial gerundive: it is either repeated, or is used singly: in the latter case, generally it is of similar meaning with the finite verb modified by it, and the two form a compound verb: *e.g.*, কান্দিয়া কান্দিয়া রাণী আইল বাহিরে « kāndiyā kāndiyā rānī āïlå bāhirē » *the queen came out weeping* (Kṛttivāsa, 'Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa,' p. 20); কষিয়া বাঁধা « kåṣiyā bãdhā » *to bind tight*; টানিয়া ধরা « ṭāniyā dhårā » *to hold tight*; চুটিয়ে বলা « cuṭiyē bålā » *to speak fully, not to mince matters* (colloquial); চাপিয়া বসা « cāpiyā båsā » *to sit heavy*; হাঁটিয়া > হেঁটে চলো « hãṭiyā > hẽṭē cålō » *walk quick!*; চ'লে এসো « cå'lē ēsō » *come quick!* (see *infra*, under 'Compound Verbs.')

742. Occasionally in MB. we find « -å » for the « -i » of the conjunctive: *e.g.*, ŚKK., p. 348, পরিধান কর নেত বাসে » påridhānå kårå nētå bāsē » *having put on a fine garment*; p. 361, কেহে সর জাইতে মোকে বোল « kēnhē sårå jāïtē mōkē bōlå » *why do you ask me to move away?*; VSP., p. 860, চরণ পাখাল আসুন মহাশয় « cåråṇå pākhālå āsunå måhāśåyå » *please go wash your feet, sir* (lit. *come after having washed*). Cases like these do not demonstrate the presence of a form in « -å » in MB., either a verbal noun, or due to the loss of « -i », for the conjunctive: these are simply due to scribe's mistakes for করি, সরি, পাখালি, etc. In Caryā 27: « adha-rāti bhara kamala bikasiu » *through half the night the lotus blossomed*, where « bhara » may be for « bhari », as in other NIA. speeches, or it may be regarded as the second part of an adverbial compound « adha-rāti-bhara » (see *supra*, p. 702).

[K] VERBAL NOUNS, AND THE INFINITIVE IN ইতে « -ITE »

743. The following are the forms for the Verbal Noun in Bengali:

(1) the অন « -ånå » noun, with extensions of the affix as অনা, না « -ånā, -nā » and অনী, উনী, নী « -ånī, -unī, -nī »;

(2) the অ « -å, -å » nouns, with an extension ঈ, ই « -ī, -i »

(3) the ই « -i » nouns;

(4) the nouns in আ « -ā » from the simple passive participle;

(5) the nouns in ইল « -il- » from the « -il- » passive participle;

(6) the nouns in ইব « -ib- » from the future passive participle.

744. (1) This group of affixes has been discussed before ('Formative Affixes, No. 5, 5a, 5b,' pp. 656-658, *supra*). It is one of the most widely used forms from OB. times. Instances from the Caryās: « (2) dharaṇa; (22) maraṇa; (36) cēaṇa, bēaṇa (< cētana, vēdana); (46) phuḍaana = phuḍaṇa (sphuṭana) »; MB. examples are copious. The extended « -ā » form is also found in the Caryās: *e.g.*, (21) « jēṇa tuṭaa (= tuṭaï, tuṭaï = trutyati) avaṇā-gavaṇā (= āgamana-gamana) »; cf. also (7) « avaṇā-gavaṇē Kāṇhu bimana bhaïïā (= bhaïlā) » *K. has become sad at this coming and going* (= saṁsāra): this « avanā-gavaṇā », or « *āvanā-gavaṇā » of OB. has given the NB. আনাগোনা « ānā-gōnā ».

In Hindōstānī the « -nā » affix (= « -nau » in Braj-bhākhā, « -nō » in other W. Hindī dialects), same as the Bengali অনা « -anā », is used as, the infinitive: also its equivalent « -ṇā » in Panjābī.

745. (2) This is a verbal noun in অ « -å » which is quiescent, but which is traceable only in roots ending in a consonant (see *supra*, pp. 895-896). Thus, NB. বোল « bōlå » *speech*, eMB. (ŚKK.) « bōl-å », OB. (Caryā 4) « bōl-å », MIA. « bŏll-å » (cf. Suffix No. 1, p. 652). There was a feminine (diminutive) extension of this by « -i » < « -ī < -ia » < « -ikā » (see *supra*, Suffix No. 24, pp. 672 ff.): thus, NB. and MB. বুলি, বুলী « bul-i, bul-ī » *speech*, OB. (Caryā 41) « bōl-ī », MIA. « *bŏlliā < bŏlliā »; so ফেরি, ফিরি as in ফিরি করা « phēri, phiri kårā » *to hawk goods*, মুড়ি as in মুড়ি দিল « muṛi dilå » *covered* (*oneself*) *up* (< *gave a covering up*), etc.

This verbal noun affix (-å, -å), and the next one (-i), have become much confused in Bengali (in the Standard Colloquial), owing to the formative affix being dropped in each case: but it is still possible to distinguish the latter by the presence of the epenthetic « -i » in the dialectal forms of words which originally had it.

746. (3) The verbal nouns in ই « -i » form a much larger class, but the affix is now no more a living one (see *supra*, Suffix No. 25, p. 674). The verbal noun in « -i » is known to Maithilī, *e.g.*, « dekhī, dēkh » (Grierson, 'Maithilī Grammar,' p. 109); and it seems that it is used to form the compound tenses like « dēkhai-chī » *I am seeing, I see*

(« dēkhai » = oblique of « dēkhī »), « dēkhai-achī, dēkhaïchī, dēkhaïch » *he sees*, etc. It seems to occur in the other Bihārī speeches—« dēkh = * dēkhi », oblique « dēkhē ».

747. The Infinitive in Bengali appears to be the Verbal Noun (3) put in the locative. The Infinitive proper in Bengali has the characteristic affix ইতে « -itē » (in the Standard Colloquial reduced to তে « -tē » with mutation of preceding vowel) : *e.g.*, করিতে, চলিতে, খাইতে « kȧr-itē, cȧl-itē, khā-ïtē » *to do, to go, to walk.* This « -itē » of course is entirely different from the present participle affix « -itē » (*ante*, p. 999). The « -itē » of Bengali is best explained as the old verbal noun in « -i », *plus* the locative affix « -tē », dialectally « -t » as in Chittagong. The formation seems to a new one in Bengali. Thus, আমাকে যাইতে হইবে « āmākē jāïtē hȧibē » *I shall have to go, I must go* (lit. *with-reference-to-me in-the-act-of-going* i.e. *to-go it-will-be*) ; সে চলিতে পারে « sē cȧlitē pārē » *he can walk* (= *he in-the-act-of-walking is-able*) ; করিতে লাগিল « kȧritē lāgilȧ » *began to give*, দিতে চাহিল « ditē cāhilȧ » *wanted to give* (but দিতে দিতে চাহিল « ditē ditē cāhilȧ » *wanted* [or *gazed*] *while giving*) ; যাইতে দাও « jāïtē dāo » *let go.* The « -itē » form is used with roots like চাহ্ « cāh » *to want, to look at*, হ « hȧ » *to be*, দে « dē » *to give, to allow*, পার « pār » *to be able*, যা « jā » *to go*, to denote Acquisitives, Permissives, Desideratives and Gerundives (see below, under 'Compound Verbs'). In other NIA. speeches, a verbal noun is also used : *e.g.*, « mōtē jibāku hēbȧ » *I shall have to go*, besides « jāï hēbȧ », where « jāï » is certainly a verbal noun in the locative ; Bhōjpuriyā « bahē lāgal », Maithilī « bahē, bahai laglāh » *began* (plural or honorific) *to blow* ; Assamese « bȧbȧ-lȧi dhȧrē » *blows* ; Early Awadhī « lagē parōsana nipuna suārā » *clever cooks began to serve* (Tulasī-dāsa, 'Rāma-carita-mānasa') ; W. Hindī « bolnē lagā » *began to say*, « jānē dō » *let go*, « khānē hōgā » *will have to eat*, etc., etc. Cf. the use of the « -ibȧ- » noun in OB. and MB. (below, pp. 1017-1018). For the use of a verbal noun form in a similar construction in OWR., see Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' §§ 132, 134.

There is in Ardha-māgadhī an infinitive in « -(i)ttaē » (cf. Pischel, § 578) : « pucchittaē » *to ask*, « sumarittaē » *to remember*, « tarittaē »

to cross, etc. This could easily give the Bengali **ইতে** « -itē », through a Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa form « *-ittaï » (this form « -ittaē », attested from Ardha-māgadhī, could very well have occurred in Māgadhī Prakrit also) But it is not likely that this has been preserved in Bengali. The « -itē » form does not occur in any other Magadhan language. The Standard Bengali « -i-tē » has a dialectal form « -i-tạ́ », where the « -tạ́ » is obviously the locative « -tạ́ », and this « -i-tạ́ » cannot represent the MIA. « -ittaē »—the loss of two final syllables would be an insurmountable difficulty. The evidence in favour of a later, nominal origin of « -i-tē » as a locative form is exceedingly strong, not only from Bengali itself (with its use of the « -iba » noun), but also from other cognate speeches.

The OIA. infinitive affixes were « -tum, -i-tum » and « -(i)tavē », respectively the accusative and dative forms of the verbal noun in « -(i)tu ». They are preserved in Pali as « -(i)tuṁ, -(i)tavē », and in Asokan as « -(i)tuṁ » which passed on to the conjunctive in some dialects (cf. A. C. Woolner, 'Asokan Text and Glossary,' I, p. xxxvii), but it remained in Second MIA. as an Infinitive as « -(i)ḍuṁ, -(i)uṁ » (Pischel, § 573 ff.). This affix is not preserved in NIA. and neither is « -(i)tavē », which seems to have fallen into disuse in Second MIA. itself (unless « -ittaē » is its form in Second MIA., as Pischel thinks with E. Müller, 'Grammatik der Prakrit-sprachen,' § 578).

The « -itē » Infinitive is liable to be confused with the « -itē » Present Participle, and it is at times difficult to decide which form it really is: *e.g.*, তাহাকে যাইতে দেখিলাম « tāhākē jāïtē dēkhilām » *I saw him going*, where « jāïtē » may be equally the Present Participle = (*while going*, or the Verbal Noun locative = *in the act of going*. (See *infra*, under 'Periphrastic Tenses.') In Chittagong Bengali, this verbal noun has become so much confused with the participle that by contamination it takes personal affixes: *e.g.*, আঁই যাইতাম লাগ্গিলাম « ãi jāïtām lāggilām » *I began to go*, তুঁই যাইতা লাগ্গিলা « tũi jāïtā lāggilā » *you began to go*, হিতে যাইতা লাগ্গিল « hitē jāïtạ́ lāggilạ́ » *he began to go*, (Basanta Kumār Chatterji, VSPdP., 1326, p. 114); Noakhali dialect,

খাবাইতা লাইগ্‌জ « khābāitā laïg-ja [laigzɔ] » *to feed you have begun* = Standard Bengali খাওয়াইতে লাগিয়াছ « khāwā-itē lāgiyāchā » (LSI., V, I, p. 309). The « itē » also figures in Chittagong as ইতু « -itu » *e.g.*, য ইতু লাইল [zaitu lail] *began to go* (=Standard « jāïtē lāgilā »), where the « -u » seems to be for « -ō » < « -ā », by confusion with the present participle bāse in « -it-ā ».

748. (4) The passive participle in « -ta, -ita » can be used as a noun of action in Skt. and in Pkt. : *e.g.*, « na bahunā śrutēna ; tasya gatâgatam kō ' pi na jānāti ; nṛtyād asya sthitam manōharam ; mahā-svanāir dundubhi-nāditāiś ca ; madhuraṁ hasitam, madhuram aśitam, madhuraṁ calitam madhuraṁ ramitam ; madhuraṁ tassa bhāsitaṁ ; ēkassa caritaṁ seyyō ; katañ ca sukataṁ seyyō ; sucaritañ carē ; avakidē viśumalēdi (= apakṛtam vismarati) » ; etc. The passive participle in « -(i) ta » > « -(i)a » obtained the definitive « -ā » in OB., and from that resulted the Bengali verbal noun as well as passive participle in « -ā » (see *supra*, ' Formative Affixes, No. 7,' p. 660 ; also non l passive participle form, *supra*, p. 944). The « -ā » form occurs in Assamese : *e.g.*, « jowā » [zowa] *going*, « śōwā » [xowa] *sleeping*, « kàrā » *doing*, etc. It is found in Oṛiyā : *e.g.*, « dēkhā » *sight, seeing*, « jāṇā » *knowing*, etc. It does not occur in the Bihārī dialects and in Eastern Hindī. But in the Hindōstānī passive participle formation (*e.g.*, in expressions like « kiyā-karnā, jāyā-karnā, dēkhā- cāhnā », compound verbs) the form is really a verbal noun.

In MB., the « -ā » verbal noun is not so prominent, nouns in « -ibā » and « -ānā » being more popular : but its occurrence is not rare. Thus, VSP., p. 68, বান্ধা নিছে « bāndhā nichē » *taken in pledge* ; p. 83, চিনা পুছা « cinā puchā » *recognising and enquiring* ; p. 123, দিয়া নাড়া দেই তাড়া « diyā nāṛā dēi tāṛā » *gives a shake, and then drives away* ; elsewhere MB. and NB. লেখা জোখা « lēkhā-jōkhā » *writing and computing*, নাচা « nācā » *dancing*, কেনাবেচা « kēnā-bēcā » *buying and selling*, রাঁধাবাড়া « rādhā-bāṛā » *cooking and serving*, etc., etc.

The Bengali « -ā » form has been derived by some from the verbal noun in ইবা « -ibā » : « càlibā > * càliwā > * càlwā > càlā ; khāïbā > * khāïwā > khāwā » (cf. ' Prabāsī' for Aṣāḍha, 1324, p. 264). But this line of

derivation is inadmissible: the MIA. « -bb- » results in « -b- » in Bengali, whereas a form like « khāwā » can be written and pronounced « khāā », and the « w̃ » there is euphonic only (see *supra*, pp. 338-342, 533). To derive « khāā » from « khāïbā » would be to postulate the entire loss of a MIA. double consonant group in a NIA. language—a phonological development not found in the Bengali Standard Dialect: and the « -ā » form is a Standard Dialect form. It would indeed be difficult for the same form to occur as « -ibā » and as « -ā » side by side in the same dialect and at the same time.

749. (5) The verbal noun in ইল « -ilȧ » is now obsolete in Bengali, but it occurred in Early Bengali, though not very commonly. The verbal form in « -ilȧ- » in the locative figures partly as the absolutive conjunctive (in « -ilē »), for which see *supra*, p. 1004. It occurs also in Assamese and Early Oṛiyā. In the Bihārī dialects its equivalent, the « -al » verbal noun, is exceedingly common. It figures also in Marāṭhī. Examples in Bengali: OB.: « bhēlā bihani » (Caryā 23) = হইলে বিহনে (বিনে, বিনা) « hȧïlē bihȧnē (binē, binā) » *without having been*; MB.: ŚKK., p. 249, বিনি যাচিলেঁ « bini jācilẽ » *without asking*; Vaṅśī-dāsa's 'Padmā-purāṇa,' p. 435, হারাইলা হেনা বাসি « hārāïlā hēnȧ bāsi » *I regard it as lost = as a loss*; তুমি জনমিলা হতে « tumi jȧnȧmilā-hȧtē » *from your birth*; 'Caitanya-Bhāgavata,' p. 71, তুমি দিলে বিনা « tumi dilē binā » *without your giving*; etc., etc. Cf. Oṛiyā, 15th century Inscription of Puruṣottama-dēva at Puri Temple (see *supra*, p. 107): « hȧrilā-dōṣȧ » *sin of robbery*, « kȧlā » *doing*, genitive « kȧlā-rȧ »; Early Assamese, 'Ādi-caritra,' p. 72, « Śȧŋkȧrē dēkhāïlȧ cāhilȧ » *wanted to show Śaṅkara*; Modern Assamese « bul-il-ȧt » *on having said*.

For Bihārī, cf. Grierson, 'Maithilī Grammar,' § 183; for Marāṭhī, see LSI., VII, pp. 27, 31.

750. (6) The verbal noun in ইব « -ibȧ » is from the same source as the future base. This form occurs in all Magadhan languages: it is regularly declined like any other verbal noun, although in NB., its employ has been restricted to the base ইবা « -ibā » (combined with মাত্র « mātra » to form an adverb—*e.g.*, বলিবামাত্র « bȧlibā-mātrȧ » *immediately*

খাবাইতা লাইগ্‌জ « khābāitā laïg-ja [laigzɔ] » *to feed you have begun* = Standard Bengali খাওয়াইতে লাগিয়াছ « khāwā-itē lāgiyāchā » (LSI., V, I, p. 309). The « itē » also figures in Chittagong as ইতু « -itu » *e.g.*, য ইতু লাইল [zaitu lail] *began to go* (=Standard « jāïtē lāgilā »), where the « -u » seems to be for « -ō » < « -ā », by confusion with the present participle base in « -it-ā ».

748. -(4) The passive participle in « -ta, -ita » can be used as a noun of action in Skt. and in Pkt.: *e.g.*, « na bahunā śrutēna; tasya gatâgatam kō ' pi na jānāti; nṛtyād asya sthitam manōharam; mahāsvanāir dundubhi-nāditāiś ca; madhuraṁ hasitam, madhuram aśitam, madhuraṁ calitam madhuraṁ ramitam; madhuraṁ tassa bhāsitaṁ; ēkassa caritaṁ seyyō; kataṅ ca sukataṁ seyyō; sucaritaṅ carē; avakidē viśumalēdi (= apakṛtam vismarati) »; etc. The passive participle in « -(i) ta » > « -(i)a » obtained the definitive « -ā » in OB., and from that resulted the Bengali verbal noun as well as passive participle in « -ā » (see *supra*, ' Formative Affixes, No. 7,' p. 660; also non 1 passive participle form, *supra*, p. 944). The « -ā » form occurs in Assamese: *e.g.*, « jowā » [zowa] *going*, « śōwā » [xowa] *sleeping*, « kârā » *doing*, etc. It is found in Oṛiyā: *e.g.*, « dēkhā » *sight, seeing*, « jāṇā » *knowing*, etc. It does not occur in the Bihārī dialects and in Eastern Hindī. But in the Hindōstānī passive participle formation (*e.g.*, in expressions like « kiyā-karnā, jāyā-karnā, dēkhā- cāhnā », compound verbs) the form is really a verbal noun.

In MB., the « -ā » verbal noun is not so prominent, nouns in « -ibā » and « -ānā » being more popular: but its occurrence is not rare. Thus, VSP., p. 68, বান্ধা নিছে « bāndhā nichē » *taken in pledge*; p. 83, চিনা পুছা « cinā puchā » *recognising and enquiring*; p. 123, দিয়া নাড়া দেই তাড়া « diyā nāṛā dēi tāṛā » *gives a shake, and then drives away*; elsewhere MB. and NB. লেখা জোখা « lēkhā-jōkhā » *writing and computing*, নাচা « nācā » *dancing*, কেনাবেচা « kēnā-bēcā » *buying and selling*, রাঁধাবাড়া « rādhā-bāṛā » *cooking and serving*, etc., etc.

The Bengali « -ā » form has been derived by some from the verbal noun in ইবা « -ibā »: « câlibā > * câliwā > * câlwā > câlā; khāïbā > * khāïwā > khāwā » (cf. ' Prabāsī' for Aṣāḍha, 1324, p. 264). But this line of

derivation is inadmissible : the MIA. « -bb- » results in « -b- » in Bengali, whereas a form like « khāwā » can be written and pronounced « khāā », and the « ẇ » there is euphonic only (see *supra*, pp. 338-342, 533). To derive « khāā » from « khāïbā » would be to postulate the entire loss of a MIA. double consonant group in a NIA. language—a phonological development not found in the Bengali Standard Dialect : and the « -ā » form is a Standard Dialect form. It would indeed be difficult for the same form to occur as « -ibā » and as « -ā » side by side in the same dialect and at the same time.

749. (5) The verbal noun in ইল « -ilâ » is now obsolete in Bengali, but it occurred in Early Bengali, though not very commonly. The verbal form in « -ilâ- » in the locative figures partly as the absolutive conjunctive (in « -ilē »), for which see *supra*, p. 1004. It occurs also in Assamese and Early Oṛiyā. In the Bihārī dialects its equivalent, the « -al » verbal noun, is exceedingly common. It figures also in Marāṭhī. Examples in Bengali : OB. : « bhēlā bihani » (Caryā 23) = হইলে বিহনে (বিনে, বিনা) « hâïlē bihânē (binē, binā) » *without having been* ; MB. : ŚKK., p. 249, বিনি যাচিলেঁ « bini jācilẽ » *without asking* ; Vanśī-dāsa's 'Padmā-purāṇa,' p. 435, হারাইলা হেনা বাসি « hārāïlā hēnâ bāsi » *I regard it as lost = as a loss* ; তুমি জনমিলা হতে « tumi jânâmilā-hâtē » *from your birth* ; 'Caitanya-Bhāgavata,' p. 71, তুমি দিলে বিনা « tumi dilē binā » *without your giving* ; etc., etc. Cf. Oṛiyā, 15th century Inscription of Purusottama-dēva at Puri Temple (see *supra*, p. 107) : « hârilā-dōṣâ » *sin of robbery*, « kâlā » *doing*, genitive « kâlā-râ » ; Early Assamese, 'Ādi-caritra,' p. 72, « Śâŋkârē dēkhāïlâ cāhilâ » *wanted to show Śaṅkara* ; Modern Assamese « bul-il-ât » *on having said.*

For Bihārī, cf. Grierson, 'Maithilī Grammar,' § 183 ; for Marāṭhī, see LSI., VII, pp. 27, 31.

750. (6) The verbal noun in ইব « -ibâ » is from the same source as the future base. This form occurs in all Magadhan languages : it is regularly declined like any other verbal noun, although in NB., its employ has been restricted to the base ইবা « -ibā » (combined with মাত্র « mātra » to form an adverb—*e.g.*, বলিবামাত্র « bâlibā-mātrâ » *immediately*

after speaking, দেখিবামাত্র « dēkhibā-mātrå » *on seeing*, etc.) and the genitive ইবা-র « -ibā-rå » (*e.g.*, দিবার « dibā-rå » *for giving*; ইবা « -ibā » itself may represent an old genitive form: see *supra*, p. 752). Thus, OB. (Caryā 8) « bāhaba-kẽ (=bāhiba-kẽ) pāraa (=pāraï) » *is able to row*, = MB. বাহিবারে পারে « bāhibārē pārē »; eMB. (ŚKK.), p. 3, মানুষ নিয়োজিল মারিবাক তাএ « mānuṣå niyōjilå māribā-kå tāē » *employed a man to kill him*; p. 200, ফুল তুলিবাক তরেঁ « phulå tulibā-kå tårẽ » *with a view to pluck flowers*; p. 395, হাঠীবাক « hāṭhībā-kå » *to walk*, etc.; 'Caitanya Bhāgavata,' p. 11, মথুরা দেখিব করি « Måthurā dēkhibå kåri » *for to see Mathurā*; Vaṅśī-dāsa's 'Padmā-purana,' p. 108, আছে আছিবার মত নদীয়া নগর « āchē āchibārå måtå Nådīyā-någårå » *there is the city of Nadiyā (if at all a town were) to exist*; p. 165, লাগে বলিবার « lågē bålibārå » *begins to say*; p. 473, আছুক ছুইব আরে « āchu-kå chuibå ārē » *ah, let alone merely touching*; p. 592, দেখাইব করি « dēkhāïbå kåri » *with a view to show*; p. 608, দিবা করি « dibā kåri » *with a view to give*; VSP., p. 609, ভূমিতে টালিব করি « bhūmitē ṭālibå kåri » *with a view to throw on the ground*; p. 620, মারিবার মোক « māribārå mōkå » *to kill me*; etc., etc. The « -ib- » form is much used in North Bengal. The present progressive tense is formed in Assamese with the verbal noun in « -iba »: *e.g.*, « kåribå-låi dhårē » *is doing*. In Assamese, the « -iba » noun is fully declined: *e.g.*, « kåribå, kåribå-r, kåribå-låi, kåribå-t »; so in Oṛiyā: « kåribā, kåribā-ku, kåribā-rå, kåribā-ru », etc.; also in the Bihārī dialects, *e.g.*, Maithilī « karab, karăbā-k, karăb-ẽ, karăbā-sā̃, karăbā-mẽ ». The use of the « -(i)tavya » form as a verbal noun is found in other NIA., like E. Hindī, *e.g.*, « calab, karab »; W. Hindī, *e.g.*, Brajbhākhā « calibaŭ, karibaŭ », oblique « calibē, karibē »; Rājasthānī (Mārwāṛī), *e.g.*, « mărabō, caḷabō »; Gujarātī, *e.g.*, « mārvũ, cālvũ »; and Marāṭhī, *e.g.*, « uṭhāvayā-, māravayā- », etc. In most of these (*e.g.*, E. Hindi, Brajbhākhā, Rājasthānī, Gujarātī) this form is used as an infinitive.

751. Relative Participle Adjectives are formed in Oṛiyā and in the Bihārī dialects with the past and future passive participles used adjectivally: *e.g.*, Oṛiyā « mu-dēbā dhånå » *money that is to be given by me*, « mu-kålā kāmå » *work that was done by me* = Bihārī « hamar kail kām ». The « -ib-, -il- » forms are not used in Bengali as adjectives for this purpose.

The past participle in « -ā » is so used, to denote the past relative idea: *e.g.*, আমার পরা কাপড় « āmār‿ pårā kāpåṛ‿ » *cloth* (*dhōtī*) *worn by me*, তার করা কাজ « tār‿ kårā kāj‿ » *work done by him*: the employ of the « -il- » form is unknown. The « -ib- » verbal noun is used in the genitive, beside the verbal nouns in « -ā » and in « -ån‿ », to indicate the present or future relative participial idea: *e.g.*, আমার পরিবার (পরার, পরনের) কাপড় « āmār‿ påribā-r‿ (pårā-r‿, pårån-ēr‿) kāpår‿ » *'dhōtī' worn by me, to be worn by me*; ভিক্ষা দেবার চা'ল « bhikṣā dēbār‿ cā'l‿ » *rice set apart for giving as alms*; জল খাবার ঘটী « jål‿ khābār‿ ghåṭī » (*water*) *vessel to drink water from*; etc., etc. We have this genitive use of the verbal noun, rather than mere adjectival juxtaposition, from Early Bengali times.

Verbal Nouns of Reciprocity are treated below, under 'Reduplicated Verbs.'

[L] The Compound or Periphrastic Tenses: Progressive and Perfect.

752. The following are the types of these tenses which are found in New Bengali:

(1) চলিতেছে, চলিতেছিল (চলিতে থাকিবে) « cålitēchē, cålitēchilå (cålitē thākibē) » *is walking, was walking* (*will be walking*); করিতেছে, করিতেছিল (করিতে থাকিবে) « kåritēchē, kåritēchilå (kåritē thākibē) » *is doing, was doing* (*will be doing*). This is the typical Progressive Form of Standard Literary Bengali. It is made up of the verbal form in « -itē » *plus* the substantive verb « āch » conjugated and employed as an auxiliary (« āch » for the past, « thāk » for the future). The « ā- » of « āch » is absorbed by the preceding « -ē » of « -itē », but in dialectal Bengali of East Bengal the full forms চলিতে আছে, চলিতে আছিল, করিতে আছে, করিতে আছিল « cålitē, kåritē + āchē, āchilå » etc. still occur.

This progressive form is the recognised one in the « sādhu-bhāṣā », and is found in the Vaṅga dialects: some typical forms may be given [tso(ĭ)ltese, tso(ĭ)ltesilo, ko(ĭ)rtese, ko(ĭ)rtesilo; tso(ĭ)lte ɑse, tso(ĭ)lte ɑsilo, ko(ĭ)rte ɑse, ko(ĭ)rte ɑsilo], also [tsɔltɑse, tsɔltɑsilo; kɔrtɑse, kɔrtɑsilo]. But it is not current in the spoken dialects of Rāḍha (including

the Standard Colloquial of Calcutta and the Bhāgīrathī basin), of Varêndra, and of Kāmarūpa.

(2) A type, which occurs in MB. as a verbal form in ই « -i » *plus* the substantive verb « āch » (contracted to « -ch- »), in the present generally, and rarely in the past. The future with this « -i » form is unknown. Thus, MB. চলিছে, চলিছ « cåli-chē, cåli-chå », করিছে, করিছ « kåri-chē, kåri-chå », চলিছিল « cåli-chila », করিছিল « kåri-chilå ». This form is used in MB. in a vaguely continuative or progressive sense, and also in a perfect sense. With static verbs, it can easily indicate the progressive idea. In NB., the « -i » of « cåli », which underwent epenthesis, is now dropped. It occurs in Assamese (where the « -i- » is retained), generally as a progressive in the present, and always as pluperfect in the past, but the perfect sense for the present form is also found.

This il!-defined tense form of MB. has given the West Bengali (including the Standard Colloquial) present and past *progressive* forms, like চ'ল্‌ছে, চ'ল্‌ছিল, ক'রছে > ক'চ্ছে, ক'র্‌ছিল > ক'চ্ছিল [c͡ʃolc͡ʃ(h)e, c͡ʃolc͡ʃhilo ; korc͡ʃ(h)e, kocc͡ʃ(h)e, korc͡ʃhilo, kocc͡ʃhilo] ; in North Central Bengali and North Bengali, it retains its vague employ, being used both for the present progressive and the present perfect in the present form, and for the simple past or past perfect in the past form, exactly as in Assamese. In the East Bengal dialects, it is used regularly for the *perfect* only, *e.g.*, [t̯solse, t̯solsilo ; korse, korsilo ; t̯sɔlse, t̯sɔlsilo, kɔrse, ˈkɔrsilo] = *has walked, had walked* ; *has done, had done*,—the progressive sense being indicated by the « -itē » form in the East Bengali dialects.

The « -i » form occurs also in Oṛiyā, but here it is definitely perfect, and in the past and future Oṛiyā employs its characteristic root « √tha » : thus « kåri-åchåï, kåri-chåï » *has done*, « kåri-thilā » *had done*, « kåri-thibå » *he will have done.*

(3) A Perfect form made with the passive participle adjective in ইল « -il- » *plus* the substantive verb « āch « (contracted as usual). This is comparatively a rare form, and occurs in West and Central Rāḍha dialects (*e.g.*, হ'ল্‌ছে « hōlå-chē » *has become*, ম'ল্‌ছে « mōlå-chē » *has died*, গেল্‌ছে, গেল্‌ছিল « gēlå-chē, gēl-chilå » *has gone, had gone*, in Murshidabad, Birbhum

etc. ; cf. LSI., V, I, p. 72) ; and also in North Bengali (*e.g.*, আইন্ চে « āïn-cē = āïl-chē » *has come* : LSI., V, I, p. 174) ; and it seems to be confined to intransitive verbs and to denominatives and causatives of denominative origin.

(4) A Perfect form in ইয়া « -iyā » *plus* the substantive verb (« āch » in the present and past, and « thāk » in future) : in the MB., « -iyā », or « -iā », occurs also in the nasalised form « -iñā, -iyā̃, -iā̃ » : thus, MB., and NB. « sādhu-bhāṣā » চলিয়াছে, চলিয়াছিল (চলিয়া থাকিবে) « cåliyāchē, cåliyāchilå (cåliyā thākibē) » *has walked, had walked* (*will have walked*) ; করিয়াছে, করিয়াছিল (করিয়া থাকিবে) « kåriyāchē, kåriyāchilå (kåriyā thakibē) » *has done, had done* (*will have done*) ; MB. (generally in West Bengal), besides the simple « -iyā » form in a variety of spellings, we find also চলিঞাছে, চলিয়াঁছে, করিঞাছে, করিয়াঁছে « cåliñāchē, cåliyā̃chē, kåriñāchē, kåriyā̃chē » etc. This perfect is found in NB., specially in the Rāḍha dialects, with « -iyā » contracted to « -ē, -iyē » and « -iñā, -iyā̃ » to « -ē̃, -iyē̃ » [-ẽ, -iẽ] : *e.g.*, Standard Colloquial চ'লেছে, ক'রেছিল [ʧoleʧ(h)e, koreʧhilo], in other Rāḍha dialects, চলেঁছে, ক'রেঁছিল [ʧolẽʧhe, korẽʧhilo], etc. It occurs also in the Vaŋga dialects, but never with the nasalised form : and it seems there it is less common for the perfect than the « -i » form (No. 3 above). The « -iyā, -iyā̃ » form seems properly not to belong to the dialects of the North, and its presence there is due to literary and other influences. In some cases, this form indicates a static or continuous process also : see *infra*, § 757.

753. The progressive (whether in the « -itē » form or in the « -i » form), as can be plainly seen from MB. literature, is comparatively a late time-idea in the Bengali verb. The progressive does not seem to have been fully established in the language before the 17th century ; and although both the « -itē » and « -i » forms occur in literature of the 15th, their occurrence is but extremely rare and hesitating, in authentic texts, and the « -i » form is found both for the progressive and the perfect. In Early MB., the simple present is used for the progressive. The beginnings of the development of the compound progressive in « -itē » and of the compound indefinite tense in « -i », however, can be taken back to the 14th century : for

already in the ŚKK. we have instances of both : thus, *e.g.*, কালিনীর তীরে বহে মন্দ পবনে। তোহ্মাক চিন্তিতেঁ আছে নান্দের নন্দনে ॥ « Kālinīrȧ tīrē bȧhē mȧndȧ pȧbȧnē : tōmhākȧ cintitē̃ ācħē Nāndērȧ nȧndȧnē » *the gentle breeze is blowing* (lit. *blows*) *by the bank of the Kālindī* (= *Yamunā*) : *the son of Nanda is thinking of you* (p. 202 : here in « cint- » we have not a native Bengali root, but a *ts.* one, as described *supra*, p. 879), and ধিরেঁ ধিরেঁ কাহ্নাঞিঁ মো আইলোঁ। নিকটে। নিহুড়িআঁ চাহোঁ। পাণি লইছে মোকটে ॥ « dhirē̃ dhirē̃ Kānhāñi mō āilō̃ nikȧṭē, nihuṛiā̃ cāhō̃ pāṇi lȧïchē mōkȧṭē » *gently, O Kṛṣṇa, I have come closer : I bend down and look, the water has come up* (or *is coming up ?*) *to the brim* (p. 153). The form লইছে « lȧï-chē » would show that it was an old one, some time having elapsed for the fuller « lȧï+āchē » to be so contracted. The « -itē » form for the progressive is thus certainly found in West Bengali of the ŚKK., but it is most curious that it would not be used in the West Bengal dialects of present day as a proper native dialectal form.

The origin of these different periphrastic methods may be now discussed.

754. (1) The « -itē », MB. « -itē̃ », is doubtless the present participle : চলিতেছে = চলিতে আছে « cȧlitēchē < cȧlitē+āchē » *he is walking* < *he is while in the act of walking*. The « -it-ē » is apparently the locative : or is it merely the nominative—MIA. « calanta-ka- », nom. Māgadhī « calantakē > calantaē > calantaï > calantē > cȧlitē » ? (see *supra*, p. 741). The non-locative form, presumably the nominative, occurs in dialects as « cȧlt-āchē = cȧlit-āchē » etc. But « -itē » is more likely the locative. In Early Assamese, there was a similar construction with the locative, but the periphrasis here did not develop into a compound tense by combining the participle of the verb substantive, as it has in Eastern Bengali and in Standard Bengali : thus Śaŋkara-deva (15th century) and other Early Assamese writers frequently employ constructions like « sūryȧ-sȧmȧ sȧbē jwȧlȧntē āchāhā » *you are all shining like the sun*, « āchē prȧkāśȧntē » *are manifesting*, « upāsantē āchē » *are worshipping*, etc. As in Assamese, so in W. Bengali this participle progressive did not catch on in the spoken dialect, although the « sadhu-bhāṣā » took it up. It does not seem to occur in Kṛttivāsa (VSPd. edition), nor even in Kavi-kaŋkaṇa, both West Bengal writers (of the 15th and 16th centuries). But

in East Bengal writers, *e.g.*, Mādhavâcārya, author of 'Caṇḍī-kāvya' (16th century : cf. VSP., p. 335, হোতেছে « hōtēchē » *is happening*), Chuṭī Khān (Noakhali : 'Mâhābhārata,' VSPd. ed., p. 59 : তবে সেই রক্ষিগণ দেখিতে আছেন্ত « tâbē sēi rakṣi-gâṇ dēkhitē āchēntâ » *then the guards remain watching*), Vaṅśī-dāsa ('Padmā-purāṇa,' p. 380, দেখিতেছি « dēkitēchi » *I am seeing*, p. 580, করিতেছে « kâritēchē ») etc., the « -itē » is well-established from the 16th century. And from the early 17th, it is found in the West Bengal writers also, like Kāśī-rāma Dāsa (*e.g.*, VSP., p. 676, হইতেছে « hâitēchē », p. 685, দিতেছে « ditēchē »). The prose documents, whether in East or in West Bengal, had to employ a definite form for the progressive, and it seems « -itē » became accepted in epistolary and documentary Bengali in the 17th century, and from that it was adopted into the « sādhu-bhāṣā » of the 18th and 19th centuries ; but West Bengal spoken dialects did not use it. The progressive « -i » form of the spoken dialects of West Bengal has now been adopted for the progressive, as a matter course, in the new literary dialect of Bengali based on the Calcutta Colloquial.

The construction, present participle (< « -ant- » of OIA.) *plus* verb substantive, occurs in other NIA (excepting Oṛiyā and Assamese) : in the Magadhan speeches (*e.g.* Maithilī « dĕkhait-chī, dĕkhait-chalahŭ », Magahī « dekhait-, dekhit-, dekhat+hī, halu » ; Bhōjpuriyā « dēkhāt bānī > dekha-tānī », etc.) ; in E. Hindī (*e.g.*, Awadhī « dēkhat ahū, dēkhat raheū ») ; in W. Hindī (*e.g.*, « dēkhtā hai, dēkhtā thā ») ; in Panjābī (*e.g.*, « jāndā hai, jāndā sī »), in Rājasthānī and in Gujarātī (*e.g.*, Gujarātī « māṛatō hatō », Mārwāṛī « māratō hō » *was beating*) ; in Marāṭhī (*e.g.*, « uṭhat āhē, uṭhat hōtā » *is, was rising*) ; in Pahāṛī (*e.g.*, Khas-kurā « garda-cha, garda thiyo » *is doing, was doing*), etc., etc.

755. (2) The « -i » form is rather rare in eMB., but it becomes noticeable from the 15th and 16th centuries : *e.g.*, KKC. (Vaṅga-vāsī edition), p. 112, পীত তড়িত বর্ণে, হেম মুকুলিকা কর্ণে, কেশ মেঘে পড়িছে বিজলি « pītâ tâṛitâ bârṇē hēmâ-mukulikā kârṇē kēśâ-mēghē pâṛichē bijuli » *yellow, like lightning in colour, a little flower of gold has fallen* (= *is disposed*) *like lightning in the clouds of her hair*; p. 122, কেমতে ধরিছ হিয়া « kēmâtē dhârichâ hiyā » *how are you holding your heart* (=*how can you remain*

unconcerned) ? ; Vaṅśī-dāsa, p. 3, শোভিছে « śōbhichē » *is appearing beautiful* ; p. 34, ভাবিছেন « bhābichēnø » *is thinking*, etc. Cf. also Chuṭī Khān's 'Mahābhārata' (VSPd. ed.), p. 10, এহেন বুলিছে পূর্ব্বে ধর্ম্ম মহীপাল « ēhēnå buliche pūrbbē dhårmmå-måhīpālø » *so has said formerly the righteous king* (*Yudhiṣṭhira*) ; p. 21, যত পুণ্য করি আছম কায় বাক্য মনে « jåtå puṇyå kåri āchåmø kāyø-bākyå-månē » *all the merits I have earned in body, word and mind* ; p. 22, রাজার সাক্ষাৎ বসিছন্ত মুনিগণ। পাত্র মিত্র চারি পাশে করিছে শোভন ॥ « rājārø sākṣāt båsichåntå muni-gåṇø, pātrå-mitrå cāri pāśē kåriche śōbhånø » *in front of the king are sitting* (*were seated*) *the sages, and courtiers and friends are adorning in the four sides* ; etc. It is of comparatively frequent occurrence in Late MB., but the meaning is not often fixed for either of the two tenses. In Early Assamese of the 15th century, this « -i » form is already well established.

The source of this form in this construction is not clear. It would appear at first sight to be merely the conjunctive in « -i ». The perfect in « -iyā, -iyā̃ » would similarly appear also to have the conjunctive in it. But the conjunctive would not accord well with the progressive sense, which we see is connected with this construction, side by side with the perfect one, in both MB. and NB. and in Early and New Assamese. The « -i » form, to indicate the perfect, might be, in the case of the intransitive verb, the non-passive participle in « -ita > -ia > -ī, -i » : « calia > calī > cali + āchē » *gone + is = is gone, has gone* (= calitō' sti). The Maithilī Progressive tense in « -ai » + « √ch », *e.g.*, « calai-chī » *I am walking*, « karaï-ch » *he is doing*, seems to indicate a possible source for the « -i » form of Bengali. Grierson explains this « -ai » progressive of Maithilī as being a contracted form of the « -ait » present participle ('Maithilī Grammar,' p. 173 : « dēkhai chī < dēkhait chī »). But, as suggested in the present work, p. 1022 *supra*, the « -ai » may well be a verbal noun locative : for it would be strange indeed for the full « -ait » and a contracted « -ai » to be in living use side by side in the same dialect and at the same time. So also compare the Magahī forms like « dēkha, dēkhē + hī » *I see*, beside progressive « dēkhait (dēkhat, dēkhit) + hī » *I am seeing*. The Rājasthānī dialects and Gujarātī, as well as some forms of Western Hindī, have a periphrastic

present in which the present forms of the verb properly conjugated are used with the verb substantive in the corresponding person and number: *e.g.*, Marwāṛī « calū̃-hū̃ » *I go*, « calā̃-hā̃ » *we go*, « calai-hai » *he goes*, « calaī̃-haī̃ » *they go*; Jaipurī = « calū̃-chū̃, calā̃-chā̃; calai-chai, calaī̃-chaī̃ »; Gujarātī « cālū̃-chū̃, cālīē-chīē; cālē-chē »; Brajbhākhā « calaū̃-haū̃, calaī̃-haī̃; calai-hai, calaī̃-haī̃ », etc. The Bihārī compound tenses are not of the type found in the Western languages: here the form of the principal verb is unchanged—it is « -ai, -a, -ē » in all cases. Can the « -i » in Bengali-Assamese be a locative form of an OB. verbal noun in « -ia » = the OIA. passive participle in « -(i)ta »? OIA. « calita » > « calia », in Late MIA. (Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa); locative OIA. « calitē » > « caliē > * calii »; this would become « * calī, cali » in OB., and then used with the root « āch »: « cali-āchē, cali-chē » therefore would mean *in-the-act-of-walking is = is walking*; so « dēkhi-chē » *in-the-act-of-seeng is = is seeing*. The « -i » form in Bengali can thus include both the locative (to develop into the progressive) and the nominative (in the case of the intransitive verb, to indicate the perfect—later this sense occurring with the transitive verb also by extension) of the « -ita > -ia » passive participle—in the former case it being the veral noun, in the latter the participle. The Oṛiyā « -i » form, indicating as it does the perfect tense only, naturally is to be taken as the Oṛiyā variant of (4), for which see below (p. 1027).

With the idea that the composite « sādhu-bhaṣā » is the source of the dialects, the W. Bengali চ'ল্‌ছে, চ'ল্‌ছিল, ক'র্‌ছে (ক'চ্ছে , ক'র্‌ছিল ; ক'চ্ছিল) etc., are commonly regarded as contracted forms of the « sādhu-bhāṣā » চলিতেছে, চলিতেছিল, করিতেছে, করিতেছিল, etc. But that such is not the case is seen from the occurrence in MB. and in the NB. *language of poetry of* forms like চলিছে, করিছে in the progressive. The « sādhu-bhāṣā » চলিতেছে করিতেছে, etc. can only give চ'ল্‌তেছে, ক'র্‌তেছে [c͡ʃoltec͡ʃhe, kortec͡ʃhe], etc. in the Standard Colloquial, but such forms are not proper to the dialect, and when they occur at all, they are artificial, being due to an attempt to find colloquial equivalents of a literary form which is only too familiar: the froms চলিতে, করিতে « càlitē, kàritē » (as participles and verbal nouns in « -itē ») occur as চ'ল্‌তে, ক'র্‌তে [c͡ʃolte, korte (kotte)]. The doubling of the

affricate in the case of roots which end in a vowel, like খাচ্ছে, যাচ্ছে, পাচ্ছে, দিচ্ছে, শুচ্ছে « khācchē, jācchē, pācchē, dicchē, śucchē » [khacc͡ʃ(h)e, ʤacc͡ʃ(h)e, pacc͡ʃ(h)e, dicc͡ʃ(h)e, ʃucc͡ʃ(h)e] *is eating, is going, is receiving, is giving, is lying*, with past tense in চ্ছিল « -cchilå », would at first sight suggest that it is a case of assimilation of the « -t- » of « -itē », and would thus connect these with the « -itē » form (« ditēchē > * dit-chē > dicchē »). But other West B. and North B. dialects do not show the doubling, even when in West B. these forms indicate the progressive. MB. দিছে « di(i)chē », যাইছে « jāïchē » should occur in West Bengali as দিছে « dichē », যেছে « jēchē » (see *supra*, pp. 386-387), and so they do, for example, in Murshidabad and Birbhum (as present progressive : the corresponding past progressive forms are দিয়েঁছে « diyẽchē < diyå̃-chē, গেল্‌ছে « gēl-chē »). But in the Standard Colloquial, MB. « jāïchē » became « * jāy-chē », and it is this « -y- » which assimilated with the following « -ch- » : « jācchē » ; so in « * di(i)chē » it assimilated (it is possible by first becoming a glottal stop) to the « -ch- », as « * diy-chē [diʔc͡ʃhe] > dicchē » ; so śui-chē > * śuy-chē > śucchē », etc.

The Oṛiyā speech forms its progressive tenses with the help of a verbal form in « -u », + the substantive verb : *e.g.*, « kåru-chi, kåru-chũ ; kåru-chu, kåru-chå ; kåru-chi, kåru-chånti ». (For this « -u » affix, see *supra*, p. 678.) It is not unlikely that a similar form in « -u » was used in Rāḍha dialects contiguous to Oṛiyā, and that in Late MB. this form with the « -u » (not understood, and becoming quiescent in the middle of the word) merged into the « -i » form, or restricted the « -i » form to the progressive in West Bengali. But from extant documents, we cannot postulate with any amount of certainty a Rāḍha form « * cålu-chē, * kåru-chē » beside « căli-chē, kåri-chē ».

756. (3) The perfect with the participle in « -la » is very much restricted in Bengali, and is only local for West Bengal, and probably also for North Bengal. In eMB. it may have been more prominent.

The construction, restricted as it seems to be to a few intransitive verbs, and to denominatives and causatives, is perfectly plain : W. Bengali আল্‌ছে « āl-chē » *has come*, হ'ল্‌ছে « hōl-che » *has happened*, ম'ল্‌ছে « mōl-chē »

has died (< MB. « mắilå-chē » = « mṛtō'sti »). From the intransitive, the « -l- » affix first spread to the denominative and then to the causative. It agrees with the Bihārī perfect of the intransitive verb; but is different from that of the transitive (and by analogy, often of the intransitive) verbs (in the present and past perfect tenses) in Bihārī, where we have either the juxtaposition of two tenses (the past in « -l- » and the substantive verb present or past) each properly conjugated, or the instrumental of the « -al- » participle used with the substantive verb (cf. LSI., V, II, pp. 28-29, 38-39, 52-53).

757. (4) The perfect in « -iyā, -iñā » is by far the most common of the compound tenses in eMB. It is found in a number of instances in the ŚKK.; and in Kṛttivāsa (VSPd. ed., Ayōdhyā, Uttara) it is well-established, and may be said to be fairly common in subsequent MB. literature. In Early Assamese, the « -iyā » form occurs with the substantive verb, but only as a separate word, and the « -iyā » and the substantive do not express the perfect idea. This « -iyā » form fell into disuse in later Assamese. Oṛiyā never developed the « -iyā » form, but had only the ones in « -i » and « -iṇå ».

Examples from eMB.: ŚKK.: p. 143, পাতিআছে « pātiāchē » *has established*; p. 175, শুণিআছ « śuṇiāchå » *you have heard*; p. 317, সুতিআঁ আছিলোঁ « sutiā̃ āchilō̃ » *I was asleep, I was sleeping*: p. 325, নিআঁছিস « niā̃chiså » *thou hast taken*; p. 376, বসিআঁ আছেন্ত « båsiā̃ āchēntå » *has sat down, is sitting*; Kṛttivāsa, 'Uttarā-kāṇḍa,' p. 16, হঞাছেক « håñāchēkå » *has become*; p. 24, দিঞাছি « diñāchi » *I have given*; p. 177, সুআ আছে « suā āchē » *is lying*; p. 201, জুড়িঞা আছে « juṛiñā āchē » *is spread*, পড়িঞা আছে « påṛiñā āchē » *lies*; etc., etc. The form is found copiously in other MB. works.

It would be seen that progressive or continuous action may be indicated in the case of intransitive verb; and such action is emphasised upon by keeping the « -iyā, -iyā̃ » separate from the verb, in both MB. and NB.

The « -iyā, -iñā » form is doubtless the conjunctive: « niā̃chiså » being « niā̃ + āchiså » = *having taken thou art* = *thou hast taken*. The nasalised form, current in West Bengal, is sufficiently indicative of its

proper nature. But that is not all. In the case of intransitive verbs, the « -iyā » form can equally represent the passive participle (see. *supra*, p. 955): সুআ আছে « suā āchē » *is lying* (*has lain*) < *lain* (* svapita- > suvia- > suia-> su-ā) + *is*, চলিআছে « cåliāchē » *has gone* < *gone* (calita- > caliā) + *is*. Cf. NB. এখানে যে বেশ গান চ'লেছে ! « ēkhānē jē bēśå̸ gānå̸ cå'lēchē » *so, fine singing is going on here*; মাদ্রাজে খুব উদ্যোগ চলিয়াছে or চলিতেছে « Mādrājē khubå̸ udyōgå̸ cåliyāchē (cålitēchē) » *great preparations are going on in Madras*; রাস্তায় কাদা হ'য়েছে « rāstāy kādā hōyēchē » *there is mud in the street*; র'য়েছি « rōyēchi » *I am staying*, etc. Cf. also the perfect with the participle in « -la »; and the perfect of the intransitive verb in the Bihārī dialects, and in other NIA. languages, like W. Hindī, etc. (*e.g.*, Hindōstānī « wuh gayā hai̯ » = « asāu̯ gataḥ asti »; Gujarātī « hũ cālyō chũ » = « ahaṃ calitaḥ asmi »). The static and continuous use with the substantive verb separated or united can in this way be explained. So that the « -iyā, -iñā » form would seem to combine in Bengali both the conjunctive and the passive participle (the latter in the case of intransitives); but from Early MB., from the similarity of forms (« -iyā » for both of them) and from the nature of the constructions, any such original distinction was lost sight of.

The participle in « -iyā, -iñā » and the auxiliary have coalesced but loosely in Bengali. To emphasise an « -iyā-chē, -iyā-chilå > -ē-chē, -ē-chilå » form, the emphatic particles ই « i » and তো « tō » *indeed, surely* generally come in between, and not at the end. This is especially noticeable in the Standard Colloquial. Thus, প'ড়ে-ই-ছে « pōṛē-i-chē » *it has fallen, to be sure*: দিয়েই-তো-ছিলুম « diē-i-tō-chilum » *I had indeed given, I had very nearly given*; দিয়ে-তো-ছি « diyē-tō-chi » *I have given in truth*; etc. The emphatic, however, can also come at the end: *e.g.*, প'ড়েছেই প'ড়েছে « pōṛēchē-i pōṛēchē » *it has certainly fallen*; etc.

The use of root « thāk » for the future progressive and perfect is rather rare in MB.: « √thāk », when not put in the future, expresses a continuous state in compound verbs with the « -iyā, -iñā » form: *e.g.*, ŚKK., p. 176, বসিঞা থাক « båsiā̃ thākå » *remain sitting, remain seated*.

758. Two dialectal forms for the progressive tense may be noted.

(5) The 'South-West Bengali' progressive, made by combining the present tense of principal verb with « √ṭha » *to remain* regularly conjugated: *e.g.*, করিঠি « kåri-ṭhi » *I do* + *I remain* = *I am doing*; যাউঠু « jāu-ṭhu » *thou goest* + *thou remainest* = *thou art going*; হয়ঠে « håyẻ-ṭhē » *he is* + *he remains* = *he is* (= Standard Colloquial হ'চ্ছে « hōcchē »). In some cases, the principal verb is not conjugated, but put in the conjunctive: খাবায়ঠ « khābāyẻ-ṭhå » *you are feeding*. (See LSI., V, I, pp. 108, 109 ff.) The Common Bengali « -i » + « āch > -ch- » form is also known in this dialect. The root « √ṭha » (< sthā) is not found elsewhere in Bengal. This use of two finite forms side by side is exactly of the type found in Brajbhākhā and in Rājasthānī-Gujarātī noted at pp. 1024-1025.

(6) In the district of Bogra, and in some other North Central Bengal tracts, there is a progressive form in « -(i)t, -it- » + root « āch »: thus করতিতেছি « kårtitēchi » *I am doing*, করতুতুছু « kårtutuchu » *thou art doing*, করতিতিছে « kårtitichē » *he is doing*, খাটতিতেছি « khāṭṭitēchi » *I am labouring* (LSI., V, I, pp. 152-153). This form appears to be merely the « -itē, -it- » participle further strengthened by the locative affix « -tē »—it is really a double locative form: « kåritē + -tē ». The personal termination of the auxiliary substantive verb seems to have influenced the « -itē-tē » of the principal verb form, and to have altered it accordingly, at least in the 2nd person: « kåritētē. * kåritẻtē + āchu > *kårt(ē)tē-chu > * kårtutu-chu ».

The use of the « -r- » affix for the progressive in E. Vaŋga and S.-E. Vaŋga has been discussed before (pp. 994 ff.).

[M] CAUSATIVES.

759. The Causative in Bengali is made by adding the affix আ « -ā- » to the root, with euphonic « ẇ » or « ẏ » between vowels: *e.g.*, কর « √kår » *to do* > করা « √kårā » *to cause to do*; খা « √khā » > খাআ, খাওয়া « √khāā, khāẇā » *to cause to eat*; দে « √dē » > দেআ, দেওয়া, দেয়া « √dēā, dēẇā, dēẏā » *to cause to give*; জী « √jī » > জীয়া « jiyā » *to cause to live*. There are of course old causatives of OIA. which do not add this « -ā » affix, but show original root-modification (Ablaut) and behave like independent roots, which have been noted before (*supra*, pp. 876-877).

The source of this « -ā- » is the MIA. « -āva- », from OIA. « -āpa-ya- », which has been indicated above (*supra*, p. 880). The normal OIA. form « -aya- », with modification of the root vowel, became considerably curtailed from First MIA., and « -āpaya- » largely took its place. Thus we have in the Aśōka Inscriptions forms like « kārāpita-, pārāpita-, vivāsāpaya-, sāvāpaya- » (= Skt. kārita, hārita, vivasaya-, śrāvaya-), and in Pali « vasāpēti, sarāpēti (√smṛ), pucchāpēti (√pṛcch), siñcāpēti, palāpēti », etc., etc. This « -āpaya- » even invaded the domain of the denominative. In Second MIA., it became « -āva-, -āv-ē », and when there grew a confusion between the « -aya- > -ē- » causative and the simple verb (see *supra*, pp. 933-934), the « -āv-, -v- » form with the unmistakable « -ā-, -v- » in it easily became established as the causative affix in Late MIA. and NIA.

In the Caryās, the causative affix occurs as « -āva- », as in « bandhāvaē » *causes to bind* (Caryā 22); and this « -āva- » was contracted to « -ā- » in MB. (*supra*, p. 350, *Phonology*). The « -ā- » causative has been extremely common in Bengali from its very origin.

760. The Verbal Noun from causative roots takes the affix আন, আনো, « -ānå, -ānō », which represents « -āpa- » base + « -na » : cf. Skt. « dā-pa-na » *causing to give*, « jñā-pa-na » *causing to know, announcement*, etc. On the model of these, First MIA. built up forms like « *kārāpana, *cālāpana » etc.; and a generalised « -āpana » gave Second MIA. « -āvaṇa », extended to « -āvaṇa-a » by the « -(k)a » affix, which became the Bengali causal noun affix « -ānå, -ānå, -ānō » (' Formative Affixes Nos. 13, 13a,' *supra*, pp. 664, 665).

761. Participles of the Causative.

The Active Present Participle has the usual affix ইত, ইতে « -it-, -itē », contracted to « -t, -tē » in the Standard Colloquial (see *supra*, ' Formative Affix No. 10,' p. 663). The archaic form « -anta » is not found with causative verbs. Assamese has « -ā̃ō̃tā » : « kårā̃ō̃tā » *one who causes to do* (beside « kårāōwā » = « kårā-ū-ā » with « -ū-à » affix, for which see pp. 678, 679), « khuwā̃ō̃tā » *one who causes to eat* (beside « khuōwā »). Bengali has to indicate the active causative participle idea by a clumsy phrase—যে করায় সে, যে খাওয়ায় সে « jē kåråy sē, jē khāwāy sē », etc.

The Causative Passive Participle affix is আন, আনো « -āna, ānō » (see *supra*, p. 666). Instances of « -ānā » are not very common in MB., but they do occur: thus, ŚKK., pp. 109, 116, 318 শুখান « śukhānā » *dried*; KKC. (Vaŋga-vāsī edition), p. 147 হারান « hārānā » *lost*; VSP., p. 263 (17th century text), সিজান « sijānā » *boiled*; etc. The more favourite way seems to have been the « -il- » affix (see *infra*, p. 1032). On the analogy of the verbal noun in « -ā », presenting an identical form with the passive participle in « -ā » (« cālā » = *a going*, also *gone*; « kārā » = *a doing*, also *done*), the « -ānā » affix, found also in the causative verbal noun, seems to have been strengthened for the passive participle in Modern Bengali.

The « -ānā- » affix does not seem to occur in Assamese, in Oṛiyā, and in the Bihārī dialects, but it is found in E. Hindī, and in W. Hindī, and it also occurs as a passive form in Rājasthānī-Gujarātī; thus, Tulasī-dāsa has forms like « phirānō, juṛānī, harakhānē, lapaṭānī, akulānī », etc.; in Early W. Hindī, the « -āna » was found, but now it seems to have fallen into disuse: thus, Kabīr has (ed. Kshiti-mōhan Sēn, III, p. 62) « māyā dēkha-kē jagata lubhānō, kāhē rē nara garabānō?......prēma-kē hātha kāhē na bikānō? » *the world has been charmed seeing Māyā; why, O man, has been this boasting? why hast not been sold in the hand of love?* (it would be seen that in « bikānō » we have the causative passive participle; in the other two cases, and also in E. Hindī « harakhānē, akulānī, lapaṭānī » given above, the forms are denominative passive participles); in Rājasthānī, forms like « suṇāṇō, batāṇō » *was heard, was displayed*, etc., are past passive forms (from passive participles: cf. LSI., IX, II, p. 58); and in Northern Gujarātī, « -āṇō » is the passive participle affix for roots in « -ā », *e.g.*, « mārāṇō » *was killed*, « dīṭhāṇō » *was seen*, « bharāṇō » *was filled*, etc. (LSI., IX, II, p. 343).

The source of this « -ānā » seems to be « -māna », the OIA. affix for the present participle for *ātmanē-pada* and passive verbs. The past sense can easily evolve in the passive verb: *being done, being caused to be done, caused to be done*, and also simply in the passive participle, *done*. There might be in this matter some influence from the « -na » passive participles of OIA., which in some cases came down to Late MIA., *e.g.*

« dinna, kinna, runna, * linna » etc.; and already in one instance at least we have a passive participle use of « -māna » in Pali, in combination with « -ta », in « vibhāta-māna » *become bright* (Geiger, 'Pali Litteratur und Sprache,' § 191, note: Geiger, however, regards the reading as doubtful). The form « -māna » in Epic and Classical Sanskrit becomes « -āna », and « -āna » is the more common form (Whitney, 'Skt. Grammar,' § 1045 f.). The form « -āna » also occurs in Pali, and in later MIA. it is also found as « -āṇa », though there it cannot be said to be common. The passive participle use of « -āṇa » came in during Second MIA.: a form like « palāṇa » (= Skt. « palāyita » = Bengali † পলান, পালানো « † pālānȧ, pālānō ») already occurs in Jaina-Mahārāṣṭrī (Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 126 [2]).

762. In MB. and dialectal NB., the passive participle of causatives occurs with the usual « -il- » affix: *e.g.*, ŚKK., p. 58, লোটাইল « lōṭāïlȧ » *caused to be rolled, rolled*; p. 318, আখাইল « ākhāïlȧ » *scoured, washed*; East Bengali করাইল « kȧrāïlȧ » *done, caused to be done*, জুড়াইল « juṛāïlȧ » *cooled* = Standard Literary and Colloquial « kȧrānȧ, juṛānȧ ». In West Bengali, as in W. Murshidabad for instance, the « -il- » participle (contracted to « -l- ») occurs in the compound tense (perfect), but not independently: *e.g.*, লাগাল্চো [lagalcʃuo] *have you fixed?*, কি খআলছিলা [ki khoalcʃhila] *what were you feeding with?*, দেওয়ালচে [dsŏalcʃe] *is causing to give*, etc. The « -l- » form occurs in the Oṛiyā and in the Bihārī dialects. Assamese however prefers the « -ā » form (« kȧrōwā » *caused to be done* = « * karāpita- » + « -ā »).

763. Double Causatives—such as are found in Bihārī (*e.g.*, Maithilī « dĕkhab » *see*, causal « dĕkhāĕb » *show*, double causal « dĕkhăbāĕb » *cause to show*; « girab » *fall* > « girāĕb » *fell* < « girăbāĕb » *cause to fell*; Bhōjpuriyā « dĕkhal, dĕkhāwal, dĕkhăwāwal », etc.), in Eastern Hindī (*e.g.*, Lakhimpurī Awadhī « hāsab » *smile*, « hāsāwab, hāsăwāwab »), in Western Hindī (*e.g.*, Hindōstānī « karnā, karānā, karwānā; dēnā, dilānā, dilwānā »), in Panjābī (*e.g.*, E. Panjābī « sikkhṇā » *learn*, « sikkhāuṇā [sikkhlāuṇā, sikkhālṇā], sikkhwāuṇā »), in Rājasthānī-Gujarātī (*e.g.*, Gujarātī « karvũ, karāvavũ, karavāvavũ »)—have not been found in Bengali and in Oṛiyā.

But they occur in a restricted way in Assamese (*e.g.*, « **kår, kårā, kårōwā** »). The « -l- » causatives of Western Hindī and Panjābī, and of Rājasthānī-Gujarātī, and the « -ḍ-, -r- » causatives as in Rājasthānī-Gujarātī (cf. Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 141 [3]), are also unknown in Bengali and its sister speeches. A few Hindōstānī « -l- » forms occur as loans: *e.g.*, বাতলান « bātḷānå » *to inform, to describe*, in slang or familiar colloquial; দেলানা « dēlānā » *to cause to give* in Late MB.; and the nouns ধোলাই « dhōlāï » *a causing to wash* > *cost of washing*, সেলাই « sēlāï » *sewing* and চোলাই « cōlāï » *distilling*.

764. There is in Bengali a periphrastic way of forming the causative with the verbal noun in « -ā » and the verb করান « kårānå » *to cause to do.* This method is exceedingly common in Rāḍha Bengali, outside the Standard Colloquial: thus রাখ « √rākh » *to keep*, রাখা করান « rākhā-kårānå » *to cause to keep*; so আনা করান « ānā-kårānå » *to cause to bring*, ডাকা করান « ḍākā-kårānå » *to cause to call*, খাওয়া করান « khāwā-kårānå » *to cause to eat*, দেওয়া করান « dēwā-kårānå » *to cause to give*, etc. The use of the causative form করান « kårānå » with *ts.* or *sts.* nouns is also common in Standard Bengali: *e.g.*, স্নান করান « snānå-kårānå » *to cause to take a bath*, গান করান « gānå-kårānå » *to make sing*, নাচ করান « nācå-kårānå » *to make dance*, দাঁড় করান « dāṛå-kårānå » *to cause to stand*, etc.; such instances are extensions of nominal compound verbs with কর « √kår », and we have cases in the ŚKK. also—*e.g.*, চেতন করান « cētånå kårānå » *to bring to senses*, পান করান « pānå kårānå » *to cause to drink*, etc.

[N] DENOMINATIVES.

765. Denominatives have occurred in all the periods of the language: *e.g.*, « mātēla » (Caiyā 50: māta < matta); ŚKK., p. 159, খাঙ্গাইবেঁ « khåŋgāïbē » *will be angry* (khåŋgå *anger*); p. 158, খেআইলোঁ « khēāïlō̃ » *I ferried* (khēā = *ferry*); p. 191, ভাণ্ডসি « bhānḍåsi » *jestest*, ভাণ্ডাইলি « bhānḍāïli » *didst jest* (bhanḍa *fool, buffoon, knave*), আউলাইল « āulāïlå » *dishevelled* (ākula); p. 372, বিষাইল « biṣāïlå » *poisoned* (viṣa), etc.

Commonly in Bengali, the noun, if it is a short form (disyllabic > monosyllabic), is used as a root: চিন « cinå » (cihna)—চিনিবে, চিনুবে

« cinibē, cinbē » *will recognise*; তাত « tātå » *heat* (tapta)—তাতিল, তাত্‌ল « tātilå, tātlå » *became hot*; পাক « pākå » (pakva)—পাকিতেছে, পাক্‌ছে « pākitēchē, pākchē » *is becoming ripe*; কম « kåm » *small, less* (Persian kam)—কমিল, ক'মল « kåmilå, kå'mlå » *became less* জম « jåm » *gathering* (Perso-Arabic jam[c])—জমিবে, জ'ম্‌বে « jåmibē, jå'mbē » *will gather, will flourish*; etc. But the distinctive affix for the denominative in Bengali is আ « -ā- »: শাণ « śāṇå » *hone, whet-stone*, শাণাইল শাণা'ল « śāṇāïlå, śāṇā'lå » *whetted*; দাঁড় « dā̃ṛå » *stick, rod*, দাঁড়ায় « dā̃ṛāy » *stands upright, stands*; তল « tålå » *bottom*, তলায় « tålāy » *goes to the bottom*; ঘন « ghånå » *thick*, ঘনাইতেছে « ghånāïtēchē » *is thickening*; MB. দঢ় « dåṛhå » *firm*, দঢ়ান « dåṛhānå » *to make firm*; etc., etc. No definite rule can be laid down where the formative affix is employed and where it can be dispensed with. Herein the NIA. Bengali is as arbitrary as OIA. and MIA.: cf. Sanskrit « bhiṣakti, kṛṣṇati » beside « kṛṣṇāyatē, kavayati ». It may be noted that in Dravidian, Kōl and Tibeto-Chinese, the root could be used both as a noun and a verb.

The OIA. affixes to form the denominative (apart from cases where no such affix was used) were « -a-, -ya-, -ā-ya-, -a-ya, -ī-y-a-, -i-y-a, -ū-ya, -u-ya-, -s-ya (-ṣ-ya) ». The form « -ā-ya- », resembling the causative affix « -āpaya (-āvaya) », seems to have become more common than the rest in Early MIA. ; and the colourless or « -a- » form also was largely used (cf. Geiger, 'Pali Litteratur und Sprache,' § 186, § 188). The causative largely influenced, and then encroached upon the domain of the denominative. In Pali, *e.g.*, we find denominatives with the generalised MIA. causative affix « -āpaya- », like « ōpuñjāpēti » = Skt. « ava-puñjayati », « ussukāpēti » = « utsukāyatē », and also causative-denominatives like « sukhāpēti, dukhāpēti » (Geiger, § 187). In Second MIA., there is a greater mix-up with the causative ; the old forms are retained, but « -āya- » is more prominent, and « -āya- > -āa- » and « -āpaya- > -āvē- -āv- » approach each other (Pischel, §§ 557 ff.). As it has been seen before (Bengali Denominative Passives in « -ā- », *supra*, p. 929), the distinction between the denominative and the causative is all but lost in NIA., being preserved only in the Bihārī dialects.

The verbal noun as well as the passive participle affix for the denominative is আন « -ānå », which seems to be extended from the causative (see *above*, pp. 1030-1032). The verbal noun in « -ila » is also found in dialectal Bengali : OIA. « daṇḍāyita » > MIA. « daṇḍāïa » + « -illa » > Bengali দাঁড়াইল, as in W. Bengali (Murshidabad) দাঁড়াল্ছে « dāṛāla̸-chē » *has stood* so ; জুতুল্ছিল = জুতাইল্ছিল « jutula̸chilå < jutāïla̸chilå » *gave a beating with the shoe*, < jutā *shoe* ; etc.

[O] VERB SUBSTANTIVE, AND DEFECTIVE VERBS.

766. Five roots express the substantive idea in NB. : আছ্ « āch », হ or হো « hå, hō », থাক্ « thāk », রহ্ « råh » and বট « båṭ ».

Of these, « āch » is the most important. Bengali « āchē » *is, are* comes regularly from Second MIA. « acchaï » (which is found in Mahārāṣṭrī, Jaina-Mahārāṣṭrī, Ardha-māgadhī, Āvantī, Paiśācī and Western Apabhraṁśa : cf. Pischel, 'Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 480), First MIA. « acchati » (as in Pali). Various derivations of this MIA. root « acch » have been proposed, connecting it with either « √ās » *to sit* or « √ as » *to be* (see Pischel, *loc. cit.*) The derivation favoured by Pischel is from OIA. « √ ṛ, ṛcch » *to go*, which also meant « mūrtti-bhāva, indriya-pralaya, dravya-kāṭhinya » *to take a form, to have loss of the senses, to become hard*, according to the *Dhātu-pāṭha*. A verb meaning *to go* may develop the sense of *being*, and we find that in Kaśmīrī « gatsh » *to go* is very often used in the sense of *being, becoming* (cf. Grierson, 'Dictionary of the Kaśmīrī Language,' ASB., pp. 313, 315). But it is highly unlikely that this most widely used IA. substantive root (see following paragraph) should be merely a semantic development out of a verb meaning *going*, and that this development should have taken place as early as the First MIA. period, if not earlier. The most satisfactory derivation of « √acch, āch, ch » is from an OIA. « * √acch », which is not preserved in Vedic or Sanskrit. The Indo-European root « * es », = « as » of OIA., occurred in thematic forms as well : « * es-e-ti » (which would correspond with a possible OIA. « * as-a-ti ») and « * es-ske-ti » (which would agree with an OIA. « * as-cha-ti, * acchati »), beside the athematic « * es-ti » (= OIA. « as-ti »). Sanskrit grammarians do not recognise « -cha-, -ccha- »

as a verbal theme (= « *-ske-, -sko- » of Indo-European), occurring as it does in less than a dozen roots of Skt., *e.g.*, « icch (< iṣ), ucch (< uṣ), ṛcch (< ṛ), gacch (< gam), pṛcch (< * pṛṣ, cf. pṛṣ-ṭa), mṛcch (< mṛ), mūrch (< mūr), yacch (< yam), yucch (< yu), vāñch (< van) » : but the source of this « -ccha » in Indo-European, namely, « * -ske, -sko- », was a distinctive verbal theme which is of greater frequency and importance in other branches of IE. (cf. Brugmann's Short Comparative Grammar, French trans., pp. 549, 550 ; A. Meillet, ' Introduction à l' E'tude comparative des Langues indo-européennes [5],' pp. 185, 186). The « * -ske/o- » theme is found with « * √es » in a number of ancient Indo-European speeches—Greek (*e.g.*, Homeric preterit « éskon, éske »), Latin (Old Latin future « escit ») ; Tokharian (« sketar » *is*, « skente » *are*), Armenian (subjunctive « içem »). This derivation of « acch, acchati » has been suggested by Sylvain Lévi and A. Meillet ('Remarques sur les Formes grammmaticales de quelques Textes en Tokharien B : I, Formes verbales,' p. 28, from the 'Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique,' 1912). Cf. পহুঁছ « √påhũch », *supra*, pp. 344, 473.

The root « āch (ch) » is now found in all Magadhan speeches except Magahī and Bhōjpuriyā. It seems that these two dialects also at one time possessed them, for it is occasionally met with in old poetry in Bhōjpuriyā (see *supra*, p. 167). Eastern Hindī similarly seems to have had it also : in Early Eastern Hindī, as in Malik Muhammad Jāyasī for instance, it figures (*e.g.*, at pp. 31, 35, 45, 53 of the ASB. edition,— « āchahi, āchaï, āchahī », which have been explained as meaning *good*, « acchā », by Sudhākara Dvivēdī). The MIA. source dialect of Western Hindī, Śaurasēnī, possessed it, according to Vararuci (XII, 19 : « astēr acchaḥ ») ; « achnā » is recognised in Hindī as a root, and it seems that instances of it occur in Old Western Hindī poetry, but it is no longer a living form in that speech. It is found in Gujarātī as much as in Bengali, and it is equally common in some of the Rājasthānī dialects. In Marāṭhī, it is common as « asṇẽ ». It figures also in most of the Pahāṛī speeches. The range of « acch » thus appears to have been fairly extensive (see *supra*, p. 167). The loss of it in some of the NIA. speeches is nothing exceptional : witness the disuse of the Old English substantive verb « weorðan » in New English,

while it is retained (as « werden ») in New High German. But it seems this root, despite its mention as a Śaurasēnī form by Vararuci, was not a popular one in the Midland: its being ignored by Sanskrit may be due to a restricted occurrence in the Midland; and Midland influence may have further curtailed it in Eastern Hindī and in Bhōjpuriyā and Magahī in recent times.

« āch » is a defective root in NB. as well as in MB. It occurs only in the present and the past in NB., but in MB. the imperative, present participle, conjunctive and verbal noun in « -iba » also are found. Thus,

Present: 1. আছি « āchi », 2. আছিস, আছ « āchis, āchå », 3. আছে « āchē », MB. আছএ « āchåē »; 2 and 3 honorific আছেন « āchēna̸ », MB. আছন্তি, আছেন্ত, আছন্ত « āchånti, āchēntå, āchåntå »;

Past: 1. (আ)ছিলাম, ছিলুম, ছিলেম « (ā)chilām, chilum, chilēm », MB. (আ)ছিলোঁ « (ā)chilõ » etc.; 2. (আ)ছিলি, ছিলিস « (ā)chili, chilis », (আ)ছিলা « (ā)chilā », ছিলে « chilē », etc.; 3. (আ)ছিল « (ā)chilå », ‡ আছলেক « āchålēkå̸ », MB. also (আ)ছিলা « (ā)chilā »; 2 and 3 honorific ছিলেন « chilēna̸ », MB. (আ)ছিলন্তি, (আ)ছিলান্তি, (আ)ছিলেন্ত, (আ)ছিলন্ত « (ā)chilånti, (ā)chilānti, (ā)chilēnta, (ā)chilåntå »;

Imperative, MB. 3. আছউক « āchåukå̸ », (আ)ছুক, « (ā)chukå̸ »;

Present Participle, MB. (আ)ছিতে « (ā)chitē »;

Conjunctive, MB. (আ)ছিয়া « (ā)chiyā, ছিআঁ « chi(y)ā̃ »;

Verbal Noun, MB. আছিবা « āchibā ».

The aphæresis of the initial « ā- » is as old as eMB.: *e.g.*, ŚKK. p. 124, ছিতে « chitē », p. 232, ছুক « chukå »; cf. also p. 124, আগুছিআঁ « āguchiā̃ » *having been before.*

In Oṛiyā, the past and future tense of « āch » shows another root, « tha » (as in « thilā » *he was*, « thilũ » *I was*, « thibē » *they will be*, etc.), of which the source seems to be OIA. « √sthā » (« sthita > thia+-illa > thila »; but cf. Early Assamese « thåilå » *remained* < « *thaya- » + « -illa »). 'S.-W. Bengali' uses a base « ṭha », also from « √sthā », but with cerebralisation, in the equivalents of Bengali ছিল « chilå » etc., in

the compound tenses (see *supra*, p. 1029). *Beside equivalents of « *acchita + -illa », MIA. forms based on « sthita + -illa » were thus current in the Prakrit dialects brought to Bengal.*

767. Root হ, হো « hå, hō ». *This* is apparently a single root in NB., but the form really represents two roots which have merged into one—one being « √ah » or « √ha » from OIA. « √as », the other « √hō » from OIA. « √bhū ». The distinction between the two is preserved in many NIA. speeches, at least in form . Thus, we have Magahī past forms « hal, halai » from « √ha », beside « hōl, bhēl » from root « √hō, bha = √ bhū » ; W. Hindī has « hai » *is*, « hũ » *am* (in Early W. Hindī literature frequently occurring as « ahai, āhai ; ahaũ, ahũ, āhũ » etc., from « √ah, as »), beside « hōwē, hōē ; hōwũ, hōũ » *may be* (from « √hō=bhū »). Cf. Grierson, ' Maithilī Grammar,' § 219, for « √ah » in Maithilī. And in West Bengali, in the Khāriā-ṭhār dialect of Manbhum District, the verb occurs as আহয় « āhåy » *is* (LSI., V, I, p. 97).

The OIA. « √bhū » became « hō, hū » in the NIA. languages. In MB., we have হুএ, হোএ « huē, hōē », with its equivalents « huåï, hōi » in Oṛiya and « hōwē » in Early Assamese. MB. and Assamese show beside these the form হএ, হয় « håē, håy », honorific MB. হয়ন্তি « håyånti=håånti » (p. 9, Chuṭī Khān's ' Mahābhārata '), হয়ন্ত « håyåntå=hååntå » (ibid., p. 56), হন্তি « hånti », etc. In the ŚKK., however, the « hō » form is extremely rare, occurring only once, and « hå » is the common form. In the Caryās, we find « hōi » and « hōnti », and the « ha, ah » form does not occur. The past tense of « √hō », apart from হোইল « hōilå » which has merged in হইল « håïlå » (<*åh-il-å), shows in OB. and MB., as well as in Early Assamese, the forms ভইল, ভয়িল, ভৈল, ভৈলা « bhåïlå, bhåyilå, bhåilå, bhåilā », etc. A conjunctive ভই « bhåï » is also known. The « bha » base occurs also side by side with « hō » in other NIA. *e.g.*, W. Hindī (Hindōstānī) « hūā » beside dialectal « bhayā » ; and we can also note the Hindī verb « bhāwē » = « bhāvayati », (cf. the MB. ভায় « bhāy ») *seems*. OIA. « √bhū » gave « hō » through the occurrence of the verb in the middle of the sentence (see *supra*, p. 553), and side by side with this intervocal « -h- » modification, the original initial « bh- » seems to have remained as a stereotyped form in the same area.

In MIA., all roots of OIA. tended to conform to the thematic « -a- » group. Root « as », athematic in Vedic and Sanskrit, would thus seem to have developed a thematic form « * as-a-ti » beside « as-ti », if this did not already exist in OIA. OIA subjunctive forms, like « ásati, ásat » might have exerted some influence here. The OIA.'athematic « as-ti » survives through MIA. « atthi » in the Gujarātī negative form « nathī < nâsti », and is not found elsewhere in NIA. The form « * as-a-ti » seems to be the source of NIA. আহয় « āhåy » (West Bengali), হএ হয় « « håē, håy » (Standard or Common Bengali), « ahaï, hai̯ » (W. Hindī), « āhē » (Marāṭhī), etc. This « * as-a-ti » however, has not been found in MIA., and the phonetic puzzle of the change of « -s- > -h- » remains unsolved (*supra*, pp. 549-550). Jules Bloch suggests connecting Marāṭhī « āhē » with OIA. « ā-bhavati », as a likely derivation of it ('Langue Marathe,' p. 294). But the loss of prefix « ā- » over a great part of the North Indian area would be strange. In any case, with the distinct occurrence in NIA. of « hō, ha » side by side, « ha » cannot with any certitude be derived from « bhū ». Bengali phonology shows that the source of « ha » in OB. was « * ah » and not « hō=bhū » : নয় « nåy » *is not* < ন-হয় « nå-håy » = « na + * ahaï » ; নইলে < নহিলে « nåïlē < nåhilē » *on not being* < « na + * ahilē » ; MB. নহিব « nåhibå » *shall not be* = « na + * ahiba » : the change is of « ă + ă > å > å » (for which see *supra*, pp. 347, 555). In the Standard Colloquial, MB. করিব, চলিব « kåribå, cålibå » *I shall do, I shall go* by loss of the interior « -i- » and mutation of the preceding « -å- » give [korbo, ĉolbo], but there is no such mutation in the case of বহিব, সহিব « båhibå, såhibå » *I shall bear, I shall suffer* > [bɔbo, ʃɔbo], when the « -i- » is dropped ; but when the « -i- » is retained (the presence of « -h- » preventing the hiatus in OB. and eMB. has something to do with the preservation of the « -i- » in such cases), we have mutation : [boibo, ʃoibo]. Now হইব « håïbå » *shall be* gives in the Standard Colloquial [ɦɔbo] : this would seem to be based on * অহিব, * অহ্ব « * åhibå, * åhbå », which then by metathesis becomes হব « håbå » [ɦɔbo]. A form from « hō = bhū », হোইব « hōibå » would give in the Standard Colloquial * [ɦobo], with « -ō- » in the root, but such a form is unknown. In the past tense (first person), we

have for the above roots, respectively, [korlum (kollum), ʧollum], but [boilum, ʃoilum] and [ɦolum] : [bolum, ʃolum] would be exceedingly rare, and wrong for the Standard Colloquial dialect; and [ɦoilum] never occurs. [ɦolum] apparently is not based on « * ȧh-il-um < √ ah », but rather on « hō-il-um < √bhū » : in the former case it would have fallen in line with [boilum, ʃoilum], and with [koilum] < « √kȧh » *to speak* etc., and preserved the « -i- » (in the Standard Colloquial). The future tense thus seems to preserve « √ ȧh », and the past « √ hō ».

768. The root রহ « rȧh » *to remain, to continue to be* (the causative of which occurs in the ŚKK., রহাএ « rȧhāē » *stops*), is a regular verb which can be said to form one of the substantives in Bengali. It occurs in other NIA.—Marāṭhī « rahāṇẽ, rāhṇẽ », Gujarati « rahēvũ », Sindhī « rahaṇu », Panjābī « rahiṇā », W. Hindī « rahnā », E. Hindī « rahab » : it is found also in the Dardic Kaśmīrī.

This root is of obscure origin. A common derivation is to regard it as an intransitive formation from a passive verb : Skt. « rakṣyatē » *is preserved, is kept* > MIA. « rakkhiaï » > « rākhiaï, * rāhiaï, * rǎhiaï » > NIA. « rahaï » *remains* (cf. Platts, 'Hindustānī Dictionary,' under « rahnā »). Despite the presence of the Marāṭhī « rāhnẽ », this derivation is not convincing. Then the NIA. form « rah » cannot be affiliated to any of the Sanskrit roots, « rah » *to separate, to abandon,* « raṅh » *to hasten, to speed,* and « laṅgh » *to leap over,* because of the insurmountable difference of meaning. This root however occurs in MIA., *e.g.*, Jaina Prakrit « rahaē » *remains, stays,* and MIA. *dēśī* « rāho = nirantaraḥ » (as referred to by Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' p. 393).

It would be strange indeed if such an important NIA. root, a root of elementary significance, and so widely spread too, should not be of OIA. origin. There is the Skt. root « arh=argh » *to deserve, to merit, to be worthy of, to have a claim to, to be entitled to, to be worth, to be able,* etc. This is connected with the Greek « alphḗ » *worth, value*; and Skt. « √ arj » *to acquire* is also supposed to be related to this « √argh, arh » (Uhlenbeck, 'Etymologisches Wörterbuch der altindischer Sprache'; also J. Leumann, ibid., I Theil, Dissertation, Strassburg, 1893). In Pali

« √ rah » figures as « araha- » : but the old meaning is preserved. Skt. « √ arh » in the present tense second person is used with the infinitive as a polite request : « kartum arhasi, dātum arhasi » *please do, please give.* This « arh, araha- » does not agree with the NIA. « rah » in sense, although in form they are almost identical.

There is in Middle High German a verb « rëgen » meaning *to raise oneself up, to be rigid, to be fixed,* in Modern German « emporragen » *to tower,* « hervorragen » *to rise above, to project, to stand out.* There is also in Latin a verb « rigeo, rigēre » *to be be fixed, to stiffen.* It has been suggested that the Latin and the German forms are connected, and the hypothetical Indo-European root « * régh-o-, * ṛgh-é- » has been proposed as the source of both (August Fick, 'Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der idg. Sprachen,' Göttingen, 1890, p. 517 : Fick regarded this as belonging specially to the West European i.e. "centum" group of Indo-European, and he further connected the Greek « √arkh » *to be first* and Lithuanian « rãgas », Old Slav « rogŭ » *horn* : W. Prellwitz accepts all this in his 'Etymologisches Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache,' Göttingen, 1905, under « árkhō » ; E. Boisacq, however, regards these etymologies as dubious, 'Dictionnaire étymologique de la Langue grecque,' Heidelberg, 1906, under « arkhós » ; and A. Walde also disputes them, 'Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch,' Heidelberg, 1910, under « rigeo, recens, frīgeo »).

Was there a root « * ragh, rah » = *to stand, to be fixed, to be stiff* also in OIA. ? The possibility of an OIA. form like « * ragh, rah » is made a probability by the presence in most NIA. of « √ rah », and also of « √ raha » in MIA. (as in Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī « sō ẏa aīva jūẏa-pasaṅgī ; nivasaṇa-mĕttaṁ pi na rahaē » *he is excedingly addicted to gambling : not even his clothes remain* : Jacobi, 'Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Mahārāṣṭrī,' Leipzig, 1886, p. 58 : it features also in the Jaina *kāvya* « Siri-sirivāla-kahā » : cf. 'Pāïa-sadda-mahaṇṇavō' by Hargovinddas Trikamchand Seṭh, Calcutta, 1925 ; it occurs also in the late work 'Prākṛta-Pāiṅgala'). The use of this root in MIA. Jaina texts favours the assumption that it also occurred in the traditional Ardha-māgadhī from Early MIA. times. The eastern dialect of Aśōka undoubtedly

is Ardha-māgadhī of the Early MIA. period (cf. H. Lüders, 'Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen,' p. 41). In that puzzling passage in Aśōka's Pillar Edict IV, « lajūkā pi laghaṁti paṭicalitavē maṁ (,) pulisāni pi mē chaṁdaṁnāni paṭicalisaṁti », the word « laghaṁti=laghanti » has been interpreted to mean *are eager* (=« raṅghantē » : Bühler) and *they must* (= « arhanti » : *auch die Lajjukas müssen mir gehorchen*, H. Lüders, 'Sitzungsberichte der kön. preuss. Akad. der Wisschenschaften,' Vol. LIII, 1913, p. 993). But it seems very likely that it means *remain*, and is the Aśōkan equivalent of the NIA. « rah » : *the* Lajjūkas *also remain* (*are staying*) *to serve* (*obey*) *me, and they will also serve* (*obey*) *the officials who know my will* seems to be the proper translation (cf. A. C. Woolner, 'Asoka Text and Glossary,' 1925, II, p. 86). The sense of « √arh », with an implication of compulsion, is hardly suitable in this general statement in the above passage. In Bhabra Inscription, however, we have the OIA. « √arh » in the form « alah » with the « a- » retained : thus, « alahāmi hakaṁ taṁ vatavē » (= arhāmy ahaṁ tad vaktavē=vaktum). The assumption of an OIA. root « * ragh, rah, lagh », from the occurrence of it in NIA. and in (Late) MIA. (Jaina Prakrit) and from the presence in extra-Indian Indo-European of « rĕgen, rigeo » etc., seems to be borne out by the Aśōkan « laghaṁti ». And it is not unlikely that there was a confusion between this « * ragh, rah, lagh » and « argh, arh, arah, alah » in MIA.

769. Root থাক « thāk » *to remain* < *to be fixed.* It is commonly derived from the OIA. « √sthā », but Hoernle connects it with « √stabh + kṛ » > MIA. « thakka » (see *supra*, p. 680). This is certainly the true derivation, although it is possible that OIA. « √sthā »> « thā, tha » has merged into it : cf. Oṛiyā « √thā » beside « √thåk », Assåmese past form « thåïlā », Bengali causative থোয় « thōy » *places* (sthāpayati). Equivalents of this root occur in other NIA.—in Bihārī, in W. Hindī, in Gujarātī ; and it is found in Late MIA.,—in the 'Prākṛtā Pāiṅgala,' for instance.

770. Root বট « båṭ » as a substantive verb in the Standard Colloquial is frequently used to express doubt or polite assent, and as such is ordinarily restricted to the 3rd person present only—বটে

« bȧṭē »—which has practically been reduced to a particle of assent or query in Standard NB. The root is defective in not having past and future forms, and conjunctives, participles and verbal nouns. The forms for the 1st and 2nd persons, and the honorific, are sometimes used: বটি « bȧṭi » *I am, I may be*; বটিস, বট « bȧṭis, bȧṭȧ »; বটেন « bȧṭēnȧ », generally with the conjunction যদি, যদিও « yȧdi, yȧdi-ō » *if, although.* The 3rd personal form is sometimes used for emphasis—সেই বটে « sēi bȧṭē » *it is he indeed*. In the West Rāḍha dialects, the use of « bȧṭē » as the equivalent of « āchē » and « hȧy » is still preserved: *e.g.*, in Manbhum, তোমার হাতে ঘটিতে কি? « tōmārȧ hātē ghȧṭī-tē ki? » *what have you got in the vessel in you hand?* জল বটে « jȧlȧ bȧṭē » *it is water.*

In Oṛiyā, the counterpart of « bȧṭ » is « ȧṭ », also a defective verb. The loss of the initial « b (<v) » in Oṛiyā seems to have been brought about by the occurrence of the verb in the middle of the sentence, which helped to reduce the « v- », which became « b- » in Bengali, to a glide « ŵ » which came to be dropped. Maithilī and Magahī have not preserved the root, but in Bhōjpuriyā it is a very common and useful substantive verb, its forms there being « bāṭ-, bāṛ-, bā, bā-ni » etc.

The source of this root is the OIA. « vṛt » *to turn, to revolve, to roll, to take place, to occur, to exist, to remain* etc.: « vartatē », MIA. Māgadhī « vaṭṭati, vaṭṭaï » > বটে « bȧṭē » (see *supra*, p. 319).

771. Some Bengali verbs present irregularities in their conjugations, especially in the past bases. But these irregularities are not so great as in Panjābī or Marāṭhī. The process of standardisation early levelled down the passive participle bases derived from MIA. to a regular « -il- » form in Bengali. A few survivals, however, remain. Thus কর « √kȧr », past tense MB. করিল « kȧrilȧ » (> NB. ক'র্‌ল ক'ল্‌ল, কর্‌লে ক'ল্‌লে [korlo, kollo, korle, kolle]) is a new and regular formation in eMB. from the root, but the earlier form derived from MIA. « *kaẏa-illa » is the OB. and MB. কৈল « kȧilȧ », now obsolete or dialectal: cf. Oṛiyā « kȧlā », Bihārī « kaĭl ». So মরিল « mȧrilȧ » *died* > ম'র্‌ল্ ম'ল্‌ল [morlo, mollo], beside the older মৈল « mȧilȧ », which is found in both standard and dialectal Bengali as ম'ল [molo]; and on the analogy of « kȧilȧ, mȧilȧ », we have in MB.

a seemingly archaic মাইল « māïlā » (whence the dialectal West Bengali মেলে « mēlē », i.e., « māïl-ē ») for a regular মারিল « mār-il-ā » *he struck* (« mārita + -illa », a causative form, which occurs in the Standard Colloquial as মার্লে, মাল্লে [marle, malle < * marile]); and also পৈল « pāilā » *fell* in MB., for পড়িল « pāṛilā » > NB. প'ড়্‌ল [poṛlo]. Root যা, জা « jā » (OIA. « yā ») has the past base গেল « gēlā » = Early Assamese « gāilā », Oṛiyā « gālā », Bihārī « gail », from OIA. « gata » + « -ila »; this is the genuine and current form, and যাইল « jāïlā » is a regular « sādhu-bhāṣā » creation out of যা « √jā », which is not the spoken form. The conjunctive forms are গেলে « gēlē » and গিয়া, গিয়ে « giyā, giyē » *on going, having gone* (cf. Early Bengali, Early Assamese গই « gāï », also found in OB.); but যেলে « jēlē » and যেয়ে « jēyē » would appear to be extremely uncommon in colloquial Bengali, and would seem to be based on the literary forms যাইলে, যাইয়া « jāïlē, jāïyā ».

772. The roots meaning *give* and *take* have had a close inter-influence in their history. OIA. root « dā » *to give* did not use its reduplicated forms in MIA., and already in Transitional MIA. (Bharhut), it figures as « dēti » < « *dayati », apparently through analogy of « nayati > nēti » (from « √nī » *to lead, to take away*). The passive participle base was « datta » in OIA. (which seems to be preserved in the Panjābī « dittā »); and a form « *dita » also occurred in OIA., which gave W. Hindī « diyā », Bengali দিল « di-lā »; beside another in « -nn- », attested from MIA. « dinna- » and NIA. « dīnau » (W. Hindī, Brajbhākhā), « dīnha » (Early Awadhī), « dīdhō = * dindhaü, dinhaü » (Gujarātī : cf. Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 126 [3]). We have besides the form « dēl- » in Bihārī, in which occurs the vocalism of the present. NB. Vowel Harmony has largely modified the original disposition of the « -i- » and « -ē- » vowels (see *supra*, p. 894). For *take*, we have as many as *three* roots in Bengali. The standard « sādhu-bhāṣā » knows only ল, লহ « √lā, lāh » (which, if it is not the Skt. « labh », is at least influenced by its *tbh.* form « √ lah ») : Present 1. লই « lāï », 2. লইস্‌, ল'স « lāïs, lā's », লহ, লও « lāhā, lāō », 3. লহে, লয় « lāhē, lāy », honorific ল'ন, লয়েন, লহেন « lānā, lāyēnā, lāhēnā »; Imperative 2. ল « lā<lāhā », লও, লহ « lāō, lāhā < lāhāhā »,

3. লউক « låukå̸ », honorific লউন « låünå̸ »; Past base লইল « låïlå- », Future base, লব, লইব « låbå-, låïbå- », Conjunctive লইয়া « låïyā », Passive Participle লওয়া « låwā ». This « låh, lå » root occurs in MB. literature also. But it is never used in spoken Bengali. The vocalism parallels that of roots সহ, বহ « såh, båh » as given above (*e.g.*, Future [ʃɔɦibo > ʃoibo, ʃɔbo], so [lɔɦibo > loibo, lɔbo]), and thus indicates the form « lah » (< « labh ») as a source of the NB. root. The dialects (other than Standard Colloquial) use a root লে « lē », *e.g.*, Present 1. লি(ই) « li(i) », 2. লিস্ « lis », লেও > লাও « lēo > lāo », 3. Present লেয় « lēy » [læĕ], Past লিলে « lilē », Future লিবে, লেবে « libē, lēbē », Conjunctive লিয়ে « liyē », etc.: this root is now regarded as vulgar; but it figures in MB., and in OB. (*e.g.*, Caryā 14, « kawaḍī na lēi, bōḍī na lēi » *takes not a cowrie shell, takes not a farthing*; Caryā 10, « lēmi » *I take*; 32, « lēhu » *you take*; 49, « lēlī » *taken*). It seems that this « √lē », and « lå, låh » were confused with each other: « lē » was made to approach « låh » as an elegant, literary form. The OB. conjunctive forms « laï » (Caryās 29, 38, 47), « låïā » (28, 45), « laïā̃ » (26) seem already to be the result of this confusion in changing the root vowel of « lē » to « la » as in « lah » (cf. NB. dialectal « liyē » *having taken* < « √ lē »). This « lē » is found in Bihārī, in E. Hindī, in W. Hindī (lē-nā), etc. The source of it seems to be the OIA. root « lā » *to take*, as in Sanskrit. In Sanskrit, however, this root is not so common. The popular Skt. root is « grah », which is represented by forms in some of the NIA. speeches. The change of « lā » to « lē » is probably the result of the influence of « dēï, dēti = dāti, dadāti » (cf. Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe', p. 400, under *leṇeṃ*). The Standard Colloquial root meaning *to take* (occurring also in MB.) is নি, নে « ni, nē », now conjugated exactly on the model of « dē » (see *supra*, p. 894). It may be that this form is due to the change of the initial « l- » of « lē » to « n- » (see *Phonology*, p. 545); but it is at least equally likely that here we have the OIA. root « nī » *to lead, to carry off for one's self* > *to take*. We have আন « ān » = « ā + √nī » as a common verb in Bengali; and it is exceedingly likely that OIA. « √nī » has also survived in Bengali.

OB. had the root « ghēn » *to take* (< OIA. gṛhṇāti) : cf. Caryā 6, « ghini (= ghēni) mēli » = « gṛhītvā muktvā », according to the Commentary. It is lost to Bengali now, but Oṛiyā still retains this root as a common form (√ghēn).

It is curious that the root for *taking* also means *wearing* (*clothes*), in Oṛiyā (« √ghēn »), in Marāṭhī (lēṇē̃), and in MIA. (« laïaṁ parihitaṁ : laïaṁ aṅgē pinaddham ity anyē » —'Dēśināma-māla' quoted by Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' p. 400 : cf. Skt. « vāsāṁsi jīrṇāni yathā vihāya navāni gṛhṇāti narō' parāṇi »).

773. Root আ « √ā » *to come* is a defective root, which is affiliated to root আইস, আস « √āïs, ās » *to come* (< OIA. ā + √viś), to supply an optional past form and the familiar imperative (= singular). Thus—

3 Present, MB., NB. (sādhu-bhāṣā) আইসে, আসে « āïsē, āsē », NB. Standard Coll. আসে « āsē » ; 3 Past, MB. আইসিল « āïsilā », NB. (sādhu-bhāṣā) আসিল « āsilā », also MB. আইল « āïlā », NB. Standard Coll. এল [elo], East Bengali আস্‌ল [aĭʃlo] ; 3 Future, MB., NB. (sādhu-bhāṣā) আসিবে « āsibē », NB. আস্‌বে [aʃbē] ; Imperative, 2 familiar or inferior আয় « āy », 2 ordinary « sādhu-bhāṣā » আইস « āïsā », Standard Coll. এসো [eʃo], আইসুক, আসুক « āïsukā, āsukā », 2, 3 honorific আ(ই)সুন « ā(i)sunā », Future Imperative 2 inferior আ(ই)সিস্ « ā i)sis », ordinary NB. আইসিও « ā(i)siō » > এসো [eʃo] ; Conjunctive আসিয়া « āsiyā », এসে « ēsē » ; Absolutive, আসিলে « āsilē » > আস্‌লে « āslē », beside আইলে « āïlē » > NB. এলে « ēlē » ; Present Participle আসিতে « āsitē » > আস্‌তে « āste ».

The form « ā » comes from OIA. « ā + √yā » : « āyāta + -ila- > * āāilla- > * āïlla- » > আইল « āïlā- > এল [elo]. The verbal noun connected with this root is আনা « ānā », which is not found by itself : but here, as the OB. form « avaṇā-gavaṇā » *coming and going* (found in the Caryās : = NB. আনাগোনা « ānā-gōnā ») shows, we have « √gam » — « āgamana- + gamana- ». It seems a MIA. form like « * āaŵaï » (= OIA. * ā-gamati) has merged into « ā + √yā ». The present tense of « √ā » is not found in NB., but OB. shows « āvaï » (Caryā 42 ; also spelt « āvayi » in Caryā 43). Corresponding to this OB. « āvaï, avaṇā- » we have W. Hindī 3 Present « āwē », Verbal Noun or Infinitive « ānā » ; in Bihārī

(Maithilī), Verbal Noun « āb », Present Participle « ăbait » beside « āŏt », 3 Future and Conditional Past (= original Present Participle) « au̯ta- », Present 3 person original singular « āē » beside « ābai », plural > honorific « ābathī », Future 1st person « āĕb, āŏb », conjunctive « ābi, āï, āy ». (Grierson, 'Maithilī Grammar,' §§ 312, 313). The Maithilī « -b-, -o- » forms, both from original « -w- », clearly show that as in Bengali, we have also the OIA. « * āgamati » > MIA. « * āaw̃aï » form: Māithilī « āē = āï < āyāti », and « ābai = āwaï < * āgamati, ābathi < āgamanti, āeb < āyātavya, āob < * āgamitavya ». The Maithilī past base always is « ai̯l- », where it is < « āyāta + -illa », as in Bengali « āïlā »: cf. W. Hindī « āyau̯, āyā » (< ā-yāta-ka).

Three OIA. roots preceded by the « ā » particle thus feature in the Bengali verb for *coming*: « ā-viś », « ā-yā » and « ā-gam ».

[P] Duplicated Verbs.

774. Certain verb-forms are doubled in Bengali to indicate repeated, intense or continuous action. These are either conjunctives in « -iyā » (or « -i » in Early Bengali), or present participles in « -itē », used with an adverbial force with reference to the finite verb. Thus we have in OB. (Caryā 10) « chaï chōï = chōw̃ï chōw̃i » *frequently touching*; (26) « dhuni dhuni » *by continually carding (cotton)*; (31) « cāhantē cāhantē » *continually scrutinising*; MB., Caṇḍī-dāsa, ঝুরিয়া ঝুরিয়া কান্দে « jhuriyā jhuriyā kāndē » *weeps (silently) shedding tears continually*; Gōvinda-dāsa, উড়িয়া পড়িয়া মাতল ভ্রমর ঘুরিয়া ঘুরিয়া বুলে « uṛiyā pȧṛiyā mātȧlȧ bhrȧmȧrȧ ghuriyā ghuriyā bulē » *the drunken bee flies and moves and circles round and round*, হাসিয়া হাসিয়া অঙ্গ দোলাইয়া নাচিয়া নাচিয়া যায় « hāsiyā hāsiyā ȧŋgȧ dōlāïyā nāciyā nāciyā jāy » *goes smiling always, swinging the body and dancing always*; NB. দেখে দেখে « dēkhē dēkhē » *seeing for a long time*, খেটে খেটে « khēṭē khēṭē » *working continuously*, etc. This usage goes back at least to MIA.: cf. Late Skt. « pītvā pītvā punaḥ pītvā, patitvā ca mahītalē », an idiom based on MIA.

775. There are a number of roots which are used in pairs—roots similar in meaning, or indicating connected ideas, and together they

convey an intensive idea, or the idea of the entire process involved (cf. under 'Onomatopoetic Roots,' p. 891). These do not make what are known as 'Compound Verbs,' as both the roots take inflexions; *e.g.*, NB. বুঝে-সুঝে « bujhē-sujhē » *understanding well*, ধুয়ে-মুছে « dhuyē-muchē » *washing and wiping=making clean completely*, মেরে-ধ'রে « mērē-dhōrē » *striking and restraining=forcibly*, কাঁদে-কাটে « kā̃dē-kāṭē » *weeps and fidgets*, past tense কাঁদ্‌ল-কাট্‌ল « kā̃dlȧ-kāṭlā », future কাঁদ্‌বে-কাট্‌বে « kā̃dbe-kāṭbē »; নাচে কোঁদে « nācē-kõdē » *dances and capers*, past নাচ্‌ল-কুঁদ্‌ল « nāclȧ-kũdlȧ », future নাচ্‌বে-কুঁদ্‌বে « nācbē-kũdbē »; লাফাল-ঝাঁপাল « lāphālȧ-jhā̃pālȧ » *leapt and jumped*; হট্‌কানো-পাট্‌কানো « huṭkānō-pāṭkānō » *to turn topsy-turvey, to ransack*; etc. They occur in earlier Bengali as well: ŚKK., ছিণ্ডি-জুলি « chiṇḍi-juli » *tearing and scattering*; so ভাঁগি-জুলি « bhā̃gi-juli »; উথাআঁ-পাথাআঁ « uthāā̃-pāthāā̃ » *cheering and heartening*; 'Sayings of Ḍāka,' ধোইয়া-পৌচ্ছিয়া « dhōiyā-pȧucchiyā » *washing and wiping = thoroughly washing*; etc.

There is another kind of reduplication, behaving like the roots which are used in pairs, in which, following the habit of Bengali with regard to nouns, the verb is repeated by an artificial form in which the vowel or the consonant in the initial syllable of the verb is changed, and a jingle thus results, which continues the idea of the verb, or brings in notions of a similar nature: *e.g.*, খেয়ে-দেয়ে « khēyē-dēyē » *having finished one's meal*; জিরিয়ে-টিরিয়ে « jiriyē-ṭiriyē » *resting and reposing*; কাঁদে টাদে « kā̃dē-ṭādē » *weeps and sorrows*; ঝাড়্‌লে-ঝুড়্‌লে « jhāṛlē-jhuṛlē » *wiped and cleaned* (see *supra*, p. 176, on 'Echo Words'). This form is also found in MB.: *e.g.*, Ḍāka, খায়-দায়, না পালে হাণ্ডী « khāy-dāy, nā pālē hāṇḍī » *eats and enjoys, but does not attend to the cooking pot.*

776. There is in Bengali, as in other NIA., a common Verbal Noun of Reciprocity, which may be noted in this connexion. The verbal root or the noun is doubled, and they are connected by a link vowel « -ā- », and the second part of this reduplicated form takes the affix « -i < -ī »: *e.g.*, জানাজানি « jānā-jāni » *knowing in common*, বলাবলি « bȧlā-bȧli » *informing each other*, হুড়াহুড়ি « huṛā-huṛi » *pushing and pulling each other*, মারামারি « mārā-māri » *striking each other* > *fighting*, দেখাদেখি

« dēkhā-dēkhi » *seeing each other, mutual seeing,* ঘুষাঘুষি « ghuṣā-ghuṣi » *fighting with fisticuffs,* কানাকানি « kānā-kāni » *talking with mouth by each other's ears, whispering,* হাতাহাতি « hātā-hāti » *hand-to-hand fight,* মুখামুখি « mukhā-mukhi » *face-to-face,* etc. These nouns can be used adverbially.

Similar formations are known to OIA. Pāṇini has already noted them, under *Bahu-vrīhi* compounds (cf. 'Aṣṭâdhyāyī,' II, ii, 27, and V, iv, 127 : « kēśā-kēśi, daṇḍā-daṇḍi, karṇā-karṇi, muṣṭā-muṣṭi, jalpā-jalpi » etc.) In OIA., these are nominal compounds only, the « -ā- » being the modification of the stem-vowel of the word. This formation occurred with concrete nouns as well as verbal nouns in OIA. (cf. « jalpā-jalpi ») ; and the final « -i » seems to have been strengthened by « -ka » in MIA., so that it could be retained in NIA. as « -ī, -i » (-ika > -ia > -ī, -i : * karṇā-karṇi-ka > * kaṇṇākaṇṇia > kānākānī, -ni).

Repeated roots of the type noted above in § 775 form by analogy compounds of a similar type, only the reciprocal sense is absent : *e.g.,* চেঁচামেচি « cẽcā-mēci » *shouting and noise* (*singly or by many*), কাঁদাকাটি « kẫdā-kāṭi » *weeping and sorrowing,* etc.

[Q] Compound Verbs.

777. Modern IA. languages agree in having a remarkable idiomatic use of verb roots in connexion with a noun or a verbal conjunctive or participle. The noun which is compounded is in the accusative, and occasionally in the locative; and the verbal form remains unaffected, the root following taking the temporal and personal affixes. The two parts combined form one idea. The inflected root in such a group, though outwardly in form the principal part modified by a noun or by a participle, is properly the auxiliary ; and sometimes it has no special force, although generally it strengthens or otherwise modifies the idea of the preceding verbal participle or noun. The use of this 'Compound Verb' or 'Group Verb' construction amply compensates for the loss of the root-modifying prefixes which form such a characteristic feature of Sanskrit and of Indo-European speeches outside India. In English, the modifying prefix now comes after (*e.g., to lie down, to sit down, to put off, to put out*), though

we have older forms (like *to with-stand, to for-give, to for-get, to up-set,* etc.). So for English *sit down,* and Skt. « ni + √sad », we have in Bengali বসিয়া পড়া « båsiyā pårā », lit. *having sat, to fall,* = Hind. « baiṭh jānā » *having sat, to go.* The loss of the root-prefix both in form and significance (*e.g.,* « upa-viśati » becoming « båïsē, båsē », « pra + √āp » becoming « √pā ») as well as the absence of new root-modifying prefixes or particles when the old ones were lost by assimilation, has gradually brought about this make-shift of the Compound Verb. These compound verbs supply to some extent the want of modal and temporal affixes, and are as characteristic of the modern Indo-Aryan speeches as the 'aspects' of the verb in the Slav languages.

In this point there is a remarkable agreement with Dravidian (see *supra*, p. 174). In the Dravidian languages, compound verbs of exactly similar formation and function occur, *e.g.,* in Tamil, with « koḷḷu » *take,* « varu » *come,* « viḍu » *leave,* « pō » *go,* « uru » *come,* « adi » *strike,* « paḍu » *suffer,* etc.; in Telugu, with « konu » *buy, take,* « vesenu » *throw,* « iccu » *give,* etc. It is very likely that here we have another contribution of Dravidian in the formation of Modern Indo-Aryan speeches.

778. The Compound Verb occurs from the earliest period in NIA. We have, *e.g.,* in the Caryās, « diṭa(= diḍha)-karia » (1), « ? cauri-nila » (2), « ṭuṭi-gēli » (36), « ? saḍi-paḍiā » (44), « uṭhē (= uṭhi)-gēli » (47); in the ŚKK., আণি দিবোঁ « āṇi dibō̃ » *I shall bring,* কাঢ়ি নিলে « kāṛhi nilē » *snatched away,* লাগি গেল « lāgi gēlå » *become fixed,* কহিআঁ দেহ « kåhiā̃ dēhå » *do describe,* মুছিআঁ পেলাইবোঁ « muchiyā̃ pēlāibō̃ » *shall wipe off,* etc., etc. Examples are common in MB.

779. Types of the Compound Verb in Bengali.

(Cf. J. T. Platts, 'Hindustānī Grammar,' pp. 169-180; S. H. Kellogg, 'Hindī Grammar,' pp. 257-279; Grierson, 'Maithilī Grammar,' pp. 289-298.)

I. Nominals.

(a) Accusative: জমা করা « jåmā-kårā » *to gather,* দর্শন করা « dårśånå-kårā » *to see* (e.g., *the deity in a temple*), দর্শন দেওয়া « dårśånå-dēwā » *to*

show oneself, আহার করা « āhārḁ-kārā » *to eat*, আহার দেওয়া « āhārḁ-dēwā » *to feed*, পাস or ফেল করা or হওয়া « pāsḁ-, phēlḁ, kārā, hāwā » *to pass or fail (in examination)*, স্বাদ নেওয়া « swādḁ-nēwā » *to taste*, জল দেওয়া « jālḁ-dēwā » *to water*, নাম নেওয়া « nāmḁ-nēwā- » *to repeat the name (of God)*, লাফ দেওয়া « lāphḁ-dēwā » *to jump* (Sanskritised in the « sādhu-bhāṣā » as লম্ফ প্রদান করা « lāmphā-prādānḁ kārā »), etc., etc.

(b) Locative: আগ বাড়া or বাড়ান « āgḁ-bāṛā, -bāṛānā » *to advance*, গা করা « gā-kārā » *to receive properly, to attend (receive on body*, cf. গায়ে মাখা « gāē mākhā » = *to smear on the body* in the same sense), etc.

(c) With the locative verbal noun (or infinitive) in ইতে « -itē »:

(i) Inceptives (with « √lāg » *to be attached*): করিতে > ক'র্‌তে লাগা « kāritē > kōrtē lāgā » *to set to do*, খাইতে > খেতে লাগা « khāïtē > khētē lāgā » *to set to eat*, etc.

(ii) Desideratives: দিতে চাওয়া « ditē cāwā » *to wish to give* (with « √cā, cāh » *to want*);

(iii) Acquisitives: দেখিতে > দেখ্‌তে পাওয়া « dēkhitē > dēkhtē pāwā » *to be able to see* (with « √pā » *to get*),

(iv) Permissives: বসিতে > ব'স্‌তে দেওয়া « bāsitē > bōstē dēwā » *to allow to sit* (« √dē » *to give*);

(v) Potentials: চলিতে > চ'ল্‌তে পারা « cālitē > cōltē pārā » *to be able to walk* (« √ pār » *to be able*).

(d) With the verbal noun in « -i » and in « -ā »: Reflexives: মুড়ি দেওয়া « muṛi-dēwā » *to wrap oneself up*, গুড়ি মারা « guṛi-mārā » *to creep, to cower*, হামা দেওয়া « hāmā-dēwā » *to crawl on all fours*, etc., etc.

II. Verbals.

(a) With the conjunctive (in « -iyā, -ē »):

(i) Intensives: কাড়িয়া > কেড়ে নেওয়া « kāṛiyā > kēṛē nēwā » *to snatch away*; ভাঙ্গিয়া > ভেঙ্গে দেওয়া « bhāŋgiyā > bhēŋgē dēwā » *to break fully*, আসিয়া > এসে পড়া « āsiyā > ēsē pāṛā » *to come along, to reach*; উঠিয়া > উঠে পড়' « uṭhiyā > uṭhē pāṛā » *to get up*; দিয়া > দিয়ে দেওয়া « diyā > diyē dēwā » *to give away*; ভাগিয়া > ভেগে পড়া « bhāgiyā > bhēgē pāṛā » *to decamp*; সরিয়া > স'রে পড়া « sāriyā > sōrē pāṛā » *to retire (silently)*;

উঠিয়া পড়িয়া > উঠে প'ড়ে লাগা « uṭhiyā-pāriyā > uṭhē-pōṛē lāgā » *to be up and doing, to be at something tenaciously*; etc., etc.

(ii) Intensives and Completives: খাইয়া > খেয়ে ফেলা « khāïyā > khēyē phēlā » *to eat completely, to finish entirely*; মুছিয়া > মুছে ফেলা « muchiyā > muchē phēla » *to rub off*; কাটিয়া > কেটে ফেলা « kāṭiyā < kēṭē phēlā » *to cut down*; বলিয়া > ব'লে ফেলা « bāliyā > bōlē phēlā » *to blurt out*; বসিয়া > ব'সে পড়া « bāsiyā > bōsē pāṛā » *to sit down*, etc., etc. Generally with « √phēl » *to throw, to cast* with transitives, and « √paṛ » with intransitives.

(iii) Inceptives, with যা « √jā » *to go*; লাগিয়া > লেগে যাওয়া « lāgiyā > lēgē jāwā » *to start*; বসিয়া > ব'সে যাওয়া « bāsiyā > bōsē jāwā » *to sit down for something*, etc.

(iv) Staticals: বসিয়া > ব'সে থাকা, রহা (রওয়া) « bāsiyā > bōsē thākā, rāhā (rāwā) » *to continue to sit, to remain sitting*; লাগিয়া > লেগে থাকা, রহা « lāgiyā > lēgē thākā, rāhā » *to be fixed or working at something*; জাগিয়া > জেগে থাকা, রহা « jāgiyā > jēgē thākā, rāhā » *to keep awake*, etc. (The « -iyā » forms here may be the passive participle rather than the conjunctive).

(v) Continuatives: বকিয়া > ব'কে যাওয়া « bākiyā > bōkē jāwā » *to go on chattering*; খাইয়া > খেয়ে যাওয়া « khāïyā > khēyē jāwā » *to go on eating*, etc. (খাইয়া যাওয়া « khāïyā jāwā » is also passive, *to get eaten*, where the « -iyā » form is not the conjunctive: see *supra*, pp. 922 ff.).

(vi) Miscellaneous: *e.g.*, করিয়া > ক'রে দেখা « kāriyā > kōrē dēkhā » *to experiment* (*to do and see*); বুঝাইয়া > বুঝিয়ে দেওয়া « bujhāïyā > bujhiyē dēwā » *to explain*; ছিট্‌কাইয়া > ছিট্‌কিয়ে পড়া « chiṭkāïyā > chiṭkiyē pāṛā » *to be scattered*; etc., etc.

(b) With the Present Participle in ইতে « -itē »:

(i) Continuatives or Frequentatives: দিতে, করিতে > ক'র্‌তে, হাসিতে > হাস্‌তে থাকা « ditē, kāritē > kōrtē, hāsitē > hāstē thākā » *to remain giving, doing, smiling*; etc.

(ii) Staticals: করিতে করিতে যাওয়া « kāritē-kāritē jāwā » *to go while doing*, নাচিতে নাচিতে গাওয়া « nācitē-nācitē gāwā » *to sing while dancing*. (Here the form is strictly not of the compound verb, as both roots retain their independent meaning: but the « -itē » forms have an adverbial sense.)

APPENDIX.

780. The following are the main or typical stages in the development of Bengali as a Modern Indo-European language from the Primitive Indo-European speech:

(1) Indo-European, c. 2500 B.C.;

(2) Indo-Iranian or Aryan, c. 1800 B.C.;

(3) Old Indo-Aryan (Vedic Dialects), c. 1200 B.C.;

(4) Transition to Middle Indo-Aryan in the Prācya or Eastern speech, c. 700 B.C.;

(5) Early Middle Indo-Aryan of Magadha (Old Māgadhī), c. 300 B.C.;

(6) Transitional Middle Indo-Aryan of Magadha, about the time of Christ;

(7) Second Middle Indo-Aryan of Magadha, c. 300 A.C.;

(8) Late Middle Indo-Aryan of Magadha and Bengal, or Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa, c. 800 A.C.;

(9) Old Bengali, c. 1100 A.C.;

(10) Early Middle Bengali, c. 1400 A.C.;

(11) Late Middle Bengali, c. 1600 A.C.;

(12) New Bengali or Modern Bengali, after 1800 A.C.

In the preceding pages, this development from the third stage as above, from Old Indo-Aryan, has been sought to be indicated in its general lines, both in sounds and in inflexions. The development of Old Indo-Aryan from the parent Indo-European speech properly forms a distinct branch of the subject. To illustrate the transformation of Indo-European to Bengali, however, a few sentences in New Bengali are taken below, and their equivalents through the typical preceding stages are given, and in this way the hypothetical Indo-European source-forms are worked back. This will indicate within a short compass the processes underlying this transformation.

All the words in OIA., Indo-Iranian, and Indo-European sentences below have been accented.

(i) মা ঘরে আছে « mā ghårē āchē » *mother is in the house* < eMB. মাও ঘরে আছে (আছএ) « māo ghårē āchē (āchåē) » < OB. * « māŵa gharē (gharaï, gharahi, gharahī) āchaï » < Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa * « māa (māŵa) gharahī (gharahi, ghalahī, ghalahi *or* ghari) acchaï » < Māgadhī Prakrit * « māā (<māðā, mādā) ghalahī (<ghalaðhi, ghaladhi ; *or* ghalaśśi, *or* ghalē) acchaï (< acchaði, acchadi) » < Old Māgadhī (Prācya) (= First MIA.) * « mātā ghaladhi (ghalaśśi, ghalē) acchati » = Late OIA. (not Prācya) * « mātā gharadhi (< garhadhi) *or* gharassi (< garhasmin, gharē) acchati » < OIA. « mātā́ * gṛhá-dhi (gṛhḗ) * ácchati (* acchā́ti) » < Indo-Iranian * « mātā́ ghṛdhá-dhi (ghṛdhái) as-ç(h)á-ti (<as-ská-ti) » < Indo-European * « mātḗ(r) ghṛdhó-dhi (ghṛdhéi) es-ské-ti ».

(ii) সাধ হয় মোর মনে « sādhå̆ [ʃaːdɦ] håy mōrå̆ månē » *a longing is in my mind* (the form মোর « mōrå̆ » *my* is archaic for the NB. Standard Colloquial) < eMB. সাধ হোএ মোর মণে « sādhå hōē mōrå måṇē » < OB. * « sādha hōi mōra maṇē (maṇaï, maṇahi, maṇahī) » < Māg. Ap. * « śaddha hōi mōarahī (= mō̃-alahī, maŵa-kalahī) maṇahī » < Māg. Prakrit * « śaddhā hōi (< hōði, hōdi) mama-kalabi maṇahi (< maṇaðhi, maṇadhi, maṇaśśi) » < Old Māgadhī * « śaddhā hōti (*or* bhōti) mama manadhi (manaśśi) » < Transitional OIA. * « śarddhā bhavati mama manadhi (manasmin) » < OIA. « śráddhā bhávati máma mánasi » < Indo-Iranian * « çrád-dhā bháwati mána mánasi » < Indo-European * « kréd-dhē bhéweti méne ménesi ». (হয় « håy » also represents an OIA. « * as-a-ti », IE. « es-e-ti » : see *supra*, pp. 1038-1040).

(iii) দাঁড়ে না বায় « dā̃ṛē nā bāy » *rows a boat with an oar* (= *stick*) (the word না « nā́ » is rather archaic for the NB. Standard Colloquial) < eMB. দাঁড়ে (দাণ্ডে) নাও বাহে « dā̃ṛē (dāṇḍē) nāo bāhē » < OB. * « dāṇḍē nāŵa bāhaï » < Māg. Ap. * « daṇḍēṁ (daṇḍē̃) nāaṁ (nāŵā, nāā) bāhēi » < Māg. Prakrit * « daṇḍēṇa(ṁ) nāaṁ vāhēi (< vāhēði, vāhēdi) » < Old Māgadhī * « daṇḍēṇa nāvaṁ vāhēti (<vāhaiti, vāhay'ti) » <OIA. « daṇḍéna, daṇḍā́ (* dandrā́) nā́vam vāhā́yati » <Indo-Iranian * « dandrā́ nā́wa (nā́wm) wā́źhayati » < Indo-European * « dendrṓ (? derdrṓ) nā́wṃ wēĝhéyeti ».

(iv) গোয়ালা গাই দোয় « gōwālā gāï dōy » *the cowherd milks the cow* < eMB. গোআলা গাই দুহে (দুহএ) « gōālā gāï duhē (duhåē) » < OB. « gōāl-å (gōwāl-ā) gāï (gāwī) duhaï » < Māg. Ap. * « gōāla (gōāli) gāïṁ (gāī) duhaï » < Māg. Prakrit * « gōvālē (< gōbālē, gōbālē) gāviṁ duhaï (< duhaδi, duhadi) » < Old Māgadhī * « gōpālē gāviṁ duhati » < Transitional OIA. * « gōpālaḥ gāvīṁ duhati » < OIA. « gō-pāláḥ (gō-páḥ) gā́vīm (gā́m) dṓgdhi » < Indo-Iranian * « gau-pā́s (gau-pālā́s) gā́(w)m dháugdhi » < Indo-European * « gʷou-pṓs (gʷou-pōlós) gʷṓ(w)m dhéugh-ti ».

(v) বর বে (বিয়ে) ক'রে বউ আনে « bårå bē (biyē) kōrē båu ānē » *the bridegroom brings (leads) the bride after having married* < eMB. বর বিআ (বিহা) করিআ বহু আণে (আণএ) « bårå bi(h)ā kåriā båhu āṇē (āṇåē) » < OB. * « bara biāha (= biẏāha, biwāha) kariā (karī) bahu āṇaï » < Māg. Ap. * « bara (bari) biāhaṁ (biwāhā) karia bahuṁ (bahū) āṇēi » < Māg. Prakrit * « valē vivāhaṁ kalia (kadua) (*or* ūḍḍhā) vahuṁ āṇēi (< āṇēδi, āṇēdi) » < Transitional OIA. * « valaḥ (varaḥ) vivāhaṁ karya (kṛ-t-ya, kṛtvā) (*or* ūḍhvā) vadhūm āṇaiti (ānay'ti) » < OIA. « váraḥ (* válaḥ) vi-vāhám kṛtvā́ (*or* ūḍhvā́) vadhū́m ā́ náyati » < Indo-Iranian * « wáras (wálas) wí wāẑhám kṛtwā́ (*or* uẑdhwā́, uẑhtwā́) wadhū́m ā́ náyati » < Indo-European * « wélos wí wēghóm kṛtwṓ (*or* ughtwṓ) wedhū́m ṓ néyeti ».

(vi) মানুষের আই শ বছর « mānuṣērå āï śå båchårå » *a man's life-time is a hundred years* (the word আই « āï » *life-time, man's age*, is by itself rather archaic for New Bengali, but it occurs in পরমাই « påråmāï », আইবুড় « āï-buṛå », etc. ; and বছর « båchårå » seems to be a *sts.*) < eMB. মানুষের আউ শ (শঅ) বছর « māṇuṣērå āu śå (śåå) båchårå » < OB. * « māṇuśērå āu (āwu) śaa (śawa) bacchara » < Māg. Ap. * « māṇuśa-ēra āu (āwu) śaaṁ bacchară (bacchală) » < Māg. Prakrit * « māṇuśa-kēlē (= māṇuśaśśa) āu śaaṁ (< śaδaṁ, śadaṁ) vacchalā » < Old Māgadhī * « māṇuśaśśa āvu (āyu) śataṁ vacchalā (vacchalāśē) » < OIA. « mā́nuṣasya (= mánuṣasya) āyúḥ śatáṁ vatsarā́ḥ (vatsarā́saḥ ; * vatā́ḥ) » < Indo-Iranian * « mā́nuśasya āyúś çatám watsarā́s (watsarā́sas ; watā́s) » < Indo-European * « mónusosyo āyús kṃtóm wetṓs (? wetserṓs) ».

(vii) সে দৌড়ে এল (গেল) « sē dåuṛē ēlō (gēlå [gælo]) » *he came (went) running* (lit. *having run*) < eMB. সে দৌড়িআ আইল (গেল) « sē dåuṛiā

āïlå (gēlå) » < OB. * « śē daüḍiā (daüḍī) āïlaa, āẏilaŵa (gēlaa, gēlaŵa) » < Māg. Ap. * « śē (śaï, śi) dava-ḍ-ia āyillaa (gaillaa, gaẏaillaa) » < Māg. Prakrit * « śē (śaē < śaġē, śagē) dava-ḍ-ia (davia) āāē (āẏāē<aẏāðē, āyādē) (gaē <gaðē, gadē ; gaḍē) » < Old Māgadhī * « śē (śakē) davia (dava-ṭ-iya) āyātē (gatē ; gaṭē) » < Transitional OIA. * « saḥ (sa-ka-ḥ, sa) dravya (dru-t-ya, drutvā) āyātaḥ (gataḥ) » < OIA. « sa drutvā́ (= drávan) ā́ yātáḥ (gatáḥ) » < Indo-Iranian * « sa drutwā́ (= drā́wan[ts]) ā́ yātás (gatás) » < Indo-European * « so drutwṓ (= drówonts) ṓ (e)yātós (gʷm̥tós) ».

(viii) জ্যান্তে দেখে না, ম'লে পায় « jyāntē [ʒæente] dēkhē [dækhe] nā, må'lē [mole] pāy » *does not see while living, obtains when dead* < eMB. জিয়ন্তে দেখে (দেখএ) না, মৈলে পাএ « jiyåntē dēkhē (dēkhåē) nā, måilē pāē » < OB. * « jīantē (=jīẏantē, jīŵantē) nā dēkhaï, maïlē pāaï (=pāŵaï) » < Māg. Ap. * « jīantahī na dĕkkhaï, maillahī (< maẏaillahī) pāvēï » < Māg. Prakrit * « jīvantahi (< jīvantadhi ; jīvantaśśi) na dekkhaï (< dekkhaði, dekkhadi), maahi (< madadhi, madaśśi ; maḍadhi, maḍaśśi) pāvēi (< pābeði, pābēdi) » < Old Māgadhī * « jīvantaśśi (jīvantē ; jīvantadhi) na dĕkkhati (dakkhati), maṭaśśi (maṭadhi ; maṭē) pāpēti (pappōti) » < Transitional OIA. * « jīvantē (= jīvantasmin, jīvati ; jīvan) na drekṣati (derkṣati < dṛkṣati, drakṣati, *present form*), mṛtē (mṛtaḥ) prāpaiti (< prāpay'ti, prāpayati = prāpnōti) » > OIA. « jívan na *drakṣati (= *dárśati), mṛtáḥ prá āpnṓti » < Indo-Iranian * « g'íwan(ts) na dárçati, mṛtás prá apnáuti » < Indo-European * « gʷ íwonts ne (nē) dérketi, mṛtós pró apnéuti ».

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

PAGE

1, *l.* 8: the number of Bengali speakers according to the Census of 1921 is 49,290,499.

4, *l.* 13: *read* 1915 *for* 1914, *and* F. *for* W.

8, *ll.* 20-23: these voiced stops accompanied by closure of the glottis are as a matter of fact found in certain East Bengali dialects, as regular substitutes for the voiced aspirates, [g', dz', ḍ', d', b'] for [gɦ, ʤɦ, ḍɦ, dɦ, bɦ], as I have found out subsequently. In East Bengali there is accompanying high tone.

12, *ll.* 12-17: Amīr Khusrau was born at Patiyālī in 1253, and died at Delhi in 1325 (E. G. Browne, 'Literary History of Persia,' II, p. 540). The first authentic poet of Urdū seems to have been Muhammad Qulī Quṭb Šāh, king of Golconda in the Deccan, who died in 1611 A.C. He used a vernacular Western Hindī speech with Panjābī affinities, not exactly identical with the Hindōstānī of later times. (Cf. Braj-ratn Dās, 'Urdū-kā Pratham Kavi' in the 'Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā,' Benares, New Series, Vol. 4, No. 2.)

27, *footnote l.* 17: *after* 1916, p. 364, *add*: R. G. Bhandarkar, in the JBBRAS., Vol. 25, 1917, pp. 76-81.

28, *footnote l.* 10: *in the list of references on the Harappa seals, add at the beginning*: A. Cunningham, (Archæological) Reports, Vol. 5 (1875), pp. 105 ff.; J. F. Fleet, JRAS., 1912, pp. 699 ff.

About the recent discoveries in Sindh and at Harappa, see Sir John Marshall's article in the 'Illustrated London News' for September 20, 1924, and further articles by Prof. A. H. Sayce and Messrs. C. J.

Gadd and Sidney Smith in the same journal for September 27 and October 4, 1924, respectively. Cf. also S. K. Chatterji, 'Dravidian Origins and the Beginnings of Indian Civilisation' in the 'Modern Review' for December 1924; also the 'Modern Review' for February, 1925, and the 'Journal Asiatique' for 1925, p. 371. See also 'Sumerian Connexions with Ancient India,' by Ernest Mackay, JRAS. for 1925, pp. 697-701. Further articles on these 'Indo-Sumerian' antiquities by Sir John Marshall have appeared in the 'Illustrated London News' for February 17 and March 6, 1926 and in the 'Times of India Illustrated Weekly' for March 7, 1926.

31, *l*. 7 : *read* dialects *for* languages.

44, *l*. 16 : *read* Kauṣītaki.

46, *l*. 8 : the Vrātyas. Mm. Haraprasād Śāstrī derives « vrātya » from « vrāta » *horde*, in a suggestive paper containing some interesting information about the Vrātyas or 'the Original Inhabitants of Magadha,' one of six lectures on 'Magadhan Literature,' delivered in the University of Patna, 1923.

47, *l*. 12-21 ; « hēlayaḥ (hēlavah) ». This form has been sought to be explained as a Semitic word, the same as the Hebrew « ĕlōăh » = Arabic « ʔilāh- » (K. P. Jayaswal, in the ZDMG., Vol. 68, p. 719 : cf. R. G. Bhandarkar in the JBBRAS., Vol. 25, pp. 76 ff.). But this is extremely unlikely. Hebrew (as well as Arabic) was rather removed from the tracts where the Aryans moved much or were settled in, in North Mesopotamia and North-Western Iran, at this early period (B.C. 2000-B.C. 1300); and Hebrew conquest of Palestine took place during the closing centuries of the 2nd millennium B.C. The Semitic word for *god* which the Aryans would be likely to pick up, if they did pick it up at all, would be the Babylonian and Assyrian « ilu », which makes the connexion with the Indian form remote. Jayaswal also derives the Indian « mlēccha (Pkt. milakkhu) » *foreigner* from a Semitic word « mlk », in Hebrew « mĕlĕx ». But there is no reason not to regard this word as Indo-European (see Uhlenbeck, 'Altindisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch').

54, *l.* 33 : *after* « -āni », *add* : the dative plural affix was « -ēhi » (= -ēbhyaḥ, *-ēbhiḥ) rather than the genitive-dative affix « -ānaṁ » (= -ānām) which characterised the Midland, North-Western and Southern speeches as in the Aśōka Inscriptions and in Pali (cf. Surendranāth Majumdar Śāstrī, 'The Dative in Pali,' in 'Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes, III,' Calcutta University, 1925).

56, *l.* 3 : *read* presents *for* present ; *and in l.* 19, *read* dramas *for* drama.

59, *l.* 17 : *read* nama *for* nāma.

59, *footnote* : Cf. K. P. Jayaswal in the JBORS. for 1924, pp. 189 ff., for further Brāhmī seals from Magadha with « -śa (= -śśa) » for the genitive affix « -sya » (*e.g.*, Mamaśa, Citaśa, Bhadaṁta Lōpagōraśa, Abhaya-vamaśa).

65, *l.* 19 : *read* Mōlāḍandī *for* Mōḍālandī.

66, *l.* 6 *from bottom* : *read* ঢ্ডুপা *for* ঢুঢুপা.

67, *l.* 27 : *read* Bāgădīs *for* Bāgŭdīs. (The « Vāthurīs » are different from the « Bāurīs ».)

68, *l.* 24 : *read* Mangalore *for* Bangalore.

71, *l.* 4 : *read* Gaina *for* Gaina.

72, *footnote, l.* 2 : *read* Lāḷa- *for* Laḷa-. *Also in l.* 11, *correct* Dipa *to* Dīpa.

75-76. King Candra-varman of Puṣkaraṇā. Mr. K. N. Dikshit, of the Archæological Survey of India, definitely suggested the identification of Puṣkaraṇā of the Susunia Rock Inscription with a place in Bengal—in the district of Bankura, and not with Pokharaṇ in Rajputana. Also Mr. Nikhil-Nāth Rāy B.L., in the 'Bhārata-varṣa' for Jyaiṣṭha, 1330, p. 832. There is actually in that district a village 'Pokharna' (*vulgo* 'Pākhānnā, Pōkhānnā') on the Dāmōdar river, some 25 miles east of Susunia Hill (23 N 87 E, Bengal Survey, scale one inch = one mile, Sheet No. 238, Survey Season 1854-64). This is conclusive, and it would show that Rāḍha at least was entirely Aryanised, and had a Hindu Vaiṣṇava king in the 4th century A.C. ; and it may be concluded that Aryanisation was already some centuries old.

90, *l.* 19 : *add at the end, after* Jan. 1923, *the following* : C. D. Dalal and P.D. Gune, 'Bhavisayattakaha by Dhanapala,' Baroda, 1923, Introduction.

94, *ll.* 18-20 : the future in « -t- », from the old Present Participle, occurs in East Vaŋga Dialects : see under *Morphology*, pp. 961-963.

100, *l.* 6 : *for* rahaŭlaŭ, *read* rahalaŭ.

104, *l.* 2 : *after* in Brajabuli., *add*: The Braja-bulī dialect also spread into Assam, or rather, an Assamese Braja-bulī was developed, as early as the 15th century, Śaŋkara-dēva and others having composed poems and dramas in it. From the biographies of Caitanya, we learn that it had also spread into Orissa during that century, Braja-bulī songs being sung by Vaiṣṇavas in Orissa as much as in Bengal.

104, *footnote* : the 'Kīrtti-latā' has been published in the Bengali character, with Introductions and Translation in Bengali, by Mahāmahōpādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstrī, in 1924 (Hṛṣīkēśa Series).

106, *ll.* 21-24 : the earliest specimen of connected Oṛiyā seems to be in the newly discovered bilingual inscription (Oṛiyā and Tamil) of Nṛsiṅha-dēva II (13th Century) from Bhubaneswar, very carelessly edited in the JASB. for 1924, pp. 41 ff. Among some of the noteworthy things in this inscription, we may mention the following : (i) the vowel [ṛ] was pronounced as [ri] and not as [ru] as in Modern Oṛiyā : cf. the spelling « Krīṣṇa » in *l.* 3 ; and (ii) the word « ācāya < ācārya », which occurs here, also occurred in Old Bengali (see pp. 121-122, *Introduction*). The writing differentiates between the dental and cerebral « l » sounds, and the former, marked with a diacritical sign below as in Modern Oṛiyā (see under *Phonology*, p. 538), has been wrongly transcribed as double « ll », in the verb past tense.

109, *ll.* 13-21 : the 'Ṭīkā-sarvasva' was written Śaka 1082 : Paṇḍit T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī published the first part in 1911, and completed the entire work in 1917.

110, *footnote*, *l.* 2 : *read* Caryā *for* Carjā.

123, *footnote* : the OB. line quoted was evidently a proverb, and it occurs in another MB. work, the 'Caṇḍī-kāvya' of Kavi-kaŋkaṇa Mukunda-rāma Cakravarttī, in the form হরিণ জগতবৈরী আপনার মাসে « hāriṇạ jāgātā-bāirī āpānārạ māsē » (as pointed out to me by my friend Mr. Charu Chandra Banerji of Dacca University).

127, *after* line 2, *add* :

65a. The Sanskrit encyclopædia 'Mānasôllāsa' or 'Abhilāṣārtha-cintāmaṇi' (of which the first volume has been published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, 1925), composed in Śaka 1051 or 1129 A. C. under the auspices of king Sōmēśvara III Bhūlōka-malla of the later Cālukya dynasty of Mahārāṣṭra, who ruled from 1127 to 1138 A.C., seems to contain a few Old Bengali lines. (Sakhārām Gaṇēś Dēuskar in the Bengali journal 'Āryāvartta' for Māgha 1317, pp. 678-679; R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar, 'Early History of the Deccan[2],' Bombay, 1895, pp. 89-90; Dēuskar mentions a Marāṭhī article by V. K. Rājawāḍē on this work read before the 1st Mahārāṣṭra Sāhitya Sammēlan which I have not seen. I am indebted to my friend and colleague Mr. Kshitish Chandra Chatterji, M.A., for bringing Dēuskar's article to my notice.)

In the section on Poetry and Music ('Gīta-Vinōda') in this work, short poems and verses in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhraṅśa, Lāṭī, and in the Dravidian Kannaḍa speech have been given; and besides a few verses occur, which are undoubtedly in the various NIA. speeches—Old Marāṭhī, Old Braj-bhākhā, and Old Bengali, to judge from at least some of the forms. The work is preserved in various MSS. at Poona, Tanjore, Bikaner, and elsewhere. I could consult one of the Poona MSS. (copied Saṁvat 1930=1874) which happened to be in the Indian Museum at Calcutta in 1923, and through the kind offices of my friend Mr. Sris Chandra Chatterji, Engineer and Architect, lately in the service of the Bikaner State, I also obtained (December 1923) transcripts of the relevant parts from an old MS. of the work (dated Śaka 1593=1671 A.C.) in the Fort Library of Bikaner. Both the MSS. are very corrupt, and although there is a close agreement between them (both seemingly being based on the same original), the bad readings make it almost impossible to restore the text of the non-Sanskrit portions from these only. Instead of attempting to give a critical edition of these portions in question, I give below tentative readings of some of the vernacular passages based on a comparison

of the two MSS., wherever they can be made out with any degree of certainty. We have thus—

« ...... chāṁḍu chāṁḍu maī jāïvō (= jāïbō ? jāïba ?) Gōvinda-saha khēlaṇa ...... Nārāyaṇu jagaha-kēru (-kārā) gōsāṁvi » (Bikaner, fol. 141a ; Poona, fol. 168b)=*Leave (me), leave (me), I shall go to sport with Gōvinda......Nārāyaṇa the lord of the world.*

Bikaner folia 141b and 142a and Poona fol. 169(a, b) give a song praising the ten Avatāras of Viṣṇu, which seems to represent more than one form of NIA. The first verse is in Old Marāṭhī, and runs thus : « jēṇē rasātala-uṇu matsya-rūpēṁ vēda āṇiyalē(ṁ)......tō saṁsāra-sāyara-tāraṇu, maha-tē(ṁ) rākhō Nārāyaṇu » *by Whom the Vedas were brought from Rasātala in the form of a fish......the Saviour in the ocean of transmigration.. He, Nārāyaṇa, (may) keep me.* The next verse (on the Tortoise Incarnation) is very corrupt. The third verse is as follows : « jō suvara-rūvēṁ pāyalu païśi dāṇaü Hariṇa-kachapu mācaviṁ (?), dāḍha Gōvinda dharaṇi uddhariaṁ sō dēu...... » *Who in the form of a boar entered Pātāla and killed the demon Hiraṇya-kaśipu, Gōvinda who rescued Earth with his tusk, that God......*This verse has Śaurasēnī affinities, as also the next two verses on Nṛsiṁha and Vāmana Avatāras, but both are hopelessly corrupt.

The sixth shows some distinctive Bengali features : « jē brāhmaṇēra kulē(ṁ) upajiyā(ṁ), Kātavī(r)yā jēṇē bāhu-pharasē khāṇḍiyā : Paraśarāmu dē(v)u śē māhara (mōhara ?) maṅgala karaü » *Who was born in the family of a Brāhman, by Whom with the touch of his arm Kārttavīrya was cut down, He, the God Paraśurāma, may work my welfare.* The above reading is substantially that of the Bikaner MS., and the Bengali character of this passage is shown by the pronoun « jē », and « -ē(ṁ), -ēra » affixes for the locative and genitive ; and « -iyā » would be the non-l passive participle adjective (> verb past) which featured in Old Bengali (see pp. 946 ff.)

The verse describing Rāma is missing in both the MSS. That on Kṛṣṇa is apparently in Old Braj-bhākhā : « Nanda-gōula jāyaŭ Kanhu jō gōvī-janē(ṁ) vaḍihē...... » : but it is corrupt. The

verse on Buddha runs thus : « Buddha-rūpem̐ jō dāṇava-surā vañcaüṇi vēda-dūsaṇa bŏllaüṇi māyā mōhiyā, tō dēu mājhi pasāü karu » *Who in the form of Buddha, after having Cheated Gods and Demons and having said words of scorn for the Vedas, led (them) astray by his Māyā —that God may grant grace to me :* it is distinctly Old Marāṭhī. The last verse on Kalki is in Sanskrit.

131, *ll.* 27 *ff.* Ḍāk the Gōwālā (cowherd) is also well-known in Bihār as a sage and author of proverbial sayings, as Sir George Grierson tells me. See also Mm. Haraprasād Śāstrī on Ḍāk and Khânā in the Bengali journal ' Prācī ' (Dacca) for Śrāvaṇa, 1330.

137, *l.* 13 : *read* form *for* from.

148, *l.* 30 : *read* « bhāṣā » *for* « bhasā ».

156, *l.* 13 : *read* vēlā *for* vēla ; *l.* 15, *correct to* between.

157, *l.* 13 : *read* « nīb » *for* « nīb » ; *l.* 14, *read* tāmra *for* tamra.

159, *ll.* 14, 15 : Pischel gives (' Grammatik der Prakrit-sprachen,' § 304) « uṭṭa, iṭṭa » as MIA. forms . The deaspiration in these words thus goes back to MIA. times, and the W. Hindī « ūṭ, īṭ » are obviously based on MIA. « * uṇṭa, * iṇṭa » showing Spontaneous Nasalisation (discussed at pp. 368 ff.).

166, *l.* 6 : *after* mī *read* :, myā.

171, *l.* 5 *from bottom of page* : *after* Dravidian sounds, and *add* : these (barring the last, which is found in Dravidian—in Tamil only, to be precise).

176, *l.* 7 : *read* « ghōṛā-ṭōṛā » *for* « ghōrā-ṭōṛā ».

176, *l.* 11 : *read* « kudure-gidure » for « kudire-gidire ».

177, *ll.* 21 *ff* : This idiomatic use of a verbal conjunctive meaning *having said* is a common idiom in Tibeto-Burman as well—in Kuki-Chin, for instance—and it is also found in Burmese (see LSI., III, Part III, p. 5) ; and it is common in Boḍo also, which was the original language of a large section of present-day Bengali-speakers in North and East Bengal (J. D. Anderson in the JRAS., 1913, pp. 867 ff).

180, *after l.* 14, *add :*

In connexion with the above is to be taken (iv) the Ghugrahati Copper-plate of Samācāra-dēva (cf. Ep. Ind., 1925, Vol. XVIII, pp.

74 ff., ed. by Nalinī-Kānta Bhaṭṭaśālī, M.A.), which mentions « Navyāvakāśikā », as well as « Vāraka-maṇḍala », and « Vyāghra-cōraka » and « Gōpêndra-cōraka » village, and « Vidyādhara-jōṭikā »; and among personal names it gives « Pavittruka, Dāmuka, Vatsa-kuṇḍa, Śuci-pālita. Vihita-ghōṣa, Śūra-datta, Priya-datta, Janārdda-na-kuṇḍa ».

Para **87** : This Copper-plate Inscription has been edited and. published by Dr. L. D. Barnett in the Ep. Ind. ('Vappaghoshavāṭa Grant of Jayanāga,' Vol. XVIII, pp. 60 ff.).

182, *l.* 24 : « koppam ». Compare also Tamil « kuppam » *village.*

187, *l.* 10 : The Gōvindapur Grant has since been edited by Prof. A. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa in the 'Bhārata-varṣa' for Phālguna, 1332.

188, *after line* 5, *add* :

[27a] A new Copper-plate Grant of Viśva-rūpa-sēna has been recently discovered in Maimansing, and has been edited by Mm. Haraprasād Śāstrī in the 'Indian Historical Quarterly,' Calcutta, Vol. II, No. 1, March 1926, pp. 77-86. This gives quite a number of place-names in Vaṅga, besides some personal names.

195, *after l.* 6, *add* : (আ)সওয়ার « (ā)sâwār » *horseman, trooper,* সওয়ারী « sâwārī » *rider* (*on horse, in carriage*) : occurs in the Bharhut and Sanchi inscriptions as « asavāri » : from Old Persian « asa-bāri- » *horseman* (=New Persian « suwār »).

195, *after l.* 18, *add*: কোণ « kōṇ » *corner,* from MIA., and Skt.,=Greek « gōnos ».

196, *last line but one*: *read* « śuruṭṭu » for « śuḷuṭṭu ».

197, *l.* 1 : *after* Tibetan « blama », *add*: টাঙ্গন « ṭāŋgân » *a hill pony, Bhotia pony* = Tibetan « rta-ŋāŋ ».

198, 199 : The word « dhītā » (as the source of « jhī ») has also been derived from the Indo-European « √ * dhē » *suck* (=OIA. « dhā »), which we find in the Latin « fī-lius ».

203, *l.* 22 : *read* « fatẖ *for* faṭẖ.

213, *last line in footnote* 1, *read* 'khājāñcī' *for* 'khajañcī'

215, *ll.* 9 ff. : the word মেটে « mēṭē », a slang term to denote dark-skinned

Eurasians, is at least influenced by the French « métis », if not actually derived from it. The word may be from « māṭiā » *earthen*, by Umlaut.

215, *l.* 22 : *read* ইস্‌ক্রূপ *for* ইস্‌ক্রপ.

232, *l.* 7 : *read* rasūla *and* mŏhāmŏti ; *l.* 20, *read* pūsĕ *for* pusĕ.

233 : *immediately before* § 126, *add* : Bengali MSS. in the Persian character are but rarely found in other parts of the country. One such MS., however, has come to light recently—a Bengali version of the 'Qissah-i-Amīr Hamzah'—from Jessore district. It was exhibited by Maulavī 'Abdu-l-Walī in the ASB. (November 1925). In its transcription, unlike the Chittagong MSS., it employs regularly چ and ج for চ and জ.

235, *heading, read* : SILĒṬ ; *footnote, l.* 4, *read* in *for* is.

245, *l.* 22 : *read* tzándanon *for* tsándanon.

254, 255 : *loss of* « -tr- » > « -tt- » : W. Geiger cites also (Festschrift E. Kuhn, p. 186) Sinhalese « hū » (sūtra), « mū » (mūtra) « rǟ » (rātri).

256, *l.* 21 : « ratta (< ratna) » actually occurs in MIA. (in the Pali 'Sutta-nipāta,'—'Sabhiya-sutta' : « ratta-ññā » = « ratna-jña », explained in the Commentary of Buddha-ghōṣa as « ratana-ññū »).

260, *l.* 25 : *read* « -vā » *for* « -ā ».

263, *l.* 18 : *read* 'ʃ̇i(ĕ)ɑːlɑ *for* ʃ̣i(ĕ)ɑ·lɑ.

264, *l.* 14 : *read* kɒɦi *for* kɒhi ; *l.* 17 : *read* c͡ʃupɒṛi *for* c͡ʃupɑṛi.

265, *l.* 5 *from bottom* : *read* mɒnɒ *for* mɒṇɒ.

239, *l.* 3 *from bottom, add* : The glottal stop occurs with the voiced stops and palatal or dental affricates [g', ʤ' (d̯z'), ḍ', d', b'] in some East Bengali dialects as the regular substitutes for the corresponding aspirates [gɦ, ʤɦ, ḍɦ, dɦ, bɦ] of Standard Bengali.

272, *l.* 17 : *correct the figure for* : [h] *from* 2·02 *to* 0·02.

282, *l.* 12 : *read* pānɪya- *for* pāṇɪya.

287, *ll.* 11, 12. It should be noted that the « Payār » has also 16 *morae*, including the pauses, although the number of syllables is 14.

293, *l.* 6 : *read* bɑ̃c͡ʃia *for* bɑ̃cʃia.

294, *l.* 12 : *read* 'c͡ʃɑ(ŏ)e *for* 'cɑ(ŏ)e.

298, *l.* 6 : *read* 'ʃaɟɟo *for* ʃaɟɟo.

301, *last line : read* pātḁ *for* pātå.

302, *l.* 20 : *read* kåṛā *for* kårā.

305, *l.* 20 : *after* (grīvā), *add* : MB. ঘড় « ghåṛå » *array* (ghaṭā);

307, *last line but one* : *read* « ā̊c » *for* « āc ».

309, *l.* 8 : *read* MB. *for* MA.

313, *l.* 11 : *after* (alābu), *add* : হেঁট « hē̃ṭḁ » *below* > *in a crouching position* (* ahĕṇṭa, * ahĕṭṭha < * adhiṣṭāt, Buddhist Sanskrit hēṣṭā, = OIA. adhastāt); MB. পাসরে « pāsårē » *forgets* (apasmarati);

315, *l.* 19 : *read* måśānḁ *for* måsānḁ.

315, *l.* 12 : *read* « ā̊tḁ » *for* « ātḁ »; *after* (antra), *add* : আশথ beside অশথ « āśåthḁ, åśåthḁ » (aśvattha); *and in l.* 15, *delete* : খাজা « khājā » *a sweetmeat* (khādya), *and take this deleted portion to p.* 321, *l.* 23, *before the word* জাড়, *adding* khăjja *before* khādya.

319, *l.* 20 : the word « sabhā » forming the plural. Mr. Sukumār Sen has drawn my attention to the word « yuvati-sabhā » *young women* in Song 18 of the 'Gīta-gōvinda' (Canto IX). Cf. also pp. 732-733.

324, *l.* 6 : *read* * « niṣuti » *for* « niṣuṭi »; *l.* 10, *read* * piuśī *for* pīuśī; *l.* 25, *read* টীঠ *for* টীঠ.

325, *l.* 20 : *read* * ūru- *for* * uru; *l.* 21, *read* -aṣṭhī- *for* -asthi-.

329, *l.* 8 *from bottom* : *correct* bōḍṛa *to* bōḍra.

331, *l.* 20 : *read* 'যদ্দিন' *for* যদ্দিন; *l.* 25, *read* caritavya *for* cartavya.

333, *l.* 8 : *after* [ʃidne], *add* : ঘটীটা « ghåṭī-ṭā » *that water-vessel*, বাটীটা « bāṭī-ṭā » *that cup* > Standard Coll. ঘ'ট্টে, বাট্টে [gɦoṭṭe, baṭṭe].

334, *l.* 7 *from bottom*, *add* : করম্‌চা < করমোচা « kåråmcā < kårå-mōcā » *a fruit, Cassia carondas* (Skt. kara-marda, Hind. karaũndā : cf. 'Devatā,' Pāṇini Office, Allahabad, 1917, p. 155).

335, *l.* 7 *from bottom* : *correct* persons *to* person.

337, *l.* 10 : *correct* -ū- *to* -ŭ-.

341, *l.* 6 *from bottom* : *read* ʃaĕr *for* ʃaĕr.

342, *l.* 10 : *read* chāỳḁrā *for* chāỳḁṛā; *l.* 19, *delete* MB.

349, *l.* 1 : *after* NIA., *add* : (where no special force of the « -ā » is present or evident).

350, *l.* 4 : *before etc., add* : যাই, তাই « jāï, tāï » (yadā-hi, tadā-hi).

351, *l.* 13 : *add at the end* : But পোনে [poune] *less by a quarter* has « -åu- » for MIA. « -āõ- » (pāõṇa, pādōna).

352, *l.* 15 : *read* * duūlia *for* duulia ; *l.* 8 *from bottom, after* (dēva, dēha), *add* : ‡ রে [rɛ:, ræ:] *line for plough to follow* (* rēă, rēhă, rēhā, rēkhā) ;

353, *l.* 7 *from bottom* : *read* * ghrata.

355, *l.* 8, *after* (nacca, nṛtya), *add* : ‡ বাসোয়া « bāswā » *or*, Maithilī « basahā » (vasaha-, vṛṣabha-) ; *in l.* 21, *read* * tādṛśana.

356, *l.* 2 : *before etc., add* : বুক « bukå » *chest* (cf. Skt. vṛkka, Avestan vərəδka *kidney*, MIA. bukka) ;

357, *l.* 5 *from bottom* : *correct* egreja *to* igreja.

358, *l.* 3, *l.* 6 : *read respectively* [ɑbritɔ] and [ɑbbritɔ] ; *last line, correct to* ghanakam.

359, *l.* 12 : *for* « w̃ » *read* « ẇ ».

364, *l.* 7, *add* : But we have the *sts.* বেন্নন « bēnnånå » [bænnon] *curry* from « vyañjana ».

365, *l.* 12 : *read* ṣaṇḍa *for* saṇḍa.

366, *l.* 7 *from bottom* : *read* śimulå *for* śimula.

367, *l.* 12, *add* : and ŚKK. চাম্ভলী « cāmbhålī » *a flower* for « cāmēlī ».

369, *l.* 7 *from bottom* : *read* * iṇṭa *for* * inṭa.

370, *l.* 6 : *read* sēcayati *for* śēcayati ; *l.* 19, bā̃ṭulå *for* bā̃ṭulå.

373, *ll.* 11-12 : *read* ʃ̇ *for* ʃ.

378, *l.* 13 : *after e.g., add* : Pali « issēra, acchēra < * ĕssaira, * acchaira < * essaịrĭa, * acchairĭa < āiśvarya, āścarya ».

386, *l.* 18 : *after* « gā̃ṭå », *add* : beside গেঁট « gē̃ṭå ».

392, *l.* 19 : *read* [ʃ̇oĭttɔ] for [ʃoĭttɔ].

396, *l.* 3 *from the end* : *read* [borp(h)i] *for* [borp(h)ɪ].

398, *l.* 10 *from bottom* : *read* * কুড়লি *for the first* কুড়ালি, *and* kuṛāli *for* kurālı.

402, *l.* 14, *before* origin, *add* to their ; *l.* 5 *from bottom, read* [ʃɔre ɔ:].

424, *l.* 6 *from bottom* : *add* : MB. « -åhå-, -aẏa- » also occur as [ɔĕ] : গয়না < গহনা [gɔĕnɑ] < « gåhånā » *ornaments, jewels* (grahaṇa-) ; ময়না [mɔĕnɑ] < « måẏånā » *a talking bird, 'mynah'* (madana-). *In l.* 16, *read* bɦɔ̃ĕʃɑ *for* bhɔ̃ĕʃɑ.

430, *ll.* 4 *and* 2 *from the end*: [ʃts] (as in [kɔʃtsit] and [dzoĭkʰɦɔʃtsɔkːreː]) is pronounced also as [rcʃ] and [ccʃ].

438, *l.* 9 : *read* §84 *for* §86.

440, *l.* 21, *read* gạ̉r *for* gảr ; *last line, correct* † *to* ‡.

441, *l.* 3 : *The Aspirates.* It should be noted that the aspirate nasals and liquids (« nh, mh, rh, lh » : cf. ' Prākṛta-Pāiŋgala,' Bib. Ind. ed., p. 6) occurred in OB. and Early MB., and these became deaspirated in the Late MB. stage.

443, *l.* 5 *from bottom*: *read* « ādḁlā » *for* « ādla ».

449, *l.* 5, *add* recent *before* foreign, *and put a comma after* words. *After l.* 8, *add*: Other instances of assimilation : « n > m » : মোহনভোগ « mōhånḁ-bhōgḁ » *pudding made of flour, sugar aud ghee* > [mo(ɦ)on-bɦog > mombɦog > mumbɦog] in the Calcutta Colloquial ; « ṇḍ > n > ŋ » : ডাণ্ডাগুলি « ḍāṇḍā-guli » *tip-cat* (*game*) > ডান্‌গুলি, ডাংগুলি [ḍanguli, ḍaŋguli].

451, *l.* 22 : *correct* pañca *to* pañca ; *l.* 24, *at the beginning, add*: [ṛ] is similarly assimilated to a following [ʃ], as in মাকড়সা « mākåṛḁsā » *spider* > Calcutta Coll. মাকসা « mākåśā » [makɔṛʃa > makoʃa], হাঁড়ীশাল « hā̃ṛisālḁ » *room for pots, kitchen* > [ɦa͂ĭṛʃal] by Epenthesis > হেঁশেল [ɦẽʃel].

452, *l.* 5, *and l.* 4 *from bottom*: *correct* < *to* >.

453, *l.* 17 : *correct* gh *to* gɦ.

456, *l.* 14 : *correct* kā̃kḁ *to* hā̃kḁ.

460, *after l.* 8, *add, in a new paragraph*: OIA. « -kṣy- » : ভেখ, ভেক « bhēk(h)ḁ » *mendicancy, the life of a monk, monk's garb* (bhāikṣya).

468, *l.* 13 : *add* so *before* long.

470, *l.* 2 *from bottom* : *correct the semicolon before* পেঁচা *to* >.

471, *l.* 8 *supply, after* jẽācḁ : *woman with first child living. L.* 9, *before etc., add* : MB. আচাভুআ « ācābhuā » (accabbhua-, atyadbhuta-). *After l.* 11, *add as a new paragraph*: OIA. « -rc- » > MIA. « -cc- > -ñc- » : আঁচ « ā̃cḁ » *heat of flame* (arciḥ) ; কুঁচি « kũci » *brush* (kūrcikā).

472, *l.* 2 *from bottom* : *read* * es-ské-ti *for* * es-sko-ti.

473, *l.* 2 : *read* *pró+bhu-ské-ti ; *l.* 3, *read* *pṛk-ské-ti ; *l.* 17, *add at the end* : MB. নেউছা, নিছা « nēuchā, nichā » *adorn* (« nēvaccha-, nēpathya- » : there is another form in MB., নিছা « nichā », for which see *infra*, p. 551).

475, *l.* 13 : *read 'fry' for 'try'* ; *l.* 3 *from bottom, correct* † *to* ‡.

480, *l.* 15 : *delete* * *before* dhītā, *and add after* duhitā) : (the MIA. «dhītā » is derived by some scholars from the IE. « * √ dhē » *suck* = OIA., « √dhā », which is found in the Latin « fīlius, fīlia ».)

L. 7 *from bottom, read* ঝঁ্ঝা *for* ঝঁঝা ; *l.* 5 *from bottom, read* ঝুটা *for* ঝটা.

484, *l.* 18 : *read* « mardā-mi » *for* « mardāmi » ; *l.* 5 *from bottom, delete one* and.

488, *l.* 26 : *read* ḍāśḍ *for* ḍāsḍ.

490, *l.* 16 : *read* টাউ্ *for* টাউ.

495, *l.* 5 : *read* ḍimba *for* dimba.

498, *l.* 15 : *read* ডেগ *for* দেগ.

502, *l.* 9 *from bottom* : *correct* > *to* <.

509, *l.* 21, *read* পুঁটী মাছ *for* পুটী মাছ.

510, *l.* 10 *from end* : *add, after* « rūpā » : *silver* ; *and after* rūpya- : *stamped coin.*

513, *l.* 2 *from bottom* : *correct to* বেওরা.

514, *add after l.* 17, *as a separate para.* : OIA. « -vy- » : the future base ইব « -ibȧ- » (OIA. « -itavya- », MIA. « -iavva-, -iabba- »).

515, *l.* 5, *read* bhukhḍ *for* bhukha ; *after l.* 23, *add as a separate para.* : OIA. « -dbh- » : MB. আচাভুআ « ācābhuā » (atyadbhuta-) ; *and then after that add the portion from* উভিয়া যাওয়া *to* (ud+√bhṛ, bhar) *in ll.* 31-33 (*by mistake entered under* OIA. « -rbh- »).

520, *l.* 9 : *before* MB. গোঙাএ, *add* : গুঁই « gũi » *a surname* (« -gōmin » : cf. Candra-gōmin, the Bengal grammarian of c. 600 A.C.) ;

521, *l.* 11 : *before* ছাতিম, *add* : Standard Coll. গোমনে [gomne] *late, a sts.,* for গৌণে « gȧuṇē [goune, gõwne] » (< gāuṇa) ;

523, *l.* 10 : *read* ȇ for ē.

525, *l.* 9 *from bottom* : *read* most *for* all ; *l.* 3 *from bottom, correct to* intervocal.

527, *l.* 9 : *correct to* বিষ্টুপুরের.

534, *l.* 11 *from bottom* : *correct to* পক.

535, *l.* 2 : *read* [ŏ] *for* [ŏ].

536, *l.* 13 *from bottom* : *read as follows*: at a later time, Early Braj-bhākhā in the West as well), to change....

548, *l.* 11 *from bottom* : *read* apasmarati *for* prasmarati.

549, *l.* 1 : *read* śiṁśapā for śimsapā.

550, *l.* 9 : *read* si *for* sī ; *l.* 2 *from bottom*, *read* śatâyuḥ.

556, *l.* 9 *from bottom* : *read* bāĩcī *for* bâĩcī.

557, *l.* 10 : *read* sāhā *for* sāha ; 11, *read* nēhâ *for* nēha.

560, *l.* 9 : *read* regarded *for* regard ; *l.* 12, *read* Saifī *for* Saifi.

563, *l.* 3 *from bottom* : *correct to* syllable.

570 : *l.* 8, *read* 'Moghals' *for* Moghals ; *and in the Table of Consonants, take* h *from the Semi-vowel to the Fricative line.*

576, *l.* 7 : *read* [tābu] *for* [tâbu] ; *l.* 11, *correct* Hindōstanī *to* Hindōstānī ; *l.* 23, *read* ɦab(e)li *for* ɦab(e)i ; *l.* 25, *read* হালুয়া *for* হালুয়া ; *and l.* 26, ɦabʃi *for* ɦabʃi.

577, *l.* 4 *from end* : *read* ৰিশবৎ *for* বিশবৎ.

580, *l.* 9 : *read* হিন্দু *for* হিঁন্দু ; *and l.* 5 *from bottom*, *before* and, *add* : and আমারী « āmārī » *canopied seat on elephant* (ᵉimārī).

581, *l.* 14 : *read* corpses *for* corpes.

593, *last line* : *add* In *as the last word.*

608, *l.* 12 *from bottom* : *correct* pɦæ̃ʃad *to* phæ̃ʃad.

613, *l.* 5 *from bottom* : *before* হাজির, *add* : নজর [nɔʒ̃ɔr] *present* (naẓr) ;

621, *l.* 10 : *correct* Collectcd *to* Collected.

623, *l.* 11 : *read* তোলো *for* তোলা.

625, *l.* 5 : *read* '*coffee*' *for* '*caffee*.'

643, *l.* 6 : *before* '*theatre*,' *add* : (also ঠিয়েটার [ṭhieṭar] commonly in Calcutta cockney, through assimilation with the following cerebral).

656, *l.* 13 : *read* ghūrṇ- *for* ghūrn-.

658, *l.* 4 : *read* রাধনী *for* বাধনী.

670 ; *read* rūpālī *for* rupālī *in l.* 7, *and* rūpuli *for* rupuli *in l.* 8.

672, *l.* 17 : *read* রাঁধনী *for the first* রাঁধুনি.

673, *l.* 2 : *read* বষ্টুমী *for* বষ্টুমী.

677, *last line* : *read* pleonastically *for* peonastically.

682, *l.* 13 : *read* dholla *for* dholla ; *l.* 20, *before* পুঁটকে, *add* : মেচ্‌কো in মেচ্‌কো ফের « mēcakō » in « mēcakō phēra » *a strong knot, a complication* < *a knot in a jute rope* (< মেচা « mēcā » *jute* in the Standard Dialect in tracts to the south of Calcutta) ;

688, *l.* 5 : *read* sāpåṛiyā *for* sāpåriyā ; *l.* 6, *read* লুঠিয়াড়া.

697, *l.* 6 *from bottom* : *add* : « ugra-rūpa » *exceedingly fierce*, Pali « kalya-rūpa » *exceedingly pleased*, etc., etc.

699, *l.* 5 *from bottom* : *read* ঝুপসা *for the second* ঝাপসা.

702, *l.* 4 *from bottom* : *read* thānī *for* thanī.

703, *l.* 1 : *correct to* Perso-Arabic.

706, *under* (9) ময়, *add* : It is likely that in the locative sense, as in দেশময়, the affix is partly based on the NIA. locative suffix from « madhya » noted *infra*, p. 751.

706, *before last line add* :

(12) স্থ « -sthå ».

467a. Following Skt. forms like দেশস্থ « dēśå-sthå » *remaining in the land*, সভাস্থ « såbhā-sthå » *present in the assembly*, মধ্যস্থ « mådhyå-sthå » *remaining in the middle, arbitrator*, etc., etc., the compounded « -sthå » has come to be used as an affix with *tbh.* and foreign words, in the sense of *occurring at, present in*, etc. : *e.g.*, ক'লকাতাস্থ « Kålikātā-sthå » *of Calcutta, from Calcutta, staying at Calcutta* ; লড়াইস্থ সংবাদদাতা « låṛāï-sthå sambāda-dātā » *war correspondent* ; কর্ণওয়ালিস-ষ্ট্রীটস্থ দোকান « Kårṇåwālisa-Ṣṭrīṭå-sthå dōkāna » *shop in Cornwallis Street* ; etc.

712 : *Add at the beginning* :

(5a) পাতি, পাত « pāti-, pāt- ».

473a. This word, in the sense of *small*, occurs with a number of terms, like পাতি-কুয়া or পাত্‌কো « pāti-kūā, pāt-kō » *a small well* (as opposed to an ইঁদারা « īdārā » *a large masonry well* < « indrâgāra »), পাতি-শিয়াল « pāti-śiyāla » *small jackal*, পাতি-লেবু « pāti-lēbu » *a kind of tiny lemon* (as opposed to other kinds), পাতি-হাঁস « pāti-hāsa » *duck*

(as opposed to রাজ-হাঁস « rājȧ-hā̃sȧ » *goose*), পাতি-ভাঁড় « pāti-bhā̃ṛȧ » *small earthen cup*, পাতি- or পাত-মৌড় « pāti-, pāt-mȧuṛȧ » *an ornament for the head* (< mukuṭa), পাতি-কাক « pāti-kākȧ » *crow* (as opposed to দাঁড়-কাক « dā̃ṛȧ-kākȧ » *jack-daw*), পাতি-নেড়ে « pāti-nēṛē » *shaveling, small shaven-headed one = Mohammedan of the lower castes* (a term of abuse), etc. The form occurs in East Bengal as পেতি « pēti », as in পেতি-কৌয়া « pēti-kȧuā » *crow*, পেতি-মেকুর « pēti-mēkurȧ » *kitten*. The source seems to be OIA. « patra » *leaf* > « patrika », MIA. « pattia » > NIA. « pātī » *thin as a leaf* > *small, insignificant*: cf. পাতলা « pātȧlā » *thin, not deep* (patra-la). The French « petit » [pəti, pti] *small* has been suggested by some as the source of this form, but it is exceedingly unlikely, despite the fact of the presence of the French in Bengal (at Chandernagore), and of the East Bengali form « pēti » presenting an unexpected vowel in the « -ē- » (the East Bengali form, however, seems to be a borrowing from Standard Bengali with irregular alteration of the vowel).

712, *l.* 13 : *correct* « nābȧlȧkȧ » *to* « nābālȧkȧ ».

720, *ll.* 8, 9 : *delete* : বৎসহারা গাভী « bȧtsȧ-hārā gābhī » *a cow which has lost her calf. In l.* 11, *read* form *for* from.

731, *ll.* 11, 13 : *read* '*professors*' *for* '*scholars*' ; *and in last line but two, put an* * *before* মানুষাদ.

733, *l.* 5 : *read* rājȧ-nȧitikȧ.

740, *l.* 7 *from bottom* : *read* : a form of Māgadhī.

741, *l.* 9 : *read* *ṭhā̃wi *for* ṭhā̃wi ; *l.* 12, *add after* NB.: so Assamese « gā̃dhȧï » (< *gaddahi, gaddahĕ, gardabhaḥ), « lātāï » (*ts.* latā + -i). *In l.* 24, *read* p. 1 *for* p. 2.

744, *l.* 6 : *read* « gōru-ē » *for* « gōṛu-ē »

745, *l.* 2 : *read* « -ānām » *for* « -anām ».

751 : *add as a new paragraph, after l.* 16 :

In dialectal Bengali, as in Sylhet, there is a locative affix in « -ō, -ȧ » ; *e.g.*, ঘরো, ঘর « ghȧrō, ghȧrȧ » *in the house* (LSI., V, I, p. 225). This would seem to be based on a MIA. « *gharaha »,

where « -ha » is the OIA. affix « * -dha », of a locative character, which is found in Sanskrit in « i-ha (cf. Prakrit i-dha), ku-ha, sa-ha (cf. Vedic sadha) », and which seems to have been extended to the noun also. (This « -dha » seems to be connected with the other locative affix « -dhi » discussed before at p. 745, and has cognate forms in the Latin « in-de », Slav « kŭ-de »: cf. Thumb, 'Handbuch des Sanskrit,' Heidelberg, 1905, § 407).

751, *l.* 8 *from bottom* : *read* an unsolved problem.

756, *l.* 8 : « udyāna-kṛtam āsanam » (cf. Grierson, 'On Certain Suffixes in the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars,' Kuhn's Zeitschrift, Vol. 38, pp. 473 ff.: also « karaṇḍē mālā-kṛtē », in the 'Mahā-vastu,' etc.). *Last line but two* : *read* puruṣāṇām.

759, *l.* 12 : the affix in Assamese seems to be সা « sā »: cf. also the genitive form « tōmāsā-rå » and the locative « tōmāsā-tå » in Early Assamese.

762, *ll.* 2, 3 *from end*: a solitary example of an ablative form in OB. There is another instance of an ablative in « -hu » in the Caryās, *viz.*, « raaṇahu ṣahajē kahëi » (Caryā 27), which the Sanskrit Commentary translates and explains as « sadguru-vacana-tattva-ratna-prabhāvāt sa mayı sahajånandaṁ kathayati ».

772, *under Post-position No.* (26), বই « båï ». My friend Mr. Sailêndranāth Mitra, M.A., of the Department of Pali in Calcutta University draws my attention to the use of « bahiddhā » in Pali, with the ablative, to mean *apart from, outside of* : *e.g.*, « itō bahiddhā samaṇō'pi n'atthi » *outside of this, there is no monk* (Mahāparinibbāṇa-sutta, V, 27). The use of « bahiḥ, bahirdhā (= bahiḥ + dhā) », with the ablative as well as genitive, to denote *outside*, occurred in OIA. (cf. Speijer, 'Vedische und Sanskrit-syntax,' §§ 88, 89, 90). The source of the Bengali post-position বই, বহি, বহী « båi, båhi, båhī » would thus be the OIA. « bahiḥ », and not « vyatta » as suggested in the text.

790, *l.* 14 : *correct to* Wackernagel.

800, *l.* 15 : *read* śō *for* sō.

801, *l.* **21 :** A MIA. form for « sahasra » seems to have been « sahaṁsa » (beside « sahassa »), and this nasalised form occurs as « sahāsa » in Early Western Hindī. An old spelling of the place name 'Sasseram' or 'Sahasram' in Bihar is 'Sahansram.'

802, *l.* 11, *add at the end:* There is also the word সিকি « siki », সিকা « sikā » *a quarter, a silver coin equal to the fourth of a rupee.* The word occurs dialectally as « suki, sukā », and is apparently the same word as the Hind. « sūkā ». Platts derives « sūkā » from « sapādaka » *with a quarter* ('Hindustani Dictionary'). It may be that here we have the influence of the MIA. « sikka » (see *supra,* pp. 194-195) or the Perso-Arabic « sikkah » *coin,* in connexion with the « -k- » consonant as well (as the « -i- » vowel in the Bengali form).

811, *l.* 17 : *read* মুঁহি, *for* মঁহ,

821. *In the Table, under Old Plural, Oblique,* read তাঁ for তা ; *under New Plural, Nominative, read* তা(হা)রা, *and oblique,* তা(হা)দের ; *and in connexion with what has been said in l.* 8 *in* § 555, *note*: the form « sa-kaḥ » actually occurs in OIA. (Rig-Veda, Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, etc.): see below, note on p. 993.

823, *l.* 13 *from bottom* : *read* তাঁ *for* তা.

825, *l.* 17 : *read* possesses *for* possess.

828, *l.* 10 : *read* tāmđ-rā-rđ *for* tāmđ-ra-rđ.

829, *l.* 2 *in* § 566 : *delete comma after* « ē-ta- » ; *l.* 5, *read* . base « *to- ».

832, *l.* 3 *from bottom* : *read* in the Shahbazgarhi Aśōkan.

835, *l.* 7, *read* উহা for উহা ; *in the Table, under Oblique of Old Plural, read* ওহাঁ *for* ওহা.

839, *read* [F] *for* [D] *before the heading* THE RELATIVE PRONOUN ; *and in the Table, under Oblique of Double Plural, read* যা(হা)দের *for* যা(হা)দের.

840, *l.* 6 : « ya-kaḥ » as the source of « jē » occurs in OIA., like « sa-kaḥ » the source of « sē » : see *supra,* note on p. 821, and *infra,* on p. 993.

861, *l.* 14 : *read* *-n- *for* -n-.

862, *l.* 4, *read* dīv-ya-ti *for* div-ya-ti.

867, *l.* 3 *from bottom* : *read* **cár-i-tav-āí** *for* **car-i-tav-āí.**

869, *l.* 12 *from bottom* . *read* NOUN *for* VOUN.

871, *l.* 15 : *read* seem *for* seen.

873, *l.* 12, *read* es-ské-ti *for* es-sko-ti ; *l.* 15, *read* খুঁজ *for* খুঁজ ; *l.* 24, *read* খবস *for* খবর.

874, *l.* 5 : *read* lāj *for* āj ; *last line*, *read* Bengali.

875, *l.* 12 : *read* es-ské-ti ; *l.* 14, *read* pró + bhu-ské-ti.

882, *l.* 22 : *read* vyākhyāna *for* vyyākhāna.

884, *l.* 16 : *read* দাগা *for the second* দাগ.

885, *heading line* : *read* COMPOUNDED AND SUFFIXED ROOTS.

898, *ll.* 18-19 : The dative-accusative with the post-position occurs in OB. : *e.g.*, Caryā 12, « matiē̃ ṭhākura-ka parinivittā » = « matyā prajñāpāramitânubuddhyā ṭhakuram iti saṅklēśârōpita-cittaṁ parinirvvāṇârōpitaṁ kṛtaṁ », according to the Commentary.

L. 3 *from bottom* : *read* like *for* ike.

900, *l.* 12 : *read* labh-ē-ta *for* labh-ī-ta.

901, *l.* 3 : *read* NB. *for* MB.

904, *l.* 5 : *read* « -aü » : « kar-aü ».

907, *l.* 16, *add* : The affix in the form of « -ūt », however, is actually found in S.-W. Bengali : চলুঁৎ « calūtǝ̃ », etc.

908, *l.* 15 : *read* later *for* latter.

909, *l.* 15 : *add* : The form « gâ » (earlier form « gai, gaĕ ») is also optionally added in Maithilī to emphasise the future (cf. Grierson, Maithilī Grammar[2], pp. 136-137).

L. 4 *from bottom* (=*heading line*) : *read as* (1) PASSIVE INDICATIVE.

924, *l.* 18 : *read* **lâlāṭâ-** *for* **lâlāta-.**

932, *l.* 7: *read* খোয়োঁ *for* খোয়ো ; *l.* 11, *read* পারোঁ *for* পারো.

941, *l.* 11: *correct to* Grammatik.

956, *l.* 4 : *read* « **câlī, jârī** ».

961, *headline* : *correct to* FUTURE.

968, *l.* 13 : *read* is *for* in.

975, *l.* 9, *from end* : *read* « **pârilābō̃** » *for* « **pārilābō̃** ».

984, *l.* 19 : *correct the first* বুঝিল to বুইল.

993, *last line, after 'e.g.,' add* : MIA. « aha-ka-ṁ, tva-ka-ṁ », OIA. (Rig-Veda) « asa-ka-, sa-ka- », (Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa) « yāma-k-i », (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, etc.) « sa-kā, sa-ka-, ya-ka-, ya-kā, asa-ka- », etc ; and note also...... (I am indebted to Mr. Sukumār Sen for drawing my attention to the OIA. forms occurring in the Vedic texts).

1019, *l.* 9 *from the end : read* « āch » for the present and the past.

1029, *l.* 13 : *read* « -(i)t- + -it- » + root « āch ».

1032, *l.* 10 : *read* pàlānà *for* pālānà.

1035, *l.* 3 : *read* adjective passive participle *for* verbal noun ; *and in l.* 6, *take the semicolon before* so.

1040, *last line but one* : *read* altindischen.

INDEX OF BENGALI WORDS

INDEX OF BENGALI WORDS

[The Numbers refer to Pages]